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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. V.
Second Series.
NEW SERIES.

1864-66.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M^cGLASHAN & GILL, 50, UPPER SACKVILLE-STREET.

1867.



H85

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROY WCB
2184
VWV861

P R E F A C E .

THE Fifth Volume of the Society's Journal is now before the Members, and must speak for itself. It is hoped that in its contents it may be found at least as varied and interesting as its predecessors. Some delay has occurred in its issue, which the Editor regrets, but it was unavoidable.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Most Hon. The Marquis of Kildare, for his liberal aid towards the printing of the Kildare Rental; to Mr. M. F. Langton, who has paid for the printing of the Memorials of the Langton family of Kilkenny; to Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy, for defraying the cost of printing such portions of the Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy as have appeared in this Volume; to Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley, for the numerous and costly woodcuts illustrative of Dineley's Tour in Ireland; to Mr. George M. Atkinson, for the donation of two lithographic plates illustrative of the Dunloe Ogham Cave; to Mr. Thomas O'Gorman, for the woodcuts illustrating his Paper on the Tomb of King Felim O'Connor, in Roscommon Abbey; and Mr. Francis Wright for the cut of a Saxon Coin. Examples deserving of all praise, and worthy of wide imitation.

JAMES GRAVES.

RECTORY, INISNAG, *January 30, 1868.*

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PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1864.
SIXTEENTH SESSION.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. V.—PART I.
NEW SERIES.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR MEMBERS ONLY.

1864.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR 1864.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the Society's Apartments,
William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January the 13th
(by adjournment from the 6th), 1864.

E. R. ROWLAND, Esq., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Rev. W. Maziere Brady, D. D., Kanturk: proposed by
the Rev. James Graves.

The Rev. Joseph Moore, St. George's Cathedral, London:
proposed by the Rev. Philip Moore, P. P.

John Sinnott, Esq., T. C., Wexford; and J. M'Cann, Esq.,
Monk-street, Wexford: proposed by Andrew Wilson, Esq.

John James Kirby, Esq., Barrister-at-law, 10, Lower Fitz-
william-street, Dublin: proposed by Charles H. Foot, Esq.

Lieut.-Col. A. H. L. Fox, Grenadier Guards, Montenotte,
Cork: proposed by Thomas Hewitt, Esq.

The Right Hon. Lord Bellew, Barmeath, Dunleer; and Wm.
Loftie, Esq., 31, North Frederick-street, Dublin: proposed by the
Rev. G. H. Reade.

The Library, Queen's College, Belfast: proposed by Professor
Hodges.

The Rev. William Purcell, R. C. C., 87, Marlborough-street,
Dublin: proposed by the Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C.

The Report of the Committee for the year 1863 was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows :—

“Your Committee feel great satisfaction at being enabled again to come before the Members with the assurance that the Society is still full of vigour. It has now arrived at the termination of its fifteenth year; but, with advancing age, shows no symptoms of decay. The roll of Members not in arrear numbers 629; 63 new names have been added to the list during the year 1863; the losses by deaths, resignations, or who have been removed for defalcation, amount to 42, showing the net increase in the year to have been 21.

“Amongst those removed by death, your Committee mention with regret the name of the Rev. James Mease. Mr. Mease was one of the original Members of the Society, and had given it his warm and untiring support. As Local Secretary for the Freshford district, he was sedulous in reporting every archæological discovery; and he contributed many Papers to the ‘Journal.’ The Society at large, and much more his personal friends, may well regret his loss.

“A reference to the accounts of the Treasurer for the year 1862 will show that the advantages which were expected to flow from the formation of a special Illustration Fund have been realized. The claims of the Society’s printer, extending over six months of 1861 and the entire of 1862, were settled by the 31st December of the latter year—the *annual* income having for the first time covered all claims, except that for the printing of the May Number, 1859,¹ leaving a small, but *bond fide*, balance to be carried to the credit of the Society for the year 1863. Your Committee earnestly hope that the evident good result of the formation of this fund will move those, who have already contributed, to maintain their increased subscriptions, and also be a means of inducing others, who have hitherto held back, to give their aid. It is hoped that the marked improvement of the illustrations of the ‘Journal’ may have afforded satisfaction to the Members. Your Committee would especially point to the numerous woodcuts of the Dineley Tour, to the admirable engravings of the Brunswick Casket, of the Stone Box found in the ancient interment at Dromiskin, and to that of the very curious Stone Mould for casting Celts found in the county of Kilkenny. The contents of the fourth Volume, now concluded, have also well sustained the reputation already earned by the Society’s ‘Journal’—a reputation evidenced by the fact that the trade value of a complete set of the two series, when appearing in booksellers’ catalogues, is nearly double the original cost to the Members.

“Although the project for establishing a separate fund for the support of the Society’s Museum and Library has not yet been carried into execution, your Committee recommend that it should not be abandoned without a trial, as it is most important that these institutions should be placed on a more permanent foundation than that on which they at present rest.”

It was resolved that the Report of the Committee be adopted and printed.

¹ The cost of this Number was, strange to say, accidentally omitted by the Society’s printer, when sending in his bill

for 1859. It was settled in 1863, and will come into the Treasurer’s Account for that year.

It was resolved that the Officers and Committee of the past year be re-elected, substituting, as Member of Committee, Robert Malcomson, Esq., of Carlow, for the Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin. This change was rendered necessary by the appointment of the Very Rev. Dr. Lyster to the Deanery of Ontario, in Canada.

The Treasurer's Account for the year 1862 was laid before the Meeting by the Auditors as follows:—

CHARGE.

1862.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands (see p. 182, <i>supra</i>),	49	2	9½
Dec. 31.	To Members' Subscriptions, including £49 18s., Special Subscriptions to Illustration Fund,	261	6	0
	„ Subscriptions to "Annuary,"	2	0	0
	„ Cash received for "Journal" sold to Members,	5	4	9
	„ Rent of land at Jerpoint,	1	0	0
		£318	13	6½

DISCHARGE.

1862.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By postage of "Journal,"	15	18	8
	„ „ circulars and correspondence,	7	12	10
	„ Illustrations of "Journal,"	33	14	6
	„ Printing, paper, and binding of "Journal" for July and October, 1861, and the entire of 1862,	165	4	7
	„ General printing and stationery,	12	2	5
	„ Indexing Vol. IV.,	3	0	0
	„ Roomkeeper, 10s.; commission to agents, 8s., „ Postages, and other petty expenses, as per Mr. Gill's bill,	0	18	0
	„ Petty expenses, as per Treasurer's account,	5	16	9
	„ Carriage of parcels,	7	5	2
	„ Carriage of parcels,	1	8	9
	„ Subscription to the O'Donovan Fund,	5	0	0
	„ Books purchased, including scarce parts of "Journal,"	11	10	9
	„ Rent and caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey,	2	0	0
	„ Rent and Assurance of Museum,	14	15	0
	„ Transcribing documents,	4	15	9
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	27	10	4½
		£318	13	6½

Having examined the above Account with the vouchers, we find it correct, and that there is a balance of £27 10s. 4½d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

J. G. ROBERTSON, }
P. A. AYLRARD, } Auditors.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Author: "The Life of St. Dymphna, Virgin and Martyr," by the Rev. John O'Hanlon.

By the Numismatic Society: "The Numismatic Chronicle," new series, No. 11.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for November and December, 1863, and January, 1864.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1081–1093, inclusive.

By Robert Day, Jun., Esq., Cork: lithograph of a figure which had probably been attached to an ancient Irish shrine, said to have been found at Clonmacnoise in January, 1861; also of a Masonic Emblem, representing a level, in white metal set with crystals, found in the county of Tyrone in 1863. The originals were in Mr. Day's collection.

By Mr. Robertson, on the part of Henry T. Vickers, Esq., of Dublin: two very beautiful photographs, prepared for the stereoscope, of the Hiberno-Romanesque doorway of Ullard Church, and of the ancient megalithic cross of Ullard, situate on Sir W. M'Kenny's property in the county of Kilkenny—the photographs taken by Mr. Vickers himself.

By Mr. Kyran Molloy, of Clonmacnoise: rubbings which he had specially taken for the Society of an ancient inscription round one of the windows of Clontuskert Abbey, county of Galway.

Mr. Graves, in expressing his sense of the services rendered by Mr. Molloy in making this and other rubbings for the Society, said that, so far as he could decipher the rubbing, it read—

Matheu' : dei : gra : eps : clonfertenc' [.]

An : do : m° : cccc° : lxxi° :

Mathew Macraih is said by Ware to have been Bishop of Clonfert in 1482, and to have died in 1507. This inscription would seem to prove that he filled that see eleven years earlier, which is quite possible, as 1469 is the last date ascertained in the episcopacy of his predecessor, Cornelius O'Cunlis.

By Mr. William Purcell, of the Orchard, Flood-street, Kilkenny, through Mr. Prim: a silver seal, of the seventeenth, or early part of the eighteenth century, dug up in Kilkenny. It bore an escutcheon of arms. The shield was charged with three helmets; the crest, a hand and sword issuing from a coronet; the supporters, two lions rampant-regardant; the motto, *Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria*. Mr. Prim said that from the coronet and supporters it would appear to have been the seal of some nobleman, whom, however, he had not been able to identify. Perhaps some other Members of the Society might be able to throw light on the subject.

By Mr. Bettsworth Lawless, Kilkenny : a plain bronze finger ring, turned up at Loughboy, near this city.

By Mr. James Coyle, Kilkenny : a St. Patrick halfpenny, in good preservation.

Mr. Graves read a letter from Captain Edward Hoare, of Cork, at present sojourning in London—a frequent contributor to the Society's Proceedings—making a suggestion that the Society should form a photographic album, in which all the Members who might think fit to do so could register their photographs, or *cartes de visite*. Captain Hoare observed :—

“ In making this suggestion to you, I am not bringing forward anything novel or strange, as many societies in London, and elsewhere, have long since established a volume for that purpose ; and I can see no reason why the Kilkenny Archæological Society should be inferior to them, or behind them, in any respect whatever. At the present day, engravings, miniatures, and even woodcut portraits, of the past generations, and of those who have lived in bygone times, are eagerly sought after, and purchased at almost fabulous prices. We know not what is yet in the womb of time, or what a few short coming years may bring forth. Perhaps the young man who is yet a novice, and unknown, may turn out a hero, a statesman, or celebrated in whatever line or walk of life his talents may have directed him, or his circumstances controlled—perhaps he may be a Member of our Society, and therefore the more imperatively we should establish a register, of which we know not, and hardly can conceive, how great the effects may prove—perhaps future generations, in turning over the pages of the ‘ Journals ’ of the Society, may see the names of their ancestors registered therein, and gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of thus beholding the lineaments of those who have preceded them ; and perhaps, in becoming Members of the Society, follow the examples of those who departed, we hope, to a better world, yet here live again. I would therefore earnestly urge on the Society the adoption of this volume ; and, should it be approved, I shall be one of the first to forward my own *carte de visite* and autograph for registry therein.”

The Chairman was inclined to look favourably on Captain Hoare's proposition ; but suggested that no action should be taken on it till next meeting, so as that the feeling of the Members generally might be elicited in the mean time. What he was apprehensive of was, that anything like a good collection of photographs of the Members could never be formed without making a special application to each, which would involve much expense in postage, and labour to the Secretaries. However, if it could be accomplished otherwise, he thought the idea a very good one.

Mr. Graves suggested that, if the proposition were adopted, each Member, besides sending his *carte de visite*, ought to send a small sum—say a shilling—towards the expense of the album, &c.

The suggestions of the Chairman and of Mr. Graves were adopted.

Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan forwarded photographs of three pages of a most interesting manuscript copy of the Bible, accompanied by the following Paper :—

" Having been permitted, through the kindness of the Right Rev. Dr. Kelly, to inspect an ancient manuscript in his possession, I was much interested to find on its second folio a memorandum purporting, as far as I could imperfectly translate it, to furnish information, not only as to the original owner of the manuscript, but also to supply testamentary directions for its disposal after the death of the writer. On forwarding a photograph of this particular page to our Secretary, the Rev. J. Graves, he considered it to be so striking, that he transmitted the photograph to Dr. Reeves, of Armagh, who at once understood, and supplied a translation of, the colophon in question.

" Dr. Reeves, being much taken with the beauty of the manuscript as it appeared in the photograph, was anxious to make a personal examination of its folios, offering to give any guarantee that might be required for their safety while in his possession. On communicating this request to Dr. Kelly, with a courtesy and a frank confidence which I am sure every Member of the Society will appreciate, he had the book placed in my hands to forward to Armagh, adding that 'the character of Dr. Reeves was too well known to require any guarantee; that he was quite welcome both to examine the manuscript, and to retain it as long as he might consider necessary.'

" I accordingly forwarded the manuscript to Dr. Reeves. Of the careful and minute investigation it received at his hands the Society can judge by the following description of the MS., which he has appropriately named the 'Codex Derensis':—

" 'The manuscript contains the whole of the Bible, with a general prologue prefixed to the entire, and special prologues before each book. The leaves wanting at the beginning are a portion of the general prologue; and Genesis commences on the *verso* of the second leaf. At the end are brief interpretations of Hebrew names, followed by the Capitula, or short tables of contents of the Gospels, with interlinear references.

" 'All the marginal notes are corrections, or explanations of the sacred text, with the exception of two or three scribblings in a comparatively modern hand.

" 'About two leaves are wanting at the commencement. As the MS. at present stands, it commences at the words "*rusticus, et ruborum mora distinguens, paucis verbis explicari non potest,*" in St. Jerom's Prologus Galeatus.

" 'Fol. 2 *aa*. Prologus Pentateuchi of S. Jerom, "*Desiderii mei desideratas accepi,*" &c.

" 'At foot of this page is the following memorandum, the contractions of which are here lengthened :—

" 'Hunc librum legavit M. Petrus Parys domino Johanni Spenser. Quem relinquet post mortem ejus Magistro aut Bacallario Artium, aut honesto Sacerdoti seculari de terra Hibernie predicatori, aut disposito ad predicandum. Et recipiens eundem distribuet post ejusdem receptionem

pauperibus iii. s. iiij. d. atque orabit pro anima dicti Petri. Et sub hiis condicionibus transibit ab uno seculari sacerdote ad alterum¹."

"Fol. 2 *b*, col. 1. Along entire left margin is a large illuminated letter I, on blue ground, of very exquisite design, but rather rubbed, having seven oval quatrefoil bordered compartments, in descending succession, in each of which is a beautifully minute and elegant ecclesiastical figure, the colours employed being blue and red. At foot of the letter is a representation of the crucifixion, with SS. John and Mary at either side of the cross.

"It is to be observed that throughout the MS. the headings of the books are in old English letter, blue and red alternately, the initial titles of the books are in rubric, and the numeration of the chapters for the most part in the space left blank by the termination of the preceding chapter.

"The tenor of each chapter is unbroken from the beginning to its end.

"Between Gen. xxvii., end of v. 9, and cap. xxxi. v. 6, "*totis viribus meis*," a leaf is wanting.

"Fol. 22 <i>aa</i> .	Exodus	to fol. 39 <i>ab</i> .
Fol. 39 <i>ab</i> .	Leviticus	to fol. 51 <i>ba</i> , line 2.
Fol. 51 <i>ba</i> .	Numeri	to fol. 68 <i>aa</i> .
Fol. 68 <i>aa</i> .	Deuteronom.	to fol. 83 <i>aa</i> .
Fol. 83 <i>aa</i> .	Josue	to fol. 93 <i>ab</i> .
Fol. 93 <i>ab</i> .	Judicum lib.	to fol. 104 <i>aa</i> .
Fol. 104 <i>aa</i> .	Ruth	to fol. 105 <i>ba</i> .
Fol. 105 <i>ba</i> .	Prologus to Regum Libri	to fol. 106 <i>ab</i> .
Fol. 106 <i>ab</i> .	Regum, liber 1,	to fol. 121 <i>ab</i> .
Fol. 121 <i>ab</i> .	Regum, liber 2,	to fol. 133 <i>ba</i> ,
Fol. 133 <i>ba</i> .	Regum, liber 3,	to fol. 148 <i>aa</i> .
Fol. 148 <i>aa</i> .	Regum, liber 4,	to fol. 161 <i>ba</i> .
Fol. 161 <i>ba</i> .	Prologus to Paralipom.	to fol. 162 <i>aa</i> .
Fol. 162 <i>aa</i> .	Paralipom., lib. 1,	to fol. 174 <i>ab</i> .

"On fol. 165 *ab*, margin, is written: "*hic liber est meus testis mihi est deus si quis mihi non credit*."

"Fol. 174 <i>ab</i> .	Prologus to Paralipom. 2.	
Fol. 174 <i>ab</i> .	Paralipom., lib. 2,	to fol. 190 <i>ba</i> .
Fol. 190 <i>ba</i> .	Prologus to Esdreas	to fol. 191 <i>aa</i> .
Fol. 191 <i>aa</i> .	Esdreas	to fol. 195 <i>ab</i> .
Fol. 195 <i>ab</i> .	Liber Neemie	to fol. 201 <i>ab</i> .
Fol. 201 <i>ab</i> .	Lib. Esdree, 2	to fol. 207 <i>bb</i> .
Fol. 207 <i>bb</i> .	Prologus to Thobias	
Fol. 207 <i>bb</i> .	Liber Thobie	to fol. 212 <i>aa</i> .
Fol. 212 <i>aa</i> .	Prologus to Judith	to fol. 212 <i>ab</i> .
Fol. 212 <i>ab</i> .	Judith	to fol. 217 <i>bb</i> .

¹ Master Peter Parys bequeathed this book to Dominus John Spenser, who is to leave it at his death to a Master or Bachelor of Arts, or a respectable secular priest of the land of Ireland, either Preacher, or disposed to preach, and the

recipient of the same is to distribute to the poor after its receipt three shillings and four pence, and is to pray for the soul of the said Peter, and subject to these conditions is to pass from one secular priest to another.

- Fol. 217 *bb*. Prologus to Hester to fol. 218 *aa*.
 Fol. 218 *aa*. Liber Hester to fol. 223 *ab*.
 Fol. 223 *ab*. Prologus in Job to fol. 223 *bb*.
 Fol. 223 *bb*. Alius Prologus.
 Fol. 224 *aa*. Liber Job to fol. 233 *bb*.
 "A chasm from Psalm i. to Psalm ix. 11, "tuum quoniam non dereliquisti," &c.
 "Fol. 234 *aa*. Parabolæ to fol. 242 *ab*.
 "The first leaf is glossed largely in rubric. The close of the last chapter (xxx. i.) is divided in rubric under the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, seriatim.
 "Fol. 242 *ab*. Prologus to Ecclesiastes to fol. 242 *ba*.
 Fol. 242 *ba*. Ecclesiastes to fol. 245 *bb*.
 Fol. 245 *bb*. Cantica Canticorum to fol. 247.
 Fol. 247 *ba*. Sapientia to fol. 253 *aa*.
 "Leaf wanting, from Sap. xvii. 1 "propter" to xix. 13, "Antefacta erant argumentis."
 "Fol. 253 *aa*. Prologus Jesus filii Sirach to fol. 253 *ab*.
 Fol. 253 *ab*. Ecclesiasticus to fol. 270 *bb*.
 Fol. 270 *bb*. Prologus in Esaiam to fol. 271 *aa*.
 Fol. 271 *aa*. Liber Ysaie to fol. 290 *bb*.
 "Leaf wanting, cap. xx. 2, "in tempore illo," to cap. xxiii. 18, "habita verunt coram." Leaf wanting from Isai. lxi. 19, "ponam in eis signum," to Jeremiah, ii. 16, "sunt domus istius."
 "Fol. 291 *aa*. Hieremias to fol. 314 *aa*.
 "At fol. 304 *a*, opposite Jerem. xxxiii., is written along the margin, "Iste est liber unius scholaris qui vocatur Seneca Trenlanus."
 "Fol. 314 *aa*. Lamentatio to fol. 316 *aa*.
 "All the verses arranged under the letters of the Hebrew alphabet.
 "Fol. 316 *aa*. Oratio Jeremiæ to fol. 316 *ab*.
 Fol. 316 *ab*. Prologus to Baruch.
 Fol. 316 *ab*. Baruch to fol. 319 *ab*.
 Fol. 319 *ab*. Prologus to Ezekiel.
 Fol. 319 *ab*. Ezekiel to fol. 341 *ab*.
 Fol. 341 *ab*. Prologus to Daniel to fol. 342 *aa*.
 Fol. 342 *aa*. Liber Danielis to fol. 349 *ab*.
 Fol. 349 *ab*. Supplement from lxx. to fol. 350 *bb*.
 Fol. 350 *bb*. Prologus xii. prophetarum to fol. 351 *aa*.
 Fol. 351 *aa*. Osee to fol. 353 *aa*.
 Fol. 353 *aa*. Prologus to Johel to fol. 353 *ab*.
 Fol. 353 *ab*. Alius Prologus.
 Fol. 353 *ab*. Johel to fol. 354 *ba*.
 Fol. 354 *ba*. Prologus to Amos.
 Fol. 354 *ba*. Alius Prologus to fol. 354 *bb*.
 Fol. 354 *bb*. Tertius Prologus to fol. 355 *aa*.
 Fol. 355 *aa*. Amos to fol. 357 *ab*.
 Fol. 357 *ab*. Prologus Abdie to fol. 357 *ba*.
 Fol. 357 *ba*. Abdias to fol. 357 *bb*.
 Fol. 357 *bb*. Prologus to Jonah to fol. 358 *aa*.
 Fol. 358 *aa*. Alius Prologus.

Fol. 358 <i>ab.</i>	Liber Jonæ	to fol. 359 <i>aa.</i>
Fol. 359 <i>aa.</i>	Prologus to Micheas.	
Fol. 359 <i>aa.</i>	Micheas	to fol. 360 <i>bb.</i>
Fol. 360 <i>bb.</i>	Prologus to Naum	to fol. 361 <i>aa.</i>
Fol. 361 <i>aa.</i>	Naum	to fol. 361 <i>bb.</i>
Fol. 361 <i>bb.</i>	Prologus to Abacuch	to fol. 362 <i>ba.</i>
Fol. 362 <i>aa.</i>	Abacuch	to fol. 363 <i>ab.</i>
Fol. 363 <i>ab.</i>	Prologus to Sophonias	to fol. 363 <i>ba.</i>
Fol. 363 <i>ba.</i>	Alius Prologus.	
Fol. 363 <i>ba.</i>	Sophonias.	to fol. 364 <i>ba.</i>
Fol. 364 <i>ba.</i>	Prologus to Aggeus	to fol. 364 <i>bb.</i>
Fol. 364 <i>bb.</i>	Liber Aggei	to fol. 365 <i>ba.</i>
Fol. 365 <i>ba.</i>	Prologus to Zacharias	to fol. 365 <i>bb.</i>
Fol. 365 <i>bb.</i>	Zacharias	to fol. 369 <i>ab.</i>
Fol. 369 <i>ab.</i>	Prologus to Malachias	to fol. 369 <i>ba.</i>
Fol. 369 <i>ba.</i>	Malachias	to fol. 370 <i>bb.</i>
Fol. 370 <i>bb.</i>	Prologus to Machabei	to fol. 371 <i>aa.</i>
Fol. 371 <i>aa.</i>	Secundus Prologus	to fol. 371 <i>ab.</i>
Fol. 371 <i>ab.</i>	Argumentum.	
Fol. 371 <i>ab.</i>	1 Macchabei	to fol. 385 <i>bb.</i>
“Opposite 1 Mac. ii. is, in blue ink, “Patrius scire est verus.”		
“Fol. 385 <i>bb.</i>	2 Macchabei	to fol. 395 <i>bb.</i>
Fol. 395 <i>bb.</i>	Prologus to S. Matthew,	to fol. 396 <i>aa.</i>
Fol. 396 <i>aa.</i>	Alius Prologus	to fol. 396 <i>ab.</i>
Fol. 396 <i>ab.</i>	S. Mattheus	to fol. 410 <i>ba.</i>
“At foot of 1st page of S. Matthew is a duplicate of the memorandum written at foot of Genesis 1.		
“Fol. 410 <i>ba.</i>	Prologus in S. Marcum	to fol. 410 <i>bb.</i>
Fol. 410 <i>bb.</i>	S. Marcus	to fol. 420 <i>aa.</i>
Fol. 420 <i>aa.</i>	Prologus in S. Lucani	to fol. 420 <i>ab.</i>
Fol. 420 <i>ab.</i>	Alius Prologus.	
Fol. 420 <i>ab.</i>	S. Lucas	to fol. 435 <i>ba.</i>
“Opposite Luke, xii. verso, along outer margin is written with blue ink, in an Irish hand of the last century:—		
“‘C ós móir ba deacair an biaibla uile do rḡrḡobad air a leictir ro fuim do licir, agur a liupar éruinn éumríḡ.’”		
“Fol. 435 <i>ba.</i>	Prologus in S. Johannem	to fol. 435 <i>bb.</i>
Fol. 435 <i>bb.</i>	S. Johannes	to fol. 447 <i>ab.</i>
Fol. 447 <i>ab.</i>	Prologus in Epist. ad Romanos.	
Fol. 447 <i>ab.</i>	Epistola ad Romanos	to fol. 452 <i>ba.</i>
Fol. 452 <i>ba.</i>	Prologus to 1 Cor.	to fol. 452 <i>bb.</i>
Fol. 452 <i>bb.</i>	1 Corinth.	to fol. 458 <i>aa.</i>
Fol. 458 <i>aa.</i>	Prologus to 2 Cor.	
Fol. 458 <i>aa.</i>	2 Corinth.	to fol. 460 <i>bb.</i>

¹ O! great God, it was difficult to write the whole Bible in such a style of letter, and in so small and compact a book.

“Leaf wanting from 2 Cor. xi. 18, “Ego gloriabor” to Gal. i. 19, “Domini.”

“Fol. 461 *aa*. Galat. to fol. 461 *bb*.

“Some leaves wanting from Gal. iv. 30, “non enim heres,” to 1 Thessal. i. 7, “Macedonia et in Achaia.”

“Fol. 462 *aa*. 1 Thessa. to fol. 463 *aa*.

Fol. 463 *aa*. Prologus to 2 Thess.

Fol. 463 *aa*. 2 Thessal. to fol. 463 *ba*.

Fol. 463 *ba*. Prologus in 1 Tim.

Fol. 463 *ba*. 1 Timoth. to fol. 465 *aa*.

Fol. 465 *aa*. Prologus in 2 Tim.

Fol. 465 *aa*. 2 Timoth. to fol. 466 *aa*.

Fol. 466 *aa*. Prologus in Titum.

Fol. 466 *ab*. Titus to fol. 466 *bb*.

Fol. 466 *bb*. Prologus to Philemon.

Fol. 466 *bb*. Philemon.

“Leaf 467, two-thirds torn off, and the following leaf wanting, Heb. vii. 23, “permanere,” leaf 468 *aa* to xii. 22, “nullum angelorum,” 469 *bb*.

“Fol. 570 *aa*. Acta Apostolorum to fol. 484 *aa*.

“Leaf wanting, Acts begins at cap. ii. 5, “si ex omni natione.”

“Fol. 484 *ab*. Prologus in Epistolas Canonicas.

Fol. 484 *ab*. Epistola Jacobi to fol. 484 *bb*.

“Leaf wanting from James, ii. 19, “Tu,” to 1 Pet. i. 9, “rem fide vestrae.”

“Fol. 485 *aa*. 1 Petrus to fol. 486 *ab*.

Fol. 486 *ab*. 2 Petrus to fol. 487 *ab*.

Fol. 487 *ab*. 1 Johan. to fol. 488 *ba*.

Fol. 488 *bb*. 2 Johan.

Fol. 488 *bb*. 3 Johan. to fol. 489 *aa*.

Fol. 489 *aa*. Judæ Epist. to fol. 489 *ba*.

Fol. 489 *ba*. Prologus in Apocalypsa. to fol. 490 *aa*.

• Fol. 490 *aa*. Apocalipsis to fol. 496 *bb*

Fol. 497 *aa*. Interpretacio Hebraicorum
nominum to fol. 524 *bb*.

Fol. 525 *aa*. Table of Epistles and Gospels
for Sundays and Festivals to fol. 531 *ab*.

Fol. 531 *b*. Capitula Quatuor Evangelo-
rum to fol. 533 *b*.

“MS. deficient after Capitula of March xiv.

“The membrane of the MS. is not vellum, but some internal tegument; or the skin of some animal smaller and more delicate than the calf.

“There are marginal glosses, or corrections, and some few so minute as to be scarcely deciphered by the naked eye.

“The MS. is plainly not Irish, probably French, and written circ. 1350. The memorandums are of about the year 1400, and the “terra Hibernie” mentioned in them is the only expression in the book to connect it with Ireland, until the comparatively modern bit of Irish scribbling

along the margin of one page, and this scrap on the inside of the second cover—

“‘beannad̃ ceapt̃ agur̃ gab̃ ceill̃ ag̃ m̃ur̃ m̃ur̃.’”

“To the foregoing masterly examination and description of the MS. which Dr. Reeves has appropriately named ‘The Codex Derensia, or Book of Derry,’ it is unnecessary for me to add a single word beyond supplying a few explanatory remarks on what may be termed the mechanical portion of the work.

“It is bound as a book, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The outside covers are wood, showing evident signs of decay, and bearing indentations where metallic clasps had originally been inserted. From the size of the MS., it may have been attached to the girdle by a chain. It contains 536 leaves, closely written; the last 39 are the interpretations of the Hebrew names, and the Capitula mentioned by Dr. Reeves. The leaves are of a more delicate material than vellum, probably kid skin, and, unlike the generality of Irish MSS., are soft, smooth, and flexible as the finest note paper.

“The penmanship is admirable, and throughout is neatly and beautifully executed—so much so as to require the aid of a magnifying glass to convince the reader that it is hand-scribed, and not impressed by type. The opinion of Dr. Reeves is conclusive as to its age, namely, about the year 1350, making the MS. upwards of 500 years old; and the most interesting memorandum alluded to half a century later, identifying it with Ireland for upwards of 400 years.

“The ornamentation is delicate and graceful, and totally devoid of any tendency to the florid style. The artist’s skill is chiefly employed on the initial letters, the eccentric elongation of which is curiously varied. The illuminated letter on the first page, with its series of pictures as pointed out by Dr. Reeves, is of especial beauty and interest. The colours used in the ornamental designs of the MS. are blue, pale green, and bright red. The ink of the corpus of the manuscript is jet black, and has preserved its tint to a surprising degree.

“In the latter portion of the work, the transcriber has extensively used vermilion with (I think) an inferior effect. The vermilion has spread in surface, so that the letters written with it want that delicate and exact finishing so apparent in the letters formed with the black ink. In this part of the work, also, the marks of the metallic pen or stylus used for dividing the columns and ruling the lines are very perceptible, and I am inclined to assign this portion to a different and inferior artist.

“This manuscript, interesting in itself as a rare specimen of mediæval calligraphy, becomes invested with additional value from the fact that it was given to Dr. Kelly, by a priest of his diocese, on his death bed. I am happy to add that Dr. Kelly, always granting a courteous permission for the inspection of its pages, has taken proper care for its preservation, the manuscript being kept in an artistic case made expressly for it.”

Mr. Alexander Nesbitt sent the following observations on Pro-

1 A right blessing and every good sense be with myself, myself.

fessor Stephens' reading of the Runic inscription on the Casket preserved in the Museum at Brunswick :—

"Objects on which inscriptions in Runic characters are associated with ornaments of the same character as that which is almost peculiar to ancient Irish art are of very rare occurrence. They, it is certain, belong to a period the history of which is very obscure, and it is therefore very desirable that such examples as are to be found should be carefully studied, so as to enable us to draw from them as correct conclusions as may be possible. A few observations, which may, I hope, do something to at least clear the way towards the elucidation of the history of the casket in the museum at Brunswick, which is the subject of a paper by Mr. George Stephens, in the 'Journal' of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, Vol. iv. p. 267, will therefore, I hope, not be considered superfluous.

"Being at Brunswick in the year 1854, I saw this casket; and by the kind permission of Geheime Hofrath Eigner, I made impressions from it in gutta percha, from which I had electrotypes made.

"From these electrotypes I made a copy of the inscription, and gave it to the late John Mitchell Kemble. I have now before me a copy of the runes made by him from my copy, with his reading of them. As this agrees with the engraving in the 'Journal,'—which, with the exception of one trifling inaccuracy, is quite correct—I am at a loss to understand how it can happen that, as Mr. Stephens states, 'Mr. Kemble's transcript was far from correct.'

"I am led to suppose that, as Mr. Stephens, a few lines above, speaks of 'Mr. J. M. Kemble's own copy of the bottom plate, size of the original,' what he has seen is really a drawing made either from the original or from my electrotype, and not done by Mr. Kemble at all.

"I am also inclined to doubt whether the memorandum attributed to Mr. Kemble by Mr. Stephens, that the inscription was in the Irish language, was really written by the former. I well remember that he told me that he had no hesitation in saying that the runes were not Norse, but Anglo-Saxon, or German, while the language was neither Teutonic nor Scandinavian, but he certainly was far from asserting that it was Irish. I afterwards showed Mr. Kemble's reading of the runes to Mr. Eugene O'Curry, and I shall presently state what he said respecting it. The first point, however, is to get a correct reading of the runes.

"On reference to the plate it will be seen that the inscription consists of sixty-two characters, not reckoning as such some strokes at the left hand corner at the top, and the right hand corner at the bottom, which in the first case resemble a reversed V and three commas, and in the second a reversed V and a C; neither Mr. Kemble nor Mr. Stephens consider these to be characters, nor are they any recognised runes.

"It will be seen that the inscription is divided into four groups by the recurrence in the middle of each side of the rune 'hagl' (H) in the Norse alphabet; 'ior' (I), in the Anglo-Saxon. Two of these groups are repetitions of the other two—in other words, the inscription is given twice; and as it is engraved with great distinctness, and very well preserved, the power of supposing errors on the part of the engraver ought to be exercised (if at all) most guardedly.

"For the convenience of reference I shall suppose the runes to be numbered in the engraving from 1 to 31, beginning with the letter last but one before the 'hagl,' which occurs in the middle of the left hand side, and give the reading which Mr. Stephens would adopt, Mr. Kemble's reading, and that given in Ballhorn's 'Alphabete' as the reading of Anglo-Saxon runes.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

Stephens' reading.

SIGHORÆLI IN MUNG PÆGÆLIA URIT NETHII

Ballhorn's reading.

SIIHOEKÆLI IN M K...ÆLEOIOÆLIEAKRIT NETHII

Kemble's reading.

SIGHEOKÆLI IN M KFÆLEOGÆLIEAKRIT NETHII

"Mr. Stephens has not given his reading of the runes letter by letter; but on page 270 he gives his reading of the whole inscription—

SIGHOR ÆLII IN MUNGPÆLYO GÆLIA URIT NETHIL

Now, it will at once be seen that here are not 31, but 34 letters, and that there are no runes corresponding to the letters LYO at the end of the word Mungypælyo. Mr. Stephens has simply assumed their existence.

"In six instances his readings differ from Kemble's, viz., those of the 6th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 23rd runes; of these the 6th, 13th, and 23rd, are the same rune which Kemble reads, as it is usually read, K. Stephens reads it once R, and twice U, though there is no perceptible difference in the form. The 14th he reads N; it is a form which I cannot find in any alphabet to which I have access. Kemble reads it F, as it very nearly corresponds with the Anglo-Saxon 'feoh' reversed. N twice occurs in a well-known form (Nos. 11 and 27) which adds to the improbability that No. 14 should be so read. No. 16 is the well-known form of L in all the Runic alphabets; and it is hard to guess why Mr. Stephens should read it as P.

"It therefore seems to me that Mr. Stephens' reading is of little value; nor, I must confess, do either the words into which he divides it, or the translation which he gives of them, recommend it to me; but this branch of the subject I leave in the hands of Anglo-Saxon scholars—my object being to remove mistaken readings out of the way, and to ask the attention of Irish scholars to the interpretation of the inscription.

"It may be well to remark, that Mr. Kemble was disposed to think that the four 'hagls' were to be considered as ornaments, and not as letters, and that the inscription probably began immediately after one of these; he also suggested that the rune No. 3 might be read H or K; Nos. 6 and 23, C; or, if supposed to be a blunder for No. 24, U or Y; No. 7; O; No. 12, D; Nos. 10 and 11, possibly as No. 28, E; (the connecting strokes being supposed to have been omitted, Nos. 8 and 20, N); as a Norse rune, No. 22 possibly as T, Z, or H. These, as he said, are 'all the possibilities, and some almost impossibilities.'

"Being myself ignorant of Irish, I will not venture upon any conjec-

tures; but I will merely mention, that Mr. O'Curry, on looking over Mr. Kemble's readings, which (the two 'hags' being omitted) would run—

HEOKÆLIIN MKFÆLEO ÆLIEAKRITNETHIISI

C	N	T C
U		Z U
Y		HY

remarked that the latter part, KRITNETH IISI, seemed to approach very closely to Irish words meaning 'made this,' but that he could not make out to his satisfaction any Irish proper names in the first part of the inscription.

"The material of which the plates of the casket are composed is neither ivory nor the tusk of the narwhal, but bone of a somewhat coarse and open structure, probably the bone of some cetaceous animal.

"Bone of the same character is the material of the very remarkable casket with runic inscriptions which Mr. A. W. Franks, Dir. Soc. Ant., exhibited and described at the Carlisle Meeting of the Archaeological Institute, and of a crozier head preserved at Goodrich Court.

"The first is certainly of Anglo-Saxon, probably Northumbrian origin. The style of ornament of the second would seem to indicate an Irish origin, but it is without inscriptions.

"The ornamentation of this casket is, as will be seen in the very accurate engravings which accompany Mr. Stephens' paper, chiefly made up of interlacing animals; but one division is filled with ornaments of that type which seems to be peculiarly Celtic, viz., 'spirals, the eye of which expands into a triple whorl' (Digby Wyatt's 'Art of Illuminating,' p. 98). In MSS. of the 7th century this Celtic style is found to the almost, if not entire, exclusion of the interlacing style; in those of the 9th, as 'The Book of Armagh,' the latter style prevails over the former. It would, therefore, seem probable that this casket dates from the 9th, 10th, or possibly 11th century.

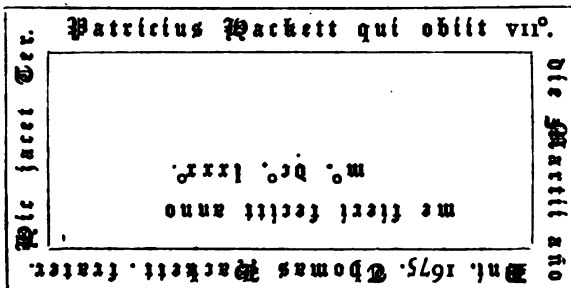
"The style of the interlacing ornament is, I think, not precisely Irish, at least it differs somewhat from the Irish style of the 12th century, but this may perhaps be due to its earlier date."

Mr. Michael Mullally, Ballycullen Mullinahone, sent the following monumental inscriptions, contributed by Mr. James Brennan, with his observations thereon. Mr. Brennan has faithfully copied the inscriptions, not correcting any rudeness in the Latin diction of the originals:—

Hic jacet Robertus et Johanna Uxor eius	Nale quiescens qui fuit Superior Fiderdiae
	Hic Robert' obiit anno Domini 1200. 1200.
	mort' ipsor' anno Domini 1200. 1200.
	mort' eius . qui m. flet fecerunt ante

"In clearing the ground at the east end of the church in Fethard, when laying the foundation of the new vault for the late Colonel Palliser, the workmen found this tomb under the surface, and, having raised it, they cleared and cleansed it; the inscription then became legible. We see by the tenor of the inscription that this Robert Nale was married to Johanna Everard, and was Sovereign of Fethard. His being connected with the noble family of the Everards, and having been invested with the high office of sovereign of Fethard, are incontestible proofs of his high rank and respectability. There is likewise an old tomb in the church-yard of Callan containing the remains of James Neale, who was Alderman and Sovereign of that town, though somewhat later than this date. Therefore, though the family of the O'Neills was cradled and had signalized themselves in Ulster, the Neals of this country had been men of high rank and distinguished merit.

"There are still several respectable families of this name spread through this country. It is traditionally recorded that Ballyneal Castle, near Carrick-on-Suir, was the residence and property of the O'Neills, and was so called from them, and they inherited all the lands in that district; and some of those families take pride in still retaining Ballyneal church-yard as their ancestral burial ground.



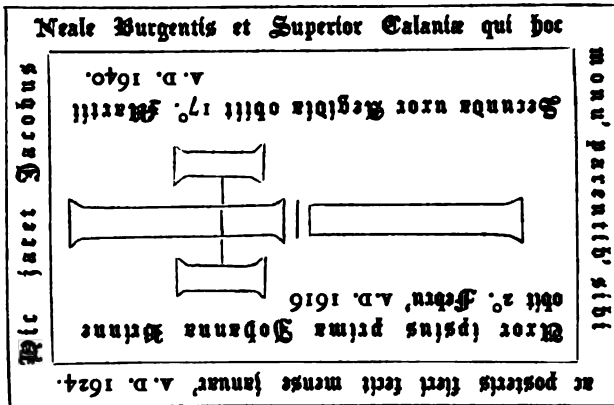
"This tomb contains the mortal remains of some of the Hacket family. They resided at Gammonstown, now Lakefield, near Fethard; all that country, with Markethill, Everard's Grange, Brookhill, &c., belonged to them; but these properties, becoming incumbered, were sold in the Landed Estates' Court. The last of the family was a shopkeeper in Moore-street, where he died in 1836, and was buried in the chapel-yard.

INOBED PBDCEM qui EKQDE.

Quarto Julii 1713.

Hic jacet exiguo magnus sub marmore Heros
 Qui forti fragiles pectore sprevit opes
 illius occulti cineres conduntur in urna
 Pauperibus mors est exteriore magis
 Sed dignus majore loco circoque minore
 Posthabito, Cæli scandis ad astra solus
 Requiescat in pace.

"This tomb lies in the church-yard of Fethard; it is beautifully polished, and of exquisite workmanship. I could not discover the names of those interred under it, nor does the inscription throw any light on the matter; the epitaph is written in pure elegiac verse, but you see the Latin diction is rude and unclassical; it is supposed to belong to the old family of the Longs, who formerly lived at Grove, near Fethard.



“ This tomb lies in the church-yard of Callan, and under it lies James Neale, who was Alderman and Sovereign of Callan ; and from the identity of name, and the similarity of office with which each was invested, I judge that he is of the same genealogical line and pedigree as Robert Neale mentioned in No. 1.”

The following communication was received from Mr. Hodder Westropp :—

"I send a few words in reply to the remarks of the Rev. Mr. Barnwell on my theory of the round towers, in regard to their analogy with the *fanaux*, or 'lanternes de morts.' His first objection is, 'the difference between the dimensions of the two kinds of monuments.' The difference in dimensions does not, I think, tend to disprove their identity of purpose, nor to destroy the analogy between the two monuments. The difference in size between a clock and a watch does not disprove their identity of purpose; besides, the difference in dimension is not so great as Mr. Barnwell would lead one to suppose; for, according to M. Chasteigner, some of the *fanaux* are over 60 feet high (20 metres). In a short article in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for November, I have endeavoured to prove the Byzantine origin of the Irish or horse shoe-shaped fibula. The original Byzantine pattern or germ is small, but the development of this same pattern in the Irish type is very large. The principle, however, of their construction, shape, and purpose, are identical.¹ In the same manner the

¹ I have, however, lately discovered some Irish fibulae, which are almost iden-

tical in size and shape to those found at Naples.

Irish round tower may be considered as a larger development, peculiar to Ireland, of the fanal, and consequently built for the same purpose. In the next place, he says, 'the fanaux were incapable of being inhabited, and were not capable of being used for defensive purposes.' If he means that the Irish towers were used for these purposes, there is no evidence that they were so. The 'cloictheachs' mentioned in Irish annals as places of refuge, and used for defensive purposes, were evidently, like the 'duirtheachs,' of wood, and consequently were frequently burned. They had no connexion with the round towers, which are of excellent masonry, and could not be easily burned. Again, he remarks, 'The fanaux are almost invariably provided with altar slabs.' This is incorrect; their being provided with altars is the exception, not the rule. The fanaux of Parigne, l'Eveque, Ciron, Colfrouin, Fenieux, Prenzac, Felletin, Estries, Montaigu, Cullent, Evrault, are not provided with altars. To some of these there is a slight projection near the door; but M. Viollet le Duc remarks that this is for the purpose of resting a ladder. He next doubts their antiquity: 'No existing fanal,' he says, 'is older than the thirteenth century.' M. Lecoindre considers them to be of very high antiquity, and to date from the earliest periods of Christianity. De Caumont assigns the end of the eleventh century as the date of the earliest known; M. Viollet le Duc is convinced of their high antiquity, as one is mentioned at the period of the battle between Clovis and Alario (sixth century) near Poitiers. M. Chasteigner is of opinion that they date from the eleventh to the fourteenth, but particularly in the twelfth century. His next objection is, the fanaux are of different shapes; 'they are as often square as round.' They are square, octagonal, hexagonal, but for the greater part round. Almost all the Irish towers are round (there is one with an hexagonal base at Kineith). This, however, may chiefly arise from constructive necessity. As the reviewer in 'The Gentleman's Magazine' has shown, the Irish in the selection of a round form for their towers must have been considerably influenced by the materials. The difficulty in squaring stones for quoins, from want of necessary tools and implements, in that early period, must have compelled them to adopt the round form alone for their towers. A further analogy between these monuments is in the number of the windows. Some of the fanaux have eight windows; the greater number four, facing the cardinal points; some only one, as in the fanal at Colfrouin: some of the Irish towers have eight windows; the greater number, four facing the cardinal points; the smaller tower at Clonmacnoise has only one window. Further, Mr. Barnwell starts a new theory, 'that the French fanaux are much more likely to have been traditional copies of the Irish prototype, than the reverse.' This is indeed going down the stream to seek the source. I do not think there is any need of bringing forward any evidence to prove that all knowledge of the Christian religion, all knowledge of Christian practices, doctrines, and customs in Ireland, must have been derived from the Continent. We also know that many of the Irish saints were foreigners, and of course importers of foreign customs. Lastly, he says, 'neither Mr. Westropp, nor the reviewer in 'The Gentleman's Magazine,' can adduce any instance of a round tower in Ireland having been built over a sepulchral chapel.'

"Mr. Barnwell seems to have totally forgotten St. Kevin's kitchen.

It is an important instance of a tower, which was evidently for a fanal, built over a sepulchral chapel. Further, there are instances of towers built on sepulchral vaults. The towers at Oughterard and Londonderry are both built on sepulchral vaults. They are thus described by Miss Beaufort:—‘Some towers stand upon a sort of crypt or vaulted excavation; at Oughterard, county of Kildare, is one so supported; and at Londonderry the tower is placed upon an excavated mound, vaulted and lined with stone.’ This last tower was thirty-five feet high, and is therefore an instance of an Irish tower of about the average height of the fanal. To further confirm my view, I may here quote the high authority of Mr. Ferguson, in a letter to myself:—

“I have read with attention your paper on the round towers, and feel convinced that you have hit on a true analogy, and one that throws more light on the subject than any that has yet been suggested.”

“With regard to the crosses Mr. Barnwell remarks, ‘the crosses he alludes to are those mentioned by de Caumont, and more usually known as Calvaries.’ Here he is entirely mistaken. Calvaries are crosses by the road side, or at the meetings of roads. The crosses mentioned by de Caumont are not Calvaries; they are crosses of cemeteries (the article in de Caumont is so headed, and there is no mention of Calvaries); and are to be found in cemeteries alone—a very important analogy to Irish crosses, which are always found in cemeteries alone.”

The Rev. John O’Hanlon sent the following, in continuation of his former Papers on the same subject:—

“In the Catalogue of the Ordnance Survey MSS., the following illustrative materials for the counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh, Monaghan, and Cavan, are found: 1. TYRONE.—I. Names and Descriptions from Down Survey.—(See Ulster, vol. ii.) II. Extracts.²—(See page 33.) III. Name Books, 57. IV. Name Sheets, 44. V. Parish and Barony Names, included in Name Sheets. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. County Index to Names on Ordnance Maps. VIII. List of Local Names from Inquisitions, 4. IX. Memoir Papers. (See detailed list annexed.) X. Sketches of Antiquities, 7.³ 2. FERMANAGH.—I. Names from Down Survey. (See Ulster, vol. ii.) II. Extracts, one volume.⁴ (See also page 33.⁵ Rough Index of Places to Irish part of do. not arranged). III. Letters, one volume.¹ IV. Name Books, 54. V. Name Sheets, 23. VI.

¹ Already noticed in the paper, under county Down Ordnance Survey MSS., Jan. 1862.

² At present, supposed to be preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. There are no antiquarian or descriptive topographical letters, in connexion with this county, which was one of the earliest surveyed by the Ordnance Survey staff.

³ Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

⁴ Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

⁵ This refers to a MS. book of extracts from the British Museum, Lambeth, Oxford, and Bodleian Libraries, now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. It contains matter referring to Tyrone and Fermanagh; also, to a large folio MS. written by O’Donovan and O’Reilly, in 1830. This latter is preserved in the Ordnance Survey Office. It has also matter relating to Tyrone and Fermanagh. The contents of both those MSS. have been already described in a preceding volume of this ‘Journal.’

Parish and Barony Names, one sheet in vol. A. VII. Memorandums, one volume. VIII. Memoir Papers. (See detailed list annexed.) IX. County Index to Names on Maps, one volume. X. Sketches of Antiquities, 2.³ 3. MONAGHAN.—I. Names from Down Survey. (See Ulster, vol. ii.) II. Extracts, bound up with letters. (See also page 33.) III. Letters, one volume, including Armagh. IV. Name Books, 50. V. Parish and Barony Names, one sheet, in vol. A. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. Index to Names on Ordnance Maps, one volume. VIII. Memoir Papers. (See detailed list annexed.) IX. Name Sheets, 22. 4. CAVAN.—I. Names from Down Survey. (See Ulster, vol. i.) II. Extracts, one volume, including those for Leitrim.³ III. Commonwealth Survey, by baronies, parishes, and townlands, giving the area of each townland separately in poles, $\frac{1}{2}$ poles, and $\frac{1}{4}$ poles. (In Common Place Book.⁴) IV. Letters, one volume (with Leitrim.⁵) V. Name Books, 63. VI. Barony and Parish Names, one volume. VII. County Index to Maps, one volume. VIII. Registry of voters, and other county papers, 17. IX. Memoir Papers. (See detailed list annexed.) X. Memorandums, one volume.

"1. TYRONE.—I. *Names and Descriptions from Down Survey*. The reader is referred to the general description already given, when treating on the county of Down Ordnance Survey MSS., Ulster, vol. ii.

"II. *Extracts*.—After a careful search for these Extracts in the Royal Irish Academy, I cannot find any separate volume in which they are contained. It is probable, however, these Extracts may be bound up with the materials for illustrating other counties.

"III. *Name Books*.—They number 58 in the parcel, although catalogued 57. The reason of this is, because a Londonderry Name Book in part is connected with a Tyrone Name Book; and this happens to be included in the Tyrone collection. These books are uniform with what have been already described.

"IV. *Name Sheets*. V. *Parish and Barony Names*.—These number 44 in the catalogue, but on counting them I only find 41; it is, however, probable, there are two sheets included under one cover, in a few instances. The general description given, when treating on the county of Down MSS., will apply to these large folio sheets. As already stated by the catalogue, the *Parish and Barony Names* are included in the Name Sheets.

"VI. *Memorandums*.—This is a medium-sized 4to. volume of 371 numbered pages, many of which are blank. It has an index of four double-columned pages prefixed. It resembles volumes under the same heading already frequently described.

"VII. *County Index to Names on Ordnance Maps*.—A folio volume of fifty-four thick leaves, comprising townland, barony and parish names, with their respective superficial areas.

"VIII. *List of Local Names from Inquisitions*.—These four stitched thin folio books comprise alphabetical lists of townland names, taken from the Ulster Inquisitions. The list relating to the barony of Omagh contains only four double-columned pages. The list referring to the barony

¹ Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

of Strabane contains twenty pages, do. The list relating to the barony of Clogher comprises six double-columned pages, and one whole column on another page. The list for the barony of Dungannon contains twenty-nine double-columned pages. The dates of the Inquisitions are placed in connexion with the several denominations, on separate slips of paper pasted on each leaf; and all are, of course, extracted from the printed Inquisitions of Ulster.

"IX. *Memoir Papers*.—On referring to the detailed list annexed, I find the following parishes named, as having separate Memoir Papers, viz.: Aghaloo, Aghalurcher, Ardstraw, Artrea, Badony Upper, Ballyclog, Clogher, Clonoe, Desertcreat, Donacavey, Donaghedy, Donagherry, Drumglass, Kildress, Killeeshil, Killyman, Kilakeery, Lissan, Longfield (West), Pomeroy, Tamlaght O'Crilly, Termonamongan, Tullyniskin, Urney and Ardstraw (skirts of). These are all noticed, as having been received from Captain Leach, R. E., Oct. 1851. They are preserved in press 7 of the waiting room. For other materials in reference to Tyrone, the reader is referred to this "Journal," vol. iv., the *note* (2) p. 244, under the description of county Antrim Records.

"X. *Sketches of Antiquities*.¹—I find the following sketches referring to Tyrone, viz.:—1. Ardstraw parish—Baron's Court Castle, an ink sketch. 2. Clonfeacle parish, Benburb Castle, a most beautiful ink sketch. 3. Desertcreat parish, Loughery Demesne, 'Giant's Grave,' a pencil sketch. 4. A different drawing of the 'Giant's Grave,' pencil sketch. 5. A ground plan of the 'Giant's Grave,' ink sketch. 6. A summer house, in which Dean Swift is said to have written a number of his works, in the demesne of John Lindesay, Esq., Loughery, pencil sketch. 7. Ground plan and section of the Ulster Fort, townland of Ballymulley, parish of Desertcreat, ink sketch. 8. Plan and section of 'the Black Fort,' townland of Muntober, parish of Kildress, ink sketch. 9. Remains of Kildress Bridge, Kildress parish, pencil sketch. 10. Strabane Glen, Leckpatrick parish, pencil sketch. 11. Carrick a Ness, from above the falls, West Longfield parish, pencil sketch. 12. Standing Stone called Clough-cor, parish of Pomeroy, townland of Lisnagleer, ink sketch. 13. In one sheet, the shields and crests of the families of Irwin, Templeton, Byrne, Baillie, Dawson, Byrne and O'Hagen—the shields only of Wilson, Lecky, and McLaughlin, as depicted on different tablets in churches or grave-yards, ink sketches. 14. In one sheet, shields and crests of the families of Morrison, Swan, Boyd, Young and Kennedy; besides these, a faintly traced device of the McNeish or McNeece family; all in Tullyniskin, or Benburb churches, ink sketch. Most of these sketches appear to have been executed by George V. Du Noyer; they are elegantly, and, as may be presumed from his usual habit, correctly executed.

"2. FERMANAGH.—I. *Names from Down Survey*. The reader is referred to a description of contents in Ulster, vol. ii., where matter relating to Fermanagh will be found. See this "Journal," p. 15, and *note* (2), where the subject occurs when treating on materials for illustration of the county Down.

¹ These sketches are now preserved in a large oblong and well bound book,

kept in the MS. department of the Royal Irish Academy.

"II. *Extracts*.—There are fifty-one loose folio leaves of rough Index of Places to Irish part of Fermanagh. They are tied under blue wrapping paper, and preserved in the Ordnance Survey Office. On an average, each leaf contains sixteen names of places, for the most part in English, although on a few leaves, the corresponding Irish denominations are postfixed, and in the Irish character. It is all in Anthony O'Curry's¹ handwriting.² The MS. extracts *proper* are contained in one medium-sized 4to volume of 257 numbered pages. The matter is selected from the 'Annals of the Four Masters;' Archdall; Colgan; Inquisitions in the time of James I., Charles I. and II.; a particular Survey of the county of Fermanagh, called Maguire's Country, in the time of James I.; Dispensation from the Pope for the marriage of Roger Maguire, Lord Enniskillen; 'Stuart's Memoir of the City of Armagh.' An Index Nominum et Locorum of thirteen pages precedes these extracts.

"III. *Letters*.—They are contained in one medium-sized 4to volume. The following are the letters, comprising 137 numbered pages, illustrating the antiquities of Fermanagh. The dates of writing :—Enniskillen, Oct. 10th, 1834, Friday evening; Enniskillen, Oct. 12th; Oct. 15th; Oct. 16th; Oct. 17th, Friday; Oct. 20th, Monday; Oct. 21st, Tuesday—all the foregoing written at Enniskillen, by John O'Donovan. The next in order, dated Derrygonnelly, Oct. 22nd, Oct. 25th. The next in order, Castle-Caldwell, Oct. 30th; Kesh, county of Fermanagh (a copy of Mr. O'Donovan's letter in the elegant handwriting of Myles J. O'Reilly)³, Oct. 31st—it is signed John O'Donovan; a letter from Myles John O'Reilly, Heath House, to John O'Donovan, dated 9th Nov., 1834; Kesh, Oct. 31st; Enniskillen, Nov. 4th, Nov. 6th, Nov. 8th, Nov. 10th (no local address); Belturbet, Nov. 12th; Enniskillen, Nov. 15th; Tempo, Nov. 17th, Monday; Nov. 18th; Newtown-Butler, Friday, Nov. 19th; Saturday, Nov. 20th; Maguire's Bridge, Nov. 20th, Saturday; Enniskillen, Nov. 24th; Nov. 24th (this latter has appended, Monday night, 11 o'clock); Dec. 24th, 1834 (no local address); Feb. 27th, 1835 (no local address); March 16th, March 26th; April 17th, and another note, undated (no local address). A letter on Devenish ruins, written by a gentleman, named Loftus, as appears to me, with a very rough trace of the round tower, and admeasurements, with a coloured trace of the county of Fermanagh, close this MS. volume.⁴ It is preceded by an index of 20 methodically compiled pages.

"IV. *Name Books*.—These number 54, similar in size and contents to those already described.

"V. *Name Sheets*.—On counting these in the parcel we only find 22, although 23 are numbered on the catalogue. In matter and contents, they resemble others already described, under this heading.

"VI. *Parish and Barony Names*.—There is only one sheet in volume A, which has been already described, when treating of the Louth and

¹ This gentleman is brother to the late eminent Professor, Eugene O'Curry, and at present one of the secretaries to the Chamber of Commerce, Dublin.

² The foregoing Index is kept in the Ordnance Survey Office.

³ Heath House, near Maryborough, Queen's County.

⁴ With the exception of two letters, all the rest are from the pen of Mr. O'Donovan, and contain some humorous incidents of his biography.

Armagh Ordnance Survey Records. It is signed at the end, John O'Donovan, and contains a settlement of the proper orthography for each place named therein, by that great Irish scholar.

"VII. *Memorandums*.—This is a medium-sized 4to volume of 418 numbered pages, containing many fragmentary pieces. Several observations are in the late John O'Donovan's handwriting.

"VIII. *Memoir Papers*.—It is only necessary to refer to the account given of miscellaneous matters, in note (2), pp. 241 to 244, in the Fourth vol. of this 'Journal.' Whatever relates to illustrations of Fermanagh county will be found therein noticed. There are two printed lists of county voters tied up with this parcel.

"IX. *Index to Names on Maps*.—A folio volume of 61 thick leaves, containing townland, barony and parish names, with their respective superficial admeasurements. It resembles all the other volumes of this denomination, in plan and arrangement.

"X. *Sketches of Antiquities*.—There are no sketches of Monaghan bound up, in the series of drawings preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. Unless the two sketches mentioned in the catalogue, as belonging to this county, be found mixed amongst the Memoir Papers, it is not easy to discover where they can be placed. It is hardly possible, that the rough sketch and map trace, already mentioned amongst the letters, can be the sketches alluded to in this catalogue.

"3. MONAGHAN.—I. *Names from Down Survey*. In the Ulster vol. ii., the usual description of matter relating to the county of Monaghan will be found. It is only necessary to consult a paper on the county of Down, in vol. iv., p. 16, of this 'Journal,' where mention of Monaghan occurs.

"II. *Extracts, bound up with Letters*. III. *Letters, one vol., including Armagh*. The catalogue refers us to page 33, where we find notice of matter relating to this county in *Extracts from the British Museum, Lambeth, Oxford, and Bodleian Libraries*, a MS. already described in detail. The reader will also discover, amongst the Memoir Papers received from Captain Leach, R. E., Oct. 1851, accounts of the following parishes in this county, viz. :—Clontibret, Donagh, Errigal Keerogue, Errigal Trough, Killanny, Kilmore, Magheracloon, Monaghan county (diagrams of), Monaghan parish, Tedavnet, Tehallan. Again it will be necessary to refer the reader to the note (2), p. 244, vol. iv. of this 'Journal,' where an account of additional Memoir Papers will be found.¹ The extracts and letters are at present bound together in one volume, and are kept in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. They have been already alluded to in detail, at pp. 311, 312, vol. iv. of this 'Journal' to which number the reader is referred.

"IV. *Name Books*.—In number 50. Similar in size and contents to those already described.

"V. *Parish and Barony Names*.—They are all contained in one wide folded sheet, inserted in Vol. A, which has been already noticed under our account of Louth and Armagh Ordnance Survey Records. J. O'Do-

¹ All the foregoing papers are preserved in the Ordnance Survey Office,

Phoenix Park, in presses within the Library.

novan's name is affixed to the orthographies, designed for engraving on the maps.

"VI. *Memorandums*.—This is a thin 4to volume of 240 numbered pages. It contains letters, notes and map tracings.

"VII. *Index to Names on Ordnance Maps*.—A folio volume of 48 thick leaves. It contains townland, barony and parish names, with their superficial admeasurements. In size and arrangement it is similar to other MSS. in the same series.

"VIII. *Memoir Papers*.—I find 22 different *cahiers* of Memoir Papers for this county. They contain, for the most part, statistical matter, arranged under the heading of its different parishes. There are also many rough traces of objects, with occasional antiquarian notes. I have already indicated the pages of this 'Journal,' where the names of these several parishes are given. The Memoir Papers are similar in size, shape and contents, to those noticed, when treating on the county of Down Records.

"IX. *Name Sheets*.—These number 22 very large sized folio *cahiers*. They resemble those already described under the same denominations, and are all stitched under blue paper covers.

"There are no separate Sketches of Antiquities, to illustrate the natural and artificial features of this county.

"4. CAVAN.—I. *Names from Down Survey*.—Reference to the Ulster vol. i. will give the MS. materials, under this heading. The reader is again referred to this 'Journal,' page 15, for January, 1862, where allusion occurs in relation to it, when treating on the county of Down Ordnance Survey Records.

"II. *Extracts*.—The matter collected to illustrate this county is found in a medium-sized 4to MS. volume of 365 pages, lettered on the back, *Breifny Extracts*. Whatever relates to this ancient territory appears to have been taken almost solely from Colgan and 'Annals of the Four Masters.' There is one short extract from Shane O'Dugan's 'Topographical Poem.' No index is affixed to this volume; but we are notified, on its title page, that information contained therein, relative to the Antiquities of the counties of Cavan and Leitrim, (Breifny), was collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey, in 1836.

"III. *Commonwealth Survey by Baronies, Parishes and Townlands*.—This is a 4to tract of 67 closely written pages. The townlands in the several baronies and parishes are marked off in poles, half-poles, and quarter-poles, with the value of the lands and proprietors' names given. There is a note of Mr. Fowler, of the Record Office, prefixed, and dated July 16th, '35. This gentleman is of opinion, that this document was copied from a 'book made about the time of the Act of Settlement.' He also refers to a letter of Mr. Hardinge, of the Record Office, Custom House Buildings, Dublin, the same date, for a confirmation of his opinion. 'The original Book,' says Mr. Hardinge, 'if an original one, as I suspect, may have been used by the Commissioners for carrying the Acts of Settlement and Explanation into effect in 1665, for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of lands in the possession of adventurers and soldiers, and guiding the retrenchments by said Acts,' &c. This MS. was copied at the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin, in July, 1835, by William Mooney, Civil Assistant. It formed a portion of one of the *Common Place Books*, already

described in note (2), under the MS. materials for the county of Louth, contained in the No. of this 'Journal,' for July, 1858.

"IV. *Letters*.—One volume, bound up with Leitrim Letters. These contain information, relative to antiquities of the counties of Cavan and Leitrim, the district anciently known as Breifny. This information was collected, during the progress of the Ordnance Survey, in 1836. An Index, of 71 closely written and correctly arranged pages, precedes this volume of Letters, which has many Extracts bound up with it, to illustrate these Letters. A note of M. J. O'Reilly, dated August 16th, 1836, precedes. This MS. contains 371 pages in 4to. The following are places and dates for this series of Letters, viz.:—Cavan, May 11th; Belurbet, May 14th, Saturday; Cavan, May 19th; May 19th (Thursday); May 21st, May 22nd, (Sunday); another letter, no date or place given; Virginia, May 25th; Ballyjamesduff, May 25th; Cavan, May 27th; Cavan, May 28th, 30th; Killyshandra, June 1st, 3rd; Killycolly, or Bailieborough, June 5th, 6th, 8th, 8th, 9th, 9th; Mohill, June 10th, 13th, 14th, 18th, 22nd. All the foregoing letters were written by John O'Donovan. Next follows a letter, written by Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, Dublin, dated June 23rd, or 24th—for it has both dates—1836. Next come Mr. O'Donovan's letters in the following order:—Mohill, June 24th, 26th, (Sunday); 27th (Monday); July 1st. All the foregoing are written by Mr. O'Donovan. Next follow several pages, apparently in Mr. O'Connor's handwriting, with some notes of Mr. O'Donovan interspersed. A letter of Mr. O'Donovan, dated 21, Great Charles-street, Sept. 9th. Amongst those letters, we discover maps on tracing paper; some observations of Myles J. O'Reilly, with the extracts, chiefly from Colgan, Lanigan, 'Annals of the Four Masters,' Giraldus Cambrensis, McFirbis's pedigrees, &c.

"V. *Name Books*.—They number 63, and in all respects are similar to those, already so frequently mentioned.

"VI. *Barony and Parish Names*.—Except in size, this MS. is very similar in arrangement to the Name Books. In fact it is a Name Book, with additional portions of paper pasted on, to lengthen the leaves into a quarto form. It is stitched under a thick cover in boards. A list of authorities for baronies and parishes will be found, folded in a large sheet, at the end of this MS. It forms, of course, a very thin volume.

"VII. *County Index to Maps*.—A large folio volume of 73 thick leaves. It contains townland, barony and parish names, with their respective superficial admeasurements. In plan and arrangement, it resembles all the other volumes, belonging to the same series. These volumes bear evidence of having been often used; but all the leaves are in a good state of preservation, although somewhat soiled.

"VIII. *Registry of Voters, and other County Papers*.—These are in number 17, and are tied together in a separate parcel. They are all printed; and from their denomination, the nature of contents, and exact value for purposes of reference, can be easily ascertained.

"IX. *Memoir Papers*.—There are only 5 Memoir Papers for parishes of this county, mentioned in note (2), p. 243, vol. iv. of this 'Journal.' They are stitched under strong brown wrappers, and resemble other materials thus designated.

"X. *Memorandums*.—A medium-sized 4to volume of 330 numbered pages, with an index of 5 pages prefixed. It contains notes, scraps and traces inserted.

"There are no special artistic sketches, to illustrate the scenery or antiquities of this county.

"The present contribution, to the 'Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society,' closes the list of materials in MS., which are necessary for the statistical, scenic and antiquarian description of Ulster, as preserved, either in the Ordnance Survey Office, or in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy."

Mr. Prim brought under the notice of the meeting the fact of his having been informed that, during last autumn, a portion of the old building which had formed the fortified residence, or mansion house, of the old feudal proprietors of Kells, county of Kilkenny, and which one of them in a charter to the burgesses of that town had designated "his Castle," had been demolished, for the purpose of using the materials for repairing the roads. It was a very interesting structure, as, so far as he was aware, it was the only specimen of that class of building in Ireland; but many baronial residences of the same kind existed in England and Wales. The people of the locality were not aware of the object or history of the structure, and hence probably their carelessness as to its preservation; but he was sure Mr. Thomas Belcher, on whose land it was situated, had not been a consenting party to this act. At the time of erecting the chapel of Kells, a portion of the old building had been removed to make room for it; but still comparatively little injury had been done till the demolition of some twenty feet of the wall, reported to him as having taken place last autumn.

It was resolved that the Secretaries should communicate with Mr. Belcher, and request him to interfere for the prevention of any further injury to the ancient structure referred to.

The following Papers were contributed :—

NOTES ON SOME PECULIARITIES IN ANCIENT AND MEDÆVAL IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

BY GEORGE VICTOR DU NOYER, M. R. I. A.

WHEN Christianity was promulgated in Ireland, in the fifth century, its immediate professors erected, here and there over the country, a very remarkable class of buildings called Oratories; and

of these many yet remain in the remote western parts of the county of Kerry, and in some of the islands off the west coast.

These structures are small, and almost invariably rectangular in plan, though one of them, on Church Island, in Lough Currane, at Waterville, in the county of Kerry, is rectangular within, but of a broad oval shape without. They are built of dry masonry, the stones being carefully fitted together, and sometimes bearing indications of having been dressed. The walls, which are usually without foundations, are very thick, and those forming the sides of the building converge rapidly from the ground, each stone overlapping the one beneath it, till the edifice was closed at the apex by a row of single blocks. In one instance the gable walls converge almost as much as the sides, thus giving to the structure a singularly quaint appearance. The doorways, which are invariably flat-headed, with converging sides, are placed in the gable facing westward, the lintels and sills being formed of very large blocks. The gables facing eastwards are pierced by a small window or narrow loop, which in one instance is semicircular-headed.

The learned Dr. Petrie, in his "Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland," has made the archæological world acquainted with two varieties of this primitive church, in his description and illustrations of the Oratory at Gallerus, near the southern shore of Smerwick Harbour, in the county of Kerry; and of that on Church Island, in Lough Currane, which latter building he has identified as the house (or Church) of St. Finan Cam, who lived in the sixth century.¹

Dr. Petrie, in describing the Oratory at Gallerus, says that:—

"It measures externally twenty-three feet long, by ten broad, and is sixteen feet high on the outside to the apex of the pyramid. The doorway, which is placed, as is usual in all our ancient churches, in its west end wall, is five feet seven inches high, two feet four inches wide at the base, and one foot nine inches at the top; and the walls are four feet in thickness at the base. It is lighted by a single [semicircular-headed] window in its east side; and each of the gables was terminated by small stone crosses, only the sockets of which now remain. . . . I am strongly inclined to believe that they [the Oratories] may be even more ancient than the period assigned for the conversion of the Irish generally by their great Apostle Patrick."

At page 346 of the same work, allusion is made to another Oratory close to the old church of Kilmalkedar, and at the distance of about one mile north of that already mentioned at Gallerus; and as this building is remarkably singular, and very probably of greater age than the former, I wish to direct special attention to it.

¹ See Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 130. For an illustration of the flat-headed doorway of Gallerus, see also the work now quoted, p. 160.

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Primitive Irish Church, Kilmalkedar, Co. Kerry.

The accompanying plate gives a view of this unique building, as seen from the S. W., and is taken from the summit of the original and nearly circular termon wall surrounding it. Subjoined is a plan of this building, (Fig. 1).

It will be seen that the gables converge almost as abruptly as the side walls, the junction of both being suggested by the dotted lines, and in this respect it differs from the Oratory at Gallerus.

The masonry is formed of large splintery flakes of the grey grit of the district, the interstices between the stones being filled with small fragments, the whole most carefully put together, and forming a very solid wall; a narrow plinth passes along the base of the east gable, but does not extend to the side walls. The window in the east gable resembles a narrow flat-headed loop, and is splayed both within and without.

The annexed wood-cut (Fig. 2) represents the interior of the east gable of this Oratory. Dr. Petrie, at page 182, gives an illustration of the exterior of the window from the east gable of Gallerus Oratory, the head of which is semi-circular, and formed out of two stones: the difference between the two opes will be at once apparent.

The internal curve of the side walls of Gallerus Oratory resembles an ordinary pointed arch; while that of the building near Kilmalkedar is of a decided ogee form.

The most singular feature of both these oratories, and that which originally suggested to me the compilation of this paper, is the occurrence of thick projecting flagstones over the interior of each doorway, pierced vertically by large holes, from which a wooden

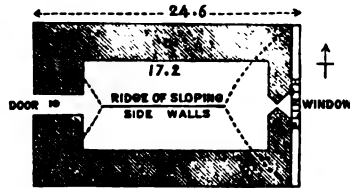


FIG. 1.

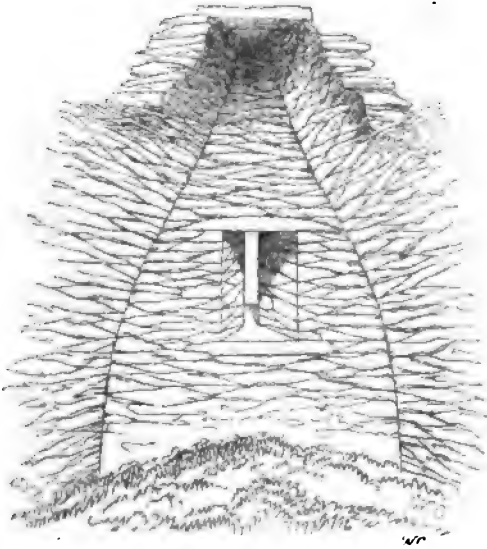


FIG. 2.

door could have been suspended. The accompanying cut (Fig. 3) shows the interior of the west doorway of Kilmalkedar Oratory.

It is obvious that, by inserting strong wooden loops into these vertical perforations, a wooden door could readily have been suspended, after the manner below illustrated (Fig. 4), such a door being, of course, most securely fastened from within. In the interior, and over the doorway of Gallerus Oratory, there are two large projecting perforated flags inserted above the lintel, which is flush with the surface of the wall, and these answered the purpose of the projecting perforated lintel just described.

The illustration on p. 31 (Fig. 5), giving the interior of the door of Gallerus Oratory, shows this construction, with a restoration of the wooden door.

In all the ruined churches of the 8th to the 12th century, which I have had an opportunity of examining over the southern portion of Ireland, there is unmistakable evidence to show that the doors were fastened from within: for example, the doorway of the old church of Agha, near Bagnalstown,

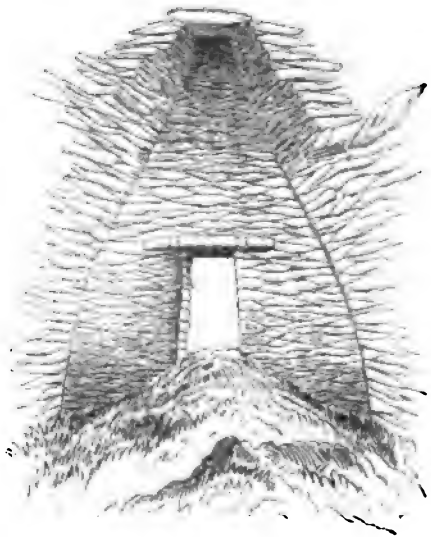


FIG. 3.

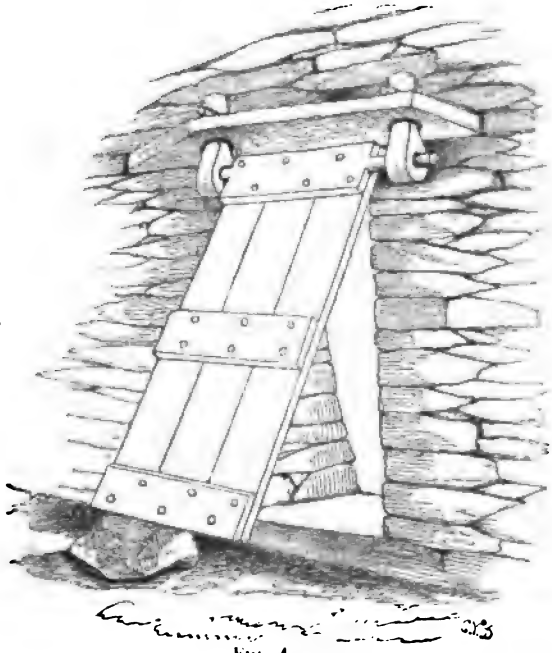


FIG. 4.

in the county of Carlow, a work of the 8th or 9th century; and the richly decorated doorway of the old church of Killeslin, near Carlow, which is doubtless of the 10th or 11th century.

In the 12th and succeeding centuries many of our stone-roofed and decorated churches were constructed with a view to their being constantly inhabited. Cormac's chapel, at Cashel, for instance, has a fireplace in the croft, from which flues for receiving the heated air from the fire are conveyed all round the side walls on a level with the floor, the apartment being lighted by windows in the south side wall just below the spring of the roof: and the date of this building has been determined by Dr. Petrie, in the work already quoted, at the year 1127. It was consecrated A. D. 1134. See "Round Towers," p. 283, &c.

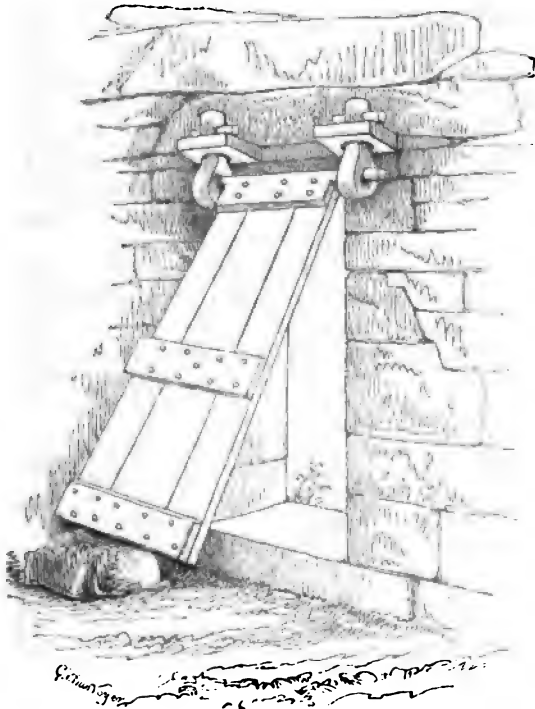


FIG. 5.

The ruined church at Donaghmore, between Clonmel and Fethard in the county of Tipperary, which the late Dr. O'Donovan assured me was a building of the 12th century, was also constructed to answer the purpose of a dwelling house,—the habitable portion being over the stone-roofed chancel, to which access was by a ladder from the body of the church through a doorway directly over the choir arch.

From the foregoing observations it would appear that the primitive, and doubtless venerated custom, which permitted the ecclesiastics to reside within their churches, became after the lapse of centuries so essentially a matter of duty, that eventually the church architects of the 13th and 14th centuries almost invariably made distinct provision for its exercise, with as much regard to the per-

sonal comfort of the ecclesiastics at would be consistent with the preservation of the sacred character of the edifice, and its insurance from any accidental desecration.

In illustration of this curious fact, I shall select a few well-marked examples out of many which I could bring forward.

The ruined chapel of St. Catherine, which was erected within the precincts of an ancient earthen embankment, which cuts off the extremity of a small promontory on the shore of Nook Bay, to the north of Ballyhack, in the county of Wexford, is a striking example of the peculiar kind of church architecture to which I allude. The style of this building, as will appear by the accompanying plate, is late decorated, and we may therefore suppose its date to be the middle of the 14th century.

The walls of this building are massive, and batter from their base, to the height of four or five feet ; and they terminate in a projecting parapet. The east gable is pierced by a flat-headed window of two lights, terminating in simple but graceful cusped tracery of flamboyant character, of the exterior of which the accompanying cut is a correct illustration (Fig. 6). At either side of this window there is a peep hole, which originally commanded a view of the land approach to the place.¹

The north doorway is equilateral pointed, the arch being formed of two large stones, the angles of which, and those at the sides of the doorway being chamfered as low down as the commencement of the batter.

On the exterior of the wall, to the left of this doorway near the springing of its arch, and at the height of about six feet from the ground, there is a small tricusped niche, which, from its peculiar position, would lead one to suppose that it was intended to receive a lantern to act as a beacon to vessels passing over the neighbouring portion of the Waterford estuary. On the opposite side of the doorway, and just beneath the string course of the parapet, there is a small window, by means of which parley

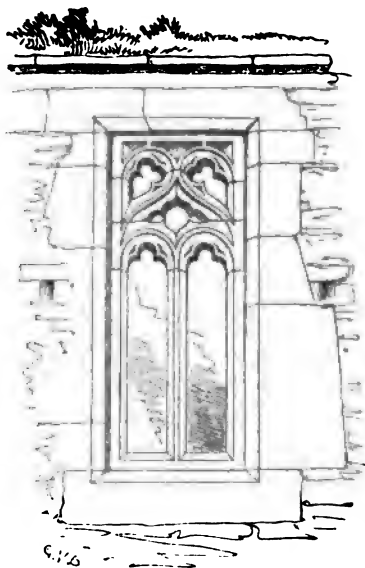


FIG. 6.

¹ St. Catherine's is not unique in this respect ; the fashion of constructing peep holes in the east gable, and some-

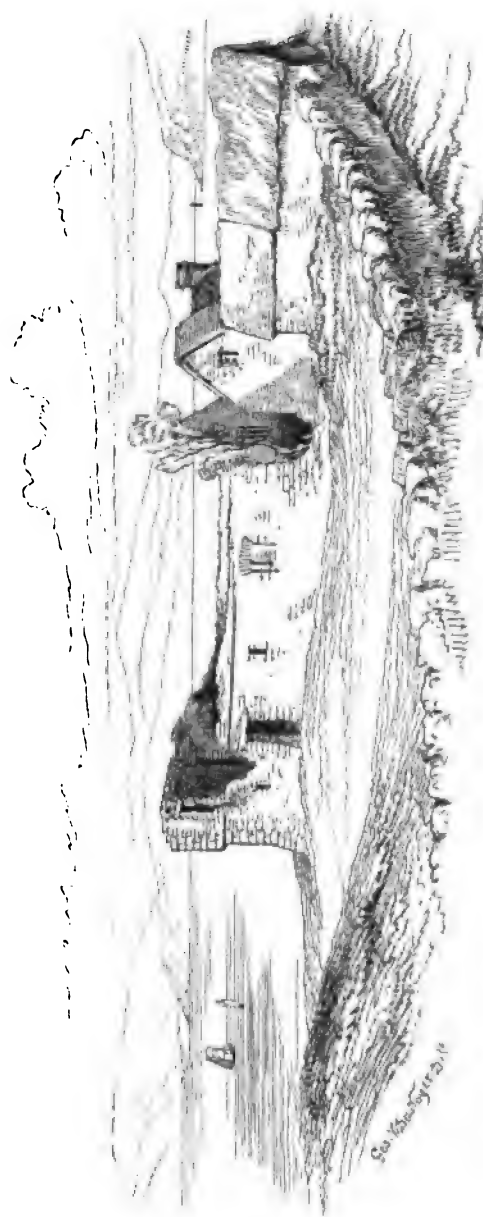
times in the side walls of 14th century churches, appears to have been very prevalent in Ireland.

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St. Catherine's Chapel, Nook, Co. Wexford.

could have been held with any one at the door. We here give a view of this doorway, (Fig. 7), with its lantern niche and window.

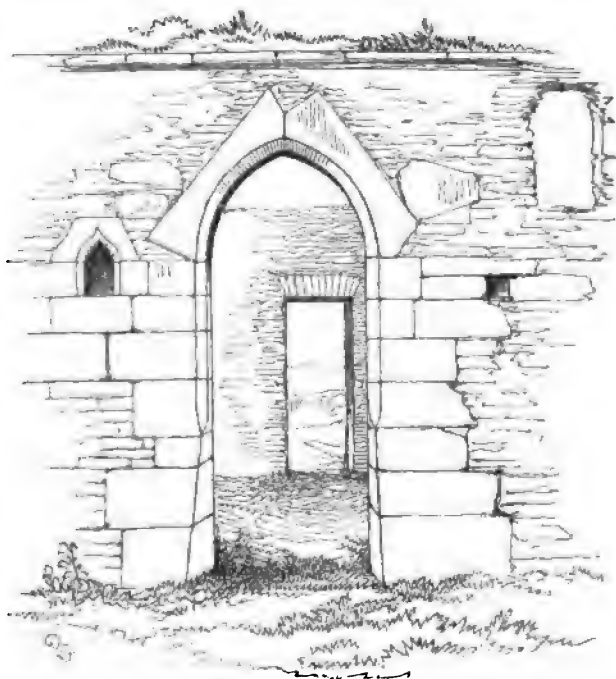


FIG. 7.

The doorway in the south wall, which is seen in the view through that in the north wall, is flat arched in the interior, but is surmounted by a massive single lintel externally, as is seen in the plate at p. 32, *supra*.

What gives this little church such peculiar interest is the fact, that a small portion of its west end has been designedly constructed so as to answer all the purposes of a dwelling house, and which was evidently separated from the sacred portion of the building by a wooden partition, or possibly a thin wall, and was divided by a wooden floor into a basement and upper story, as will be clearly understood by the view on next page (Fig. 8). We have here presented to us some very novel features in church architecture. In the left-hand corner, at the base of the gable wall, an arched recess has been constructed to receive a bed or shallow cupboard, most probably the former; and near it, in the south side wall, is a small loop for lighting this lower apartment; at the opposite corner of the gable there is a narrow flat-headed doorway, leading to a flight of steps con-

structed in the thickness of the gable wall, which conducts to the doorway raised above the ground, and near the centre of the gable, which allowed access to the second floor. The stairs are prolonged

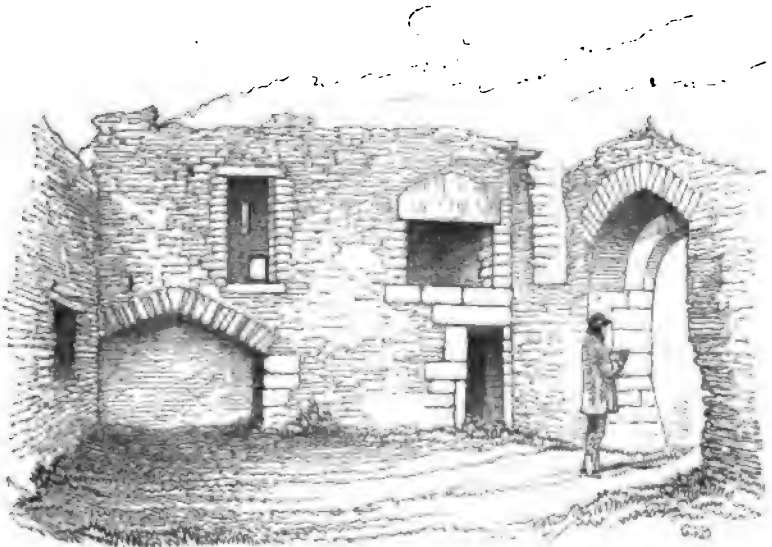


FIG. 8.

to the parapet of the south side wall, access to which is by a door in the wall of the gable. Above the lower doorway, in the west gable, there is a fire-place intended to heat the upper floor, which was lighted by the small window close to the doorway in the south wall, and to which allusion has been already made. The stairs were lighted by three small square apertures and a loop in the outer shell of the gable.

Annexed is given a plan of this church, (Fig. 9), which will clearly explain the architectural peculiarities just described.

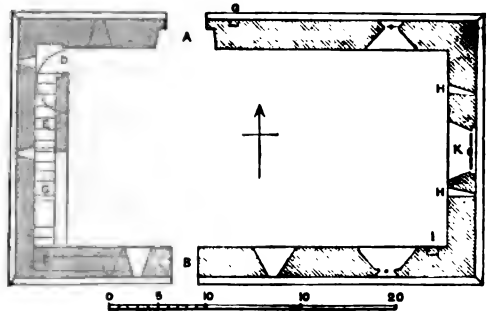


FIG. 9.

- A. Main doorway in north wall. B. Small doorway in south wall. C. Recess in west gable. D. Doorway to stairs in thickness of west gable, with fire-place above, indicated by the semicircular line. E. Stairs to doorway of upper floor, and to the parapet of the south wall. F. Doorway to parapet. G. Small niche for lantern. H. H. Peep holes, commanding land approach to the church. I. Aumbrey. K. East window.

It is probable that the doorway in the south wall was the private entrance to the non-sacred portion of the building, of which the annexed illustration supplies a probable restoration.

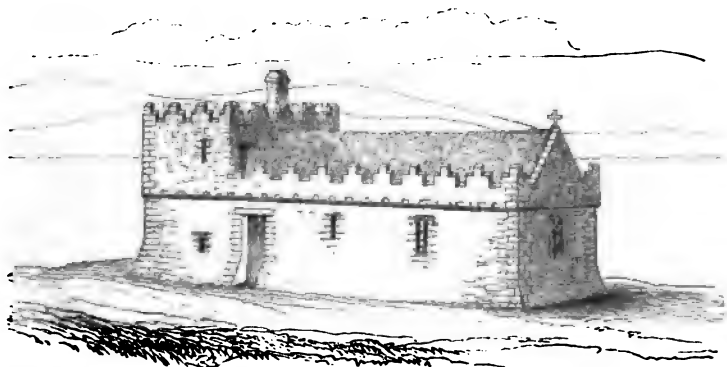


FIG. 10.

The next example to which I shall direct attention is that of the old church of Castle Gregory, in the county of Kerry, which, from its architectural features, appears to have been constructed at the close of the 13th, or the beginning of the 14th century, and it presents some marked peculiarities which bear strongly on the point I am discussing. It was originally a simple rectangular building, having the walls widely parapeted, and well drained by long gurgioles. Near the centre of the south side-wall, at its external face, there is a large chimney-like projection rising from the ground, and terminating at the parapet, where its use as a *necessarium* is very evident; and on the opposite wall is a similar hollow projection, the use of which is not apparent, unless it was constructed as a mask to conceal the object of the other.

At some time subsequent to the original construction of this church it appears that the accommodation as a dwelling afforded by its western end was not sufficient for the purpose intended. A small massive square tower was therefore erected at the south-east angle of the church, access to which was from the parapet of the south wall by a narrow doorway leading to the first floor of the tower, which was on a level with it; the basement being dark, and probably used as a store-room. From this apartment, a circular stairs, constructed in the thickness of the wall, led to the roof of the tower.

The east window of this church is a single light of the lancet form, tri cusped at top, and completely surrounded by a massive plain bead moulding.

The fourth example which I have to offer is a remarkable one,

and quite unique in Ireland, if not in Britain.¹ I allude to a fortified church, or rather castle-church, forming one of the groups of ecclesiastical ruins at Clonmines on the shore of Bannow Bay, in the county of Wexford. This singular building stands on a rise of ground adjoining the monastery, but detached from it, and when viewed from the westward quite resembles a square castle, the north-east and south-west angles of which are prolonged into small but lofty crenellated turrets.

The accompanying plate is an external view of this church. It shows the doorway in the west wall which led to the habitable portion of the building, and which is protected by a large machicolation connected with the roof. The doorway nearly facing the spectator conducts to the church, and the arched recess adjoining it may have been intended for a tomb or seat, and probably the former. Externally this church measures thirty-seven feet by twenty-six feet, the walls being five feet thick, thus imparting to it an unusual degree of strength and solidity; the parapet walls are about two feet eight thick, and are all embattled.

The east wall is pierced, at the height of about seven feet from the ground, by a small window of two pointed lights.

It is not till we enter this building that its true character and object become apparent, and we at once perceive that we are in a lofty arched room, half church and half residence. The eastern end of this room forms a square of sixteen feet six inches, and is groined with massive chamfered ribs, springing from each corner, and crossed by others, springing from the sides. This groining defines the limits of the church; the remaining western portion being simply arched, and is somewhat lower than the eastern, thus forming a flat typanum overhead, against which was laid the wooden partition which screened off the living room. The plate opposite this page affords a view of this interior, looking west, showing the corbels intended to support the floor of the gallery, and the entrance doorways to the winding stairs leading to this upper floor and roof.

In the sill of the window on the south side, is a small piscina; and in the north and south walls, at their junction with the east wall, there are small square unornamented aumbries; to the right of the door in the west wall there is a small stoop.

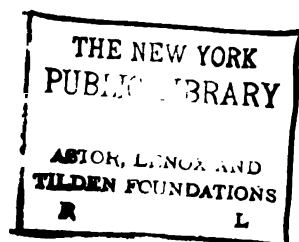
¹ It would be exceedingly interesting to Irish archæologists to be informed if churches of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, fortified after the manner of that of Clonmines, exist in Great Britain. Up to the present time no published record of such a building exists; but we know that Geoffrey Keating and Camden allude to the fact, that the parish churches of Ireland were used as dwellings before and after the Reformation.

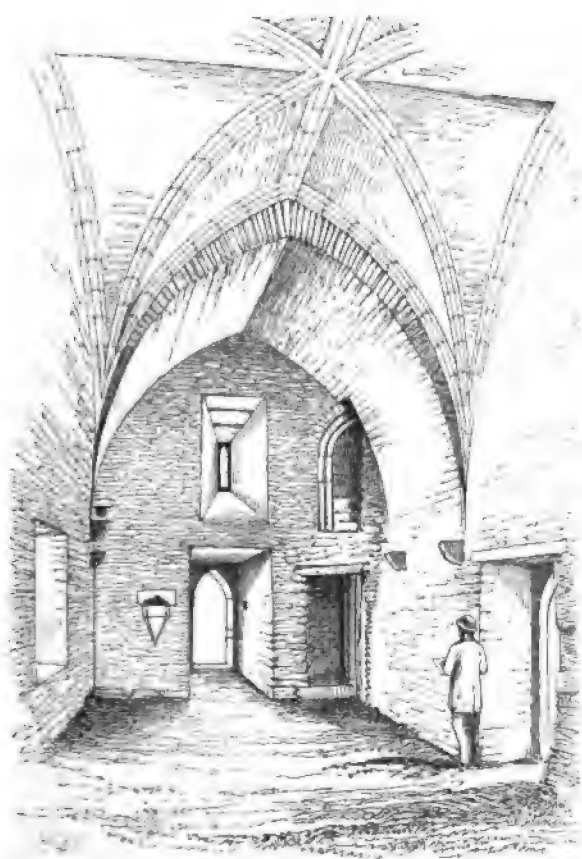
It is but justice to the author to

state that this paper has been in the hands of the Editor for over two years, its publication having been delayed in consequence of the engravings with which it is illustrated not being ready. We would urge on those landed proprietors who possess on their estates the relics of early Christian or mediæval art, the duty which they owe to society, to see that those ruins are not allowed to be wantonly destroyed, or to fall into utter decay.—ED.



Fortified Church at Clonmines, Co. Wexford.





Interior of Clonmines Church, showing west end and Corbels for Gallery.

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The annexed cuts (Figs. 12 and 13) show, respectively, the plan of the basement, and of the roof open to the air above the vault.

The turret at the north-west angle surmounts the winding stairs

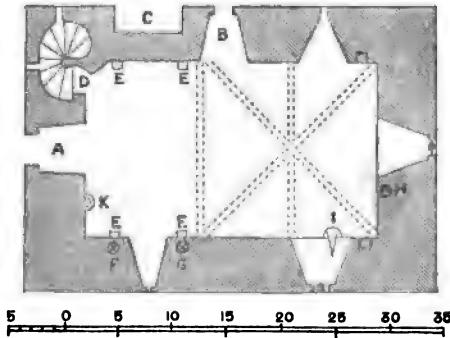


FIG. 12.

- A. Doorway in west wall. B. Doorway in north wall (to the church). C. Recess, tomb, or seat. D. Doorway to winding stairs to second floor and roof. E E E E. Corbels to support beams of second floor or gallery. F. G. H. Chrism crosses on plaster of walls. I. Piscina. K. Stoop.

at the basement floor, while that on the north-east angle has a large oven beneath it; both these turrets are flat roofed, with high and embattled parapets.

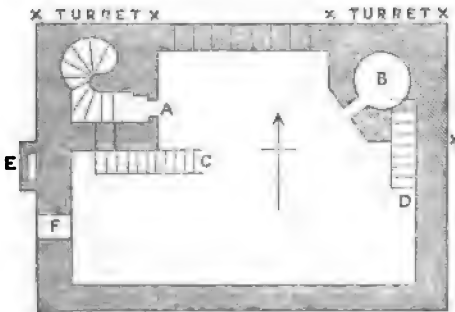


FIG. 13.

- A. Doorway to roof from winding stairs. B. Oven turret. C. Stairs to roof of turret. D. Stairs to roof turret. E. Machicolation over doorway in west wall. F. Large door-like opening in parapet, probably a postern gate, to be reached by ladder from the ground; the sides of this opening converge.

The illustrations on next page represent the three chrism or con-

separation crosses which were scraped in the fresh plaster of the walls at the time of consecration of the building.

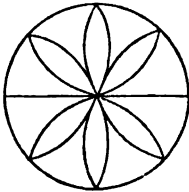


FIG. 15.

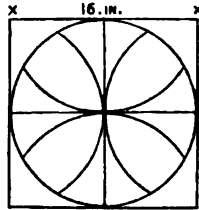


FIG. 14.

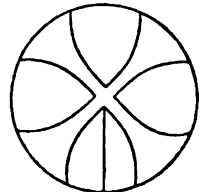


FIG. 16.

Fig. 14. On the east wall, at the right hand side of the east window. Fig. 15. On the south wall, under the first corbel for supporting the floor of the gallery. Fig. 16. Also on the south wall, under the second corbel, and within two feet ten inches of the west wall.

From the fact of two of these consecration crosses being so far away from the eastern or groined end of the room, it may be that the entire of the basement floor was appropriated to worship, and that the habitable portion resembled a modern gallery to a church, but closely partitioned off from the groined end of the building.

With regard to these crosses, it appears from some of our most ancient sculptured monoliths, many of which bear Ogham inscriptions, that a cross formed by the intersection of four parts of circles, and ending in eight points, or such a modification of it as we see in Fig. 16, is that form of this emblem which was introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick, or the earlier missionaries, and they must have got it from the Greek or Eastern Church, which still retains it.

I believe that in this particular shape of the cross we have *not* the emblem of the Passion of our Lord, but that of the descending dove with outstretched wings, which alighted on him at his baptism, and which was the physical confirmation of the Divine voice which acknowledged him as "the well beloved Son." A slight modification of the lowest member of this geometrical figure would supply the head of the bird, while the upper part would be the fanned out tail, and the side expansion the wings.

In the ancient Baptistery at Poitiers, a building of the third century, and in all the oldest French, German, and Lombardic churches, some of which were originally Roman Basilicæ, and in the ancient cathedral of Athens, which may be of the second century, the cross when introduced is always of eight points, with the shafts slender, and the whole enclosed in a circle. This form of cross is also that invariably sculptured, enamelled, or painted within the nimbus encircling the head of our Lord in works of art down to

the thirteenth century, not only on the Continent, but in England. It will be at once apparent how appropriate a place for such an emblem as typifying THE DOVE, while that which would only recall the emblem of the Passion would here be quite inadmissible.

It was not till many centuries after the establishment of the Eastern Hierarchy that the *Latin* form of cross, or that made by the intersection of two pieces of wood, was recognised generally over Western Europe; the first idea being one more lofty, more emblematic of the Divinity of our Lord, while the other appealed to his weakest part, his human nature.

Space will not allow me to enter more fully on this interesting inquiry as to the origin of the cross of eight points; suffice that I believe it to be emblematic of THE DOVE, and I would therefore propose to call it "the Dove Cross." To those interested in the matter, I would refer them to "*Les Monuments Anc. et Mod.*," by Mons. Jules Gailhabaud, where they will see many illustrations bearing out the opinion which I have here ventured to express.

With regard to the ecclesiastical buildings at Clonmines, Archdall in his "*Monasticon Hib.*" states, at p. 734, that Clonmines is a borough town in the barony of Shelburne, six miles south-east of Dunbrody. The family of Cavanagh founded a monastery here for Eremites following the rule of St. Augustin. In A. D. 1385, it was enlarged and beautified by Nicholas the Clerk, the son of Nicholas; and the friars of the order of St. Dominick afterwards obtained possession of it.

Nicholas Woding, the last prior, surrendered this priory, being seized of the same, and of a church and belfry, a dormitory, a hall, three chambers, a kitchen, cemetery, and one close within the site thereof—annual value, besides reprisals, 3*s.* 4*d.*; also of one small tower, four messuages, ten gardens, one acre of arable land near St. Keran's Pyll (or creek), and the tithes of the said garden; also 2*s.* chief rent arising from Colgan's lands in Clonmyn, aforesaid—annual value, besides reprisals, 23*s.* 8*d.* On the 25th August, 35th of Henry VIII., (A. D. 1544), this monastery, with its appurtenances, together with the Dominican friary of Rosbercon, in the county of Kilkenny, were granted for ever to John Parker, at the annual rent of 2*s.* 4*d.* Irish. He sold them to John Blake of New Ross.

It is exceedingly probable that the church stated to have been erected by Nicholas the Clerk, at the close of the fourteenth century, is the building I have described as the fortified church, or castle church, for its architectural features point precisely to such a period, and it may be one of the beautifications or additions mentioned as having been made by him.

It is evident that great pains were bestowed in the construction of this remarkable building, which on an emergency was intended to act as a castle or defence to the neighbouring abbey, should that

establishment ever be beleaguered by hostile natives ; and if all communication between it and the monastery was cut off, and if the monks and their retainers happened to be well provisioned, they could have held their own against any foray, and, if necessary, stood a siege.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M. A., M. P.,
WITH NOTES BY JOHN WINDELE, ESQ., AND RICHARD CAUL-
FIELD, ESQ.

(Continued from vol. iv., p. 338.)

THE DESCRIPCÛN OF CASTLE HAVEN.¹—It is the third best Har-
bour in the province of Munster, an Earldome, its Irish name is
Glanbaraghan, its passage into it is so narrow, that ships of great
burthen upon the least disturbāce or blustering weather cannot
with safety enter ; neither is there room for any number to ride
there at anchor, all other accomodaçõns it hath, 8 fathom at low
water mark.

Its Castle is comāded by the grounds about it, yett it comāded
the harbour, by land ; it is not tenable agst Cannon.

Castlehaven was famous for a remarkable sea fight there anno
1601, by S^r Richard Lewson agst Don Pedro de Lubiār, otherwise
known by the name of Suriago, a Spanish Admirall.

THE DESCRIPCÛN OF BALTIMORE HAVEN.²—After Bear Haven

¹ Smith, the historian of Cork, seems to have had access to this MS. There is much of its matter and phraseology common to both. Or it may have also happened that the writer as well as Smith drew from some common original. The description here given of Castlehaven is very much as Smith has given it. The parish of Castlehaven is dedicated to St. Barachan, from whom the church, as also an adjacent holy well, and the locality itself, derive their Irish names. The name of this saint does not occur in Colgan's A. SS. Castlehaven gave title of Earl to Touchet, Lord Audley, by a creation in 1616, but it is long since extinct. The castle is now

very ruinous ; it stands on an elevated site near the shore, and was originally founded by the O'Driscolls, the native lords of Corca luidhe. In the Tyrone war it was held for a brief season by the Spaniards, and in the great rebellion became a strong hold of the Parliamentary forces.—J. W.

² Baltimore Haven, Hibernice *Dun a shad*, now a decayed village, was in the middle ages the chief seat of the once potential race of O'Driscoll, and in the reign of James I. was incorporated, and continued to send members to the Irish Parliament down to the Union. It is well situated for trade, having a safe haven formed by the island of Sherkin

the second best in the Province of Mounster is Baltimore,¹ at the Invasion by the Spaniards called Valentimore.

[A view of Dunboy Castle, copied from the "Pacata Hibernia," is here omitted].

in front to the south. Its castle, a Tudor structure, was built by the O'Driscolls, and still forms a striking accessory to the scenery of the harbour, being based upon a rock standing up abruptly on the northern shore. But as a fortress it was never of a very formidable character. In 1631, Baltimore was visited and pillaged by Algerine rovers, who carried off into slavery a number of its inhabitants, since which the place never recovered its former prosperity.—J. W.

¹ Baltimore Haven.—The following proclamation respecting this and adjacent places was issued "Apud Corck vi. Augdus, 1610," as appears from the Council Book of Munster, a very valuable MS. now in the British Museum. "Bibl. Harl. 697, Pl. xlix. l., fol. 36." "Whereas the King's most excellent Ma^{ty}. having been enformed of the contynuall releeff that pyrats have received from tyme to tyme in the Western p'tes of this province, as Baltimore, Inisherkin, and divers other parts thereabouts, as well by the contynuall supplies of such despat and dishonest men, as resorted thither of purpose to joyne and combyne themselves wth the said pyrats, as also of such shameles and adulterous women as daylie repaired unto them, and especially by the meanes of divers Taverns, Alehouses, and victualling houses that have from tyme to tyme basely and mercenarily intertayned both these kinds of people, and his princely care and desire to contynue league and amytie wth all other Christian princes, who (not without collour) are become jealonze of that releeff and countenance which they pretend the said pyrats to have lately founde and received in the said Western p'tes, hath given speciall direccon unto the lls. of his highnes most honourable privy counsell in England to take some good and speedy order for the prevencion thereof in tyme to come. Whereunto their lls. having not only made many good provisions w^{ch} are published and put in execution in that Kingdom, but have also sent over hither many straight commandments and direcons for the same purpose unto the Right Honourable the Lord deputie w^{ch} are by his lps seconded

and sent unto us, wherein notwithstanding we have likewise used our best endeavours, yet hath there ben little or no reformacon thereby procured, so as wee can fynde no other assured meanes left for the securitie of those lewde and wicked pyrats, but by unpeopling and layeing waste certain Islands in those borders and other places open unto their arrivals, which they have and yet do hitherto most comonly frequent. We do therefore for the speciall reasons and consideracons above mentioned by this our act of counsell resolve and appointe that a speciall comission shall be forthwith dirrected to such persons as shall be thought meete, answerable in effect to the severall articles hereunder writen.

"Imprimis—To suppress all such taverns and alehouses as they shall fynde superfluous, leaving only some few for the necessary intertaynement of fishermen and travailors, who are to give good security that they shall not receive nor relieve any pyrats, or consorts of pyrats, nor any other that shall travaile into those p'tes, for their relieff, service, or supply whatsoever. Item, to unpeopple the Islands of Insharkan and the rest, and also all such places upon the contynent as are weake and open unto the arrivall of the said pyrats, only except some houses and inhabitants as shall be fitly drawn within the gaurd and p'ticcon of some strong hold or castell. Item, to suffer none to remaine inhabiting in those p'tes, but such as shall fynde sufficient securitie not to intertain any pirratt, nor any other wandering travailor not having pass from the Vicepresident or some other of the counsell, but that they shall within foure and twentie hours bring or send them before the said Vicepresident, or some one of the counsell. Item, that no Taverner, Innkeeper, or Alehousekeeper within the Cities, Townes, or suburbs of Youghal, Kinsale, Corck, Ross, Bandon brigg, &c., shall receive or contynue any such wandering travellor in his house without the lyke bringing or sending him within three dayes unto the said Vicepresident or some one of the Council to be further delt wth all ac-

After you are entered into it there is a large loch or Poole of a mile & half over, capable of any Fleet of Ships with small tides, deep water to ride in, & a very good place to careen Vessels upon occasion. This Haven is caused by an Island, called Innisherkan¹ two leagues to the Eastward² of Cape Cleer; The mouth of it is ten fathom at low water (at the south end of Innisherkan Isle), but very narrow because of a Rock visible above water; which being about a quarter of a mile of the better shoar secures the port.

Here blockhouses are thought necessary, because an enemy once there seated would command the best part of Carbery; the soyle about it is admirable, and fruitfull with plentiful provisions.

A JOURNEY from BUNRATTY-Castle³ in the County of CLARE, unto the famous Port and Town of YOUGHALL, in the county of CORK, and thence to the Port of Minehead, in ENGLAND.

From Bunratty Castle, chief seat of the R^t. Hon^{ble} Henry Earle of Thomond (of which hereafter) unto the Town of SIXMILE BRIDGE⁴ belonging also to that noble family is three miles; from

according to pollicy and justice. Item, to give straight order and chardg unto all the inhabitants of those partes, that if any of the pyratts, or their consorts, shall presume to breake or come into any house, assault any person, or take away any goods or money from any place or p'sonne, that then the partie so offended shall raise hue and cry upon the said mallefactor, and that whosoever shall refuse or neglect to follow and pursue the said hue and cry shall be forthwith apprehended and punished for his said contempt according to discretion. Item, that the provost Marshall wth some competent number of horsemen shall attend the said commissioners, and himself be joyned with them in the said commission. And lastly, that fittie of the Lord presidents fote company (wth a discreet officer) shall be appointed to attend the dayly dirrecon of the said commissioners, to be left and disposed of in Castles and other chieffe holdes in those parts, where they shall as they goe fynde good cause to leave them, w^{ch} said soldiers after they shall be so garri-soned by the said commissioners shall receive their weekly lendings from their Capt. to the'nd they may not be any wayes chardgable or grivous unto the country. Rich. Morisson, Dom. Sarasfeld. Edw. Harris."—R. C.

¹ On Sherkin Island, opposite to Baltimore, stand the remains of another O'Driscoll Castle, and the now roofless and deserted Franciscan Friary, founded

by the same family in the fourteenth century. The ruins consist of a church, divided into nave, choir, and one transept, with adjoining conventual buildings, forming a thickly occupied cemetery. A slender square tower springs from the junction of the three principal portions of the church.—J. W.

² Northward by one half mile, only separated by Gascanan Sound.—J. W.

³ Bunratty.—A small village in the county of Clare, situate on the River Ougarney, near where it joins the Lower Shannon, about six miles below Limerick. It is remarkable only for its castle, originally built by the De Clares, an Anglo-Norman race, brought in by the O'Briens in the thirteenth century, and subsequently held by the Earls of Thomond. It continued to be inhabited by the Studdart family until the present century; since then it had been converted into a police barrack, and is at present the residence of a caretaker. The building consists of a central quadrangular keep, flanked by four square towers at the angles, and these are connected at head by depressed arches. The whole displays in its construction a variety of architectural alterations and mutilations, a mixture of several styles, from the period of early castellation to the Tudor and the barbarisms of the last century.—J. W.

⁴ Sixmile Bridge, *Hibernice* Abhain O'Gearna, a sessions and post town in the county of Clare, deriving its English

whence to the city of LIMERICK, to which there are two wayes, by the Oyle mills and Seat of the Mac Namarra beyond it, or over the high mountaine, famous for an admirable Prospect, hanging as it were over Sixmile-bridg Town, and comonly call'd by the name of Gallows-Hill; this is the upper, the other the lower way to Limerick; and from Town to the city six miles either way, whence the Town hath its name; their remarks I have noted elsewhere.

From LIMERICK (concerning which see page []) to Carigkenlish [Cahirconlish.—J. W.], page [] is about 5 miles; from Carigkenlish to MIL-TOWN Abbey is 3 miles, this see page []. From Mill-Town Abbey to Grain Church is a mile & half, this see page []. Whence to Pallice, the great Post, and one of the Dublin Roads from Limerick, is not altogether half a mile. From Pallice to Ballinclogh, the Estate of Jason Whitrowe, Esq., one of his Ma^{ties} Justices of the peace, which seat see page [], is a mile. From Ballinclogh to Michels Town,¹ a neat Town and fair Castle, belonging to my Lord of Kings-Towne, is ten miles. From Michels Town to Manning² a small house pleasant in scituation upon a river & neer a Ford, y^e estate of Mr. Robert Fennel, is five miles. Whence to Formoy³ bridg, a considerable pass over a River called the Black-Water, which see page [45], is almost three miles. From Formoy bridg to a fair English like Town in the county of Waterford, called TALLOUGH,⁴ is 8 miles, in going to which you

name from its distance in long Irish miles from Limerick.—J. W.

¹ Mitchelstown, lately the splendid residence of King, Earl of Kingston, was, previously to the reign of "the British Solomon," held by a branch of the great Geraldine family called the Clan Gibbon, whose chief was the "White Knight," the last of whom took so active a part in the Desmond rebellion. Margaret, the granddaughter of this personage, married Sir William Fenton, by whom the estate came into the Kingston family through Sir John King, created Baron of Kingston in 1660. The town of Mitchelstown at present seems to participate in the falling fortunes of its lordly proprietors.—J. W.

² Manning is at present an undistinguished locality, situate on the River Fannehon, near the village of Glanworth, in the county of Cork. There is now neither house nor plantation upon it, answering the character of a gentleman's residence, but there are some remains of an ancient castle of the Roches. The O'Dugans, ancient chiefs of Fermoy, had a residence at Dun

Manann, somewhere on this townland, according to O'Heerin, probably on the site of the castle. The family of Fennel has disappeared from this neighbourhood altogether.

³ Fermoy, at present remarkable for something more than its bridge. It has lost its Cistercian Abbey "De Castro Dei," once its pride, even its very ruins have perished; but it has grown up into a large, handsome, and flourishing town, now wanting only railway communication to confirm its prosperity. The Druid Mogh Ruadh displayed his excellent judgment in selecting Fearsa Maigh Feine for his inheritance beyond all the wide and fruitful territories which he had passed through from his native *Dairbre* (Valencia Island), on his way to Knocklong to aid the King of Munster by his magical arts. See Keating's "History of Ireland." Fermoy Barony was known in ancient Irish history and topography as "Fearnagh Feine."—J. W.

⁴ A fair and post town, situate near the Bride, in the barony of Castlebride, county of Waterford. At the Union,

leave on your left hand CASTLE-LIONS,¹ a fair Seat commanding a Market Town belonging to the Lord Barry, Lord Viscount Buttevant, Earle of Barrimore. Two miles also on this side TALLOWH is left also on the left hand a small estate called Mogealy, formerly belonging to S^r Walter RAWLEIGH; the present Tenant is seyed to be one Pyen, whose predecessor after having (for an inconsiderable [price] to what rate the Irish lands bear now) purchased a lease for 99 years of the sayd S^r Walter Rawleigh, S^r Walter offer'd the remainder to him & his heirs for ever, for a Goshawke of the sayd Pyen which he saw fly, which Pien refusing and being never since in a condicōn to renew, the estate is fallen to the Lord Burlington, Earle of Cork.

A mile before you come to Tallough is a fair English like built House belonging to S^r Boyle Maynard, in a Town called Corro-glass.

From TALLOWH to YOUGHALL is 8 miles, for the most part over mountaine. The before named Lord Barry is descended from Robert de Barry,² of great worth and renown (noted by Cambden concerning the County of Cork), who notwithstanding chose rather among the first to be Chief indeed, than to seem chief; he was eminent in the conquest of IRELAND, not without great hurt and wounds. In SEVINGTON, in the Diocess of CANTERBURY, are seen severall monuments of his ancestors thus inscrib'd:—

1. Hic jacet Joanna Barry quondam uxor Willelmi Barry militis, Pater de celis Deus miserere nobis, Fili Redemptor mundi Deus misere nobis. . . . Spiritus Sancte Deus miserere. . . .

its "pot wollopers" lost their privilege of returning two members to Parliament. Its corporate functions (obtained after the "great" Earl of Cork had purchased the place from Sir Walter Raleigh) had long previously ceased. Near the town is Lisfinny, an old Geraldine castle, of some note in the wars of 1641.—J. W.

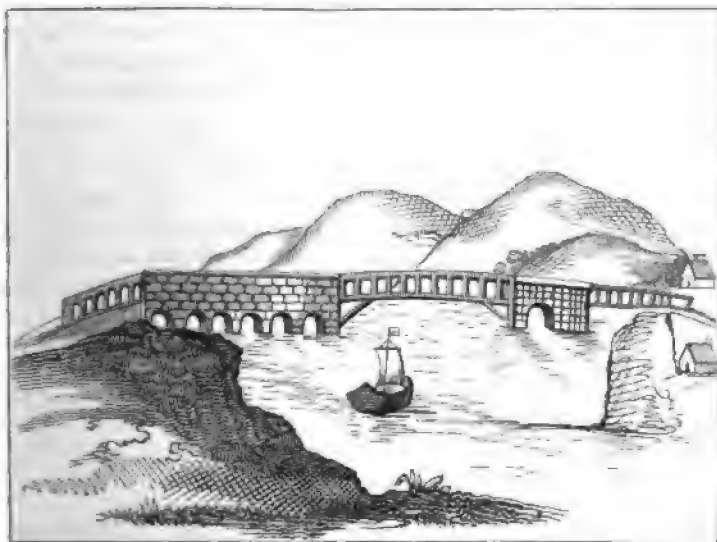
¹ Castle Lyons is a small out of the way town, "the world forgetting, and by the world forgot," also situate on the River Bride. It contains the remains of a Dominican friary (Smith erroneously calls it Franciscan), and a castellated mansion of the Barrys, lords of Barrymore. The friary was founded by John de Barry, in 1307; and the castle was built in the ante-Norman period by O'Lehane, chieftain of HyLeathan, but was soon wrested from him and his by the Strongbonian adventurer. It was burned down accidentally in the middle of the

last century; after which the place was deserted by its noble proprietors, doomed themselves shortly after to extinction.

² Robert de Barry, mentioned in the text, was nephew to Robert Fitzstephen, whom he accompanied to Ireland on the adventure of aiding the exiled MacMorrough in the recovery of his kingdom of Leinster. His brother Philip, succeeding him in his acquisitions, was the founder of the Barry family, which gave name to three baronies of the county of Cork, viz., Barrymore, Barryroe, and Orrery, called Orriria Barria, and was ennobled from an early period, the latest title being that of Earl of Barrymore (1627). Henry, the last earl, died without issue, within the present century, and with him were extinguished the honors of his family. Its broad possessions had previously passed away, having been exhausted by extravagance and folly.—J. W.

2. *Orate pro anima Joannis Barry Militis. Pater de cellis
Deus miserere Fili Redemptor mundi
Spiritus Sancte Sancta Trinitas vnus Deus
miserere Nobis.*
3. *Orate pro anima Isabelle quondam uxor
Willielmi Barry militis, Pater de Cellis &c., about the edges of
this as about the two former.*
4. *Hic iacet Margareta Barry quondam uxor Edwardi Barry
armig. que quidem Margareta obiit mensis Anno D^o
m.cccc. cxiij^o aie p'picietur Deus. amen. See more pag. [].*

Robert Barry above nam'd was the first man in the Kingdom of Ireland who mann'd the Hawk & brought it to hand. His Successors have since for their Loyaltie received of the Kings of England the title of Baron Barry, after that, of Viscount Buttevant; and then Earle of Barrimore; the first of this last creation was David Earle of Barrimore, who married the Lady Alice Boyle, eldest daughter of Rich^d E. of Cork, according to the pedigree of the monument in Yoghall, page []. The Surname of Barrymore (by reason of their vast lands and Riches) they gained among the vulgar. *Barry-More* signifying in Irish *Barry y' Great*, as lately Coke, a very wealthy gentlemā, had the title of the Great Coke of Norfolk.



Formoy Bridge over the Blackwater.

Five miles from Michels Town, belonging to the Lord King-

stone, is Manning, in the hands of Mr. Robert Fennel,¹ whence to Formoy is two miles in the way to Youghall, which 16 miles further.

CLENMACKEN.—A small house belonging to Mr. John Clenett, a Fleming, a gentleman of extraordinary civility towards strangers, within an English mile and half of Limerick, in county of Clare side, wherein among other rarities are seen some singular artifices of his own.

As 1. The Modell of a Calesh or Relune to be drawn with one Horse, which cannot be overturned, his own proper Invençon.

2. The Modell of the Oyle-mills, which are to be seen at Six Mile Bridge, pinn'd and sett together in a Violl with a very narrow neck, of Glass.

3. A Friggat with Guns, cut out of a Cherry-stone.

4. Another Cherrystone hath on the one side the cxvii. Psalm, and 1. c. 1681, easily to be read, in High Dutch. And on the other side of the same Cherrystone these 8 Figures carv'd plainly to be discern'd :—

An Horse with Bitt & Bosses.

An Hound, An Hare, A Stag, A Fox, a Squirrell, a Rabbit, a Monkey.

5. In another Cherrystone in the sixt part of it is carv'd a King in a Chair poynting his scepter to Hester upon her Knee, with other woemen attending; Hamond hanging at the Gallowes; Mordecay on horseback, and Hamond again going before Mordecay sitting in the Gate. A Coat of Armes with 3 Walnut-tree leaves in a bend, the Armes of S^t Petty, who married S^t Hardress Wallers Daughter. Another sixt part hath 6 drawers, in one whereof is seen a powder box, combe, brush, and tooth pickers. Another sixth part hath the history of Abraham offering up his son Isaac, the Angell, the Ram in the bush, and horse ty'd, all in small figures. Another hath the judgment of Soliman, consisting of seven figures. A fifth sixt part of the Cherrystone hath the descripçon of the Garden of Eden; and the last of this Cherrystone is possessed with a frame to hold it up.

6. Severall other Curiosities carv'd out of Cherrystones, & most sort of Houshold stuff.

Clenmacken is scituate very pleasantly and commodiously upon the River Shannon, where the shipping pass by dayly.

Orbe novo et veteri rarum ac mirabile quicquid,

Dat Natura parens, artificisque labor,

Una CLENETTI Domus exhibet ingeniumque

Sublime, ac studium testificatur heri.

¹ Robert Fennell passed patent 9 July, 21 Car. II. for the lands of Bally-quane and Ensinrosty, a $\frac{1}{2}$ plow. 107 ac.;

Radigane, part of Bohirase and Lagh-irdaffe, 60 ac.; part of Kelleagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ plow. 62 ac.; Ferranlahessory, $\frac{1}{2}$ plow.

DESCRIPTION OF BEAR-HAVEN.¹ Is scituate twelve miles to the northward of a promontory or foreland commonly called Missenhead or Caronhead; that which is properly the Haven is the sea which cometh between the great Island and the main or countrey called Bear or O'Sullivan Bears countrey. At the entrance into the harbour it is not above the shot of a musquet over (viz.) from Dunboyne [Dunboy] castle to the great Island; being entered, the tides are slack, good anchorage, and convenient places to bring ships on ground, smooth water. At low water mark it is five fadoms deep; towards the north end it groweth much larger, a league over, and large enough to lett all the men of War of England, Holland, and France, ride therein safe, nay, I may say of the whole world.

The great Island, seven miles long, & the maine, forme y^e Haven, which at its south end joins with the bay of BANTRY.

When the famous Castle of Dunboyne, belonging to O'Sullivan Beare, was tenable and fit to offend and defend, it had the command of this admirable Haven.

The Fishery here in y^e Reign of Queen Elizabeth, viz., anno Dni. 1588, was worth to y^e Lord of the Haven (afterwards Rebell), OSullivan Bear, (who was likewise owner of the castle Dunboyne), 500^l sterling p annū. paying but small duties to him. The coast so abounds in Fish, that few places known exceed it.

CAREW CASTLE² is two miles distant from the Abbey of Bantry: the Irish call this castle Downe-marke, or the Marquis his house;

106 ac.; bar. Fermoy, county of Cork. The name has disappeared from amongst the landed proprietors of Cork.—R. C.

¹ The peninsula lying between the bays of Kenmare and Bantry, anciently the territory of Ivera, and now the barony of Bear, received its name from the Spanish *Iberi*, whose descendants, under the tribe name of O'Baire, held large possessions along the western coasts, until reduced within narrow limits in later periods by the O'Sullivans, driven out themselves from the Eoganacht of Cashel. It is pre-eminently a land of "mountain and of flood." Towards its western extremity lies the harbour of Bearhaven, sufficiently described in the text. The castle of Dunboy, not Dunboyne, whose memorable capture in 1602 by Sir George Carew formed almost the last incident in the Desmond rebellion, occupied a rocky headland at the west side of the haven. Few vestiges of it now remain, but its outworks are still distinctly traceable. The keep, however, has totally disappeared.—J. W.

² There is no vestige of any castle at present at Dunnemark. It was a fond fiction of the Carew family, who sought

to establish some territorial claims in this district early in the reign of Elizabeth, that this castle had obtained its name from a Marquis Carew, its probable founder; but were that so, the term *Caislián na Mark*, rather than *Dun*, would have been given; but, passing this by, the name of *Dun na mbare* is far older than the days of Carew, and occurs in Irish legendary history in the most remote period, inasmuch as it is fabled that Cesarea, the niece of Noah, landed here before the flood! In the "Battle of Magh Tullang," *Dun na mbare* is mentioned as in Corcaguinny, in the west of Kerry. The Seanachie who wrote that wild admixture of fable and fact was evidently ignorant of its precise site, since he thus places it some fifty miles north of its true situation. The River Mialla, which here joins the Bay of Bantry, precipitates itself over a barrier of rocks some forty feet in height, forming a fall of a very picturesque character. In the "*Agallamh na Seanoidhe*," an ancient MS. about being published by the Ossianic Society, another *Dun na mbare* is stated to be in Tirconnell (Donegal).—J. W.

it was built by the ancestors of the R^t. Hon^{ble} St George Carew, K^{nt}., Lord President of Munster, & some centuries of years ago the Carews had to their Inheritance the moyety of the whole Kingdom of Cork, which was first bestow'd by Henry 2^d. unto Robert Fitz Stephen.

Odalie held the County of Monterbary from y^e Carews.

The suit and service expected from Odaly¹ and his successors for all that land unto Carew and his heirs was to be their Rimers, Poets & Chroniclers of their Accōns, to which this country is very much addicted.²

Dunboin Castle, towards Bearhaven.

[Here is given a view of Dunboy Castle in Bearhaven, from "Pacata Hibernia," page 209.]

Anno 1601, Dec. 6, amongst sundry Castles rendered by the Irish into the hands of the Spaniards, as Donnogh Odriscall's delivering them his castle at Castlehaven, which commanded the harbour. St Finnin Odriscall, his castle of Donneshed, at Baltimore, and his castle of Donnelong, in the Island of Innisherkā, between which all entrances into that Haven were debarr'd; Donnel Osulevan delivered up unto them his castle of Dunboy, which hath the whole command of Bearhaven; these 3 harbours being the best of the west of Munster.

Castles standing, (some whose remains are seen at this day upon the sea coast between Dunboy and Castlehaven), were Donnegall, having since the honour of being an Earldom, Donmanies, Downings, Leamcon, Rancoliskey, Cape-cleer, &c.; these were taken from the Rebels for Queen Elizabeth, by Captⁿ Roger Harvey, the 10 and 11 July, 1602.

[An account of what the subduing the rebellion in Ireland hath cost, &c., is omitted here.]

¹ O'Daly.—Muintir Bhairé is the peninsula lying between the bays of Bantry and Dunmanus. The tribe of O'Daly, which held it, has been for several ages eminently connected with the minstrelsy and bardic literature of Ireland. It is descended from one of the sons of Nial, the great Monarch of Ireland in the fourth century, and has produced a large number of bards and writers. One of them, Donogh Mor O'Daly, who died in 1244, has been called the Ovid of Ireland, and a poet "who never was, and never will be surpassed." The O'Dalys had possessions in various provinces of Ireland, and supplied in Desmond hereditary bards to the Mac Carthys, O'Keefes, &c. To John O'Daly, of Anglesea-street, Dublin, we are in-

debted at the present day for the editing and publication of much valuable remains of our old minstrelsy.—J. W.

² A proclamation issued by the "President and Councill of Munster," dated 20 Jan., 1602, the "Marshall of the Province is straightley charged and commanded to execute by Marshall Lawe all manner Bards, Rymers, Harpers, Stokeghes, Clubbures, and all manner of Vagrant and Maisterles persons w^{ch} he or any other thereto authorized shall fynde travaieing or residing within this Province, or any part thereof, in the end of tenne daies nexte after the publishing of this present proclamation, without the lycense or passeporte of the Martiall," &c.—Council Book of Munster, fol. 151, dorso.—R. C.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments,
William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April 6th, 1864.

W. J. DOUGLAS, Esq., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Rev. Hamilton Haire, Mount Baillie, Dundalk : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

William O'Driscoll, Esq., Listowel; and John Sibthorpe, Esq., Listowel : proposed by M. E. Conway, Esq.

Miss Price, 37, Trinity-square, Tower Hill, London; and Rev. Silvester Malone, R.C.C., Kilkea : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

Edward Read, Esq., Richmond-street, Londonderry; and John Wilkyns Coppin, Esq., Strand-street, Londonderry : proposed by A. G. Geoghegan, Esq.

Robert W. Lowry, Esq., Jun., Pomeroy House, County Tyrone : proposed by the Rev. R. Johnston.

George Anderson, Esq., C. E., White House, Ashford, Essex; and John B. Lacy, Esq., Clonmel : proposed by Michael Kearney, Esq.

Captain Henry Meagher, Waterford Artillery, 19, Mall, Waterford : proposed by Major Elliott.

Theobald A. Purcell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 52, Richmond-street, Dublin : proposed by M. O'Donnell, Esq., Q. C.

The Rev. James Graves brought forward a memorial from the Committee of the Society, to be presented to the Lords of the Treasury, if sanctioned by the Meeting. The memorial prayed for the concentration of the Irish Records in a repository suitable for their keeping, and that their classification and calendaring might be entrusted to persons properly educated and qualified for the purpose.

The Meeting fully sanctioned the memorial, and ordered that it should be signed, on behalf of the Society, by the President and Committee.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. IV., part 2.

By the Smithsonian Institute: their "Annual Report" for the year 1861.

By the Author, through Aquilla Smith, Esq., M. D.: "The Old Countess of Desmond; an Inquiry (concluded), When was she Married? With Numismatic Crumbs." By Richard Sainthill, of Topsham, Devon (now of Cork). Dublin University Press, privately printed.

By the Author: "A Church History of Ireland," by the Rev. Sylvester Malone.

By the British Archæological Association: their "Journal" for 1862 and 1863, (bound copies), and the quarterly part for March, 1864.

By the Ilam Anastatic Drawing Society: their Volume for 1863.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, Nos. 32–37, inclusive.

By the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool: their "Proceedings" for 1862–3. No. 17.

By Llewellyn Jewitt, Esq., F. S. A.: "The Reliquary," Nos. 15 and 16.¹

By the London and Middlesex Archæological Society: their "Transactions," Vol. II., part 5.

By the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland: their "Journal," parts 25 and 26.

By the Surrey Archæological Society: their "Collections," Vol. II., part 3.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal" for December, 1862, and March and June, 1863.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for January, March, and April, 1864.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1094–1104, inclusive.

By the Numismatic Society: "The Numismatic Chronicle," new series, No. 11.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 79.

By the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire: their "Report" for 1862.

By the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: their "Re-

¹ These numbers contain articles on the Greatreaks family, and the ancient History of Lismore, the latter fully illus-

trated, by the Rev. S. Hayman. Ireland receives a full share of attention in this well-edited periodical.

port" for 1862-3 ; also an Essay by Professor H. Hennessy, on "The Relations of Science to Modern Civilization."

By Mr. Charles Budds, Thomastown : five very fine Photographs, four of them giving different views of the Abbey of Jerpoint; the subject of the fifth was the castle and bridge of Thomastown.

By Mr. Matthew W. Rowe, Carlow : Photographs of the Castle of Carlow, and Castle and Bridge of Leighlinbridge.

By Dr. A. K. Young, of Monaghan : Photograph of the Round Tower of Clones.

By Mr. Bettsworth Lawless : a very interesting silver seal, which had been recently picked up at Warrington, near this city. The seal turned on a pivot, and showed the armorial bearings of the Murphy family on one side, and of the Shee family on the other, so that an impression of either could be taken at will. The initials L. M., however, being engraved on one side, seemed to indicate that it was executed for some member of the Murphy family, whose wife or mother probably bore the name of Shee.

Mr. Prim observed that the inscription on the family monument in St. Canice's Cathedral showed that Barnaby Murphy, who died in 1741, had married Mary Shee. The seal seemed too old to have belonged to any of their children, but no doubt there were other intermarriages between the families, both of which were numerous and highly respectable amongst the inhabitants of Kilkenny in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was not the first interesting addition made to their collection of old local family seals by Mr. B. Lawless, to whom the Society was much indebted for his liberality in that way.

By Mr. Patrick Cody, County Surveyor's deputy, Mullinavat : a very curious glass bead—probably one of those which had formed a primæval necklace—recently found at Ballynooney, near Mullinavat, on the farm of Mr. Ryan.

By the Rev. James Graves, on the part of Mr. Love, Annagh Castle, county of Tipperary, a flint arrow-head, in beautiful preservation, found in Roebuck bog, county of Cavan, twenty-two feet beneath the surface ; and a small silver coin of the reign of King John, which had been turned up also in the county of Cavan. Mr. Graves said that the coin had been submitted to Dr. Aquilla Smith, who described it as being a halfpenny of King John, Dublin mint : Obverse, IOHAN REX ; Reverse, ROBERD ON D.

Mr. R. Malcomson, Carlow, on the part of Mr. Bower, County Surveyor of Carlow, sent five silver coins, part of a recent railway "find," in the North of Ireland, concerning which he communicated the following information in a letter to the Secretaries :—

"Our County Surveyor (John Bower, Esq., a zealous Member of your Society) has placed in my hands the accompanying coins, recently dis-

covered with a quantity of others of a similar character and class in a railway cutting of the Letterkenny railway (of which Mr. Bower is Engineer in Chief), and has kindly permitted me to forward them to your care for inspection, and possible elucidation. Mr. Bower thus describes, in a short note to me, the locality where the 'find' occurred in the townland of Carrowen, parish of Burt, and county of Donegal :—

"The point where they were found is close to a cross road, and behind the National School-house of Carrowen, and at a distance of seven statute miles W. N. W. from the centre of the city of Londonderry, and one mile N. N. E. from the ruin of the ancient castle of Burt or Birt, built by Sir Caher O'Doherty in the sixteenth century. The ruin stands on a commanding elevation, 200 feet over the sea, near the shore of Lough Swilly, and less than a quarter of a mile therefrom."

Dr. Aquilla Smith forwarded the following description of these coins, which are all in excellent preservation :—

"PENNIES OF EDGAR, SOLE MONARCH, A. D. 959 TO 975.

1. *Obv.* ✚ EADGAR REX, in centre a ✚.
Rev. GRID—MONE, in two lines.

2. *Obv.* ✚ EADGAR REX, in centre a ✚.
Rev. VNBEIN—MÖ, in two lines.

The moneyers 'Grid' and 'Unbein' are in Ruding's list.

3. *Obv.* ✚ E'ADGAR REX ∪.
Rev. ADEL'A—VER MÖ, in two lines.

Adelaver moneyer is in Ruding's list. Type same as Ruding's fig. 9, pl. 21.

4. *Obv.* ✚ E'A'D G'A'R RE ∴
Rev. GRID—MONE, in two lines.

Grid moneyer is in Ruding's list.

5. *Obv.* ✚ EADGAR REX A (i. e. Anglorum).
Rev. ✚ EIMOL ✚ ME - -

Type same as Ruding's fig. 15, pl. 21. Part of legend on reverse illegible. The moneyer 'Eimol' not in Ruding.

"Edgar's coins have been found in Ireland in greater numbers than any of the Saxon series. It seems most important that the remainder of this 'find' should be examined, as it may lead to the discovery of more unpublished moneyers. I do not recollect hearing of Saxon coins having been found farther north than Armagh."

By Mr. Rowe, Carlow : a number of coins, chiefly foreign, and some interesting iron articles, of the latter of which his letter gave the following notice :—

"By M. D'Allamand, I have the pleasure of sending for presentation to the Kilkenny Archæological Society the articles enclosed, viz. :—

"1. A rebel pike of the year '98. This bears the mark of service, there being on it two sword cuts, very similar to those I saw on the sword of an officer who charged and took a gun or guns at the battle of Sobraon, and which were given by the gunner, a Sikh, chained in Asiatic manner to his gun. If so, the owner of this pike must have been cut down at once. 2. An arquebuss barrel and wheel-lock, which were found in the old bed of the River Burren, at the time of its drainage, some years since. The stock, when raised, crumbled away. The Burren rises at Mount Leinster, and, running due north nearly to Tullow, turns at a sharp angle westwards, and falls into the Barrow at Carlow. A view of its junction is given in the photograph of Carlow Castle which I lately sent, evidently showing that it anciently formed the southern boundary of the town, and also moated the Castle. 3. A pistol tinder-box. 4. An iron-mounted pistol, the stock of which is inlaid with silver. When I first got these articles I heated them very thoroughly, and then oiled them well, so, if kept from damp, they will preserve well. I hope these things may interest the Members."

By Mr. 'Geoghegan, Londonderry, on the part of Mr. John Bold, of Dunloe, in that county: photographs of two ancient swords, and of a curious fictile vessel, found on the western coast of Donegal. Mr. Bold's account of them was as follows:—

"No. 1. Broadsword found in the winter of 1798, in a small cave, or covered way, in the old stone fort of Dun Brennan, townland of Coe, parish of Lettermacanard, Co. Donegal, by Caher O'Dunlavy (since gone to America), when on his keeping, after 'being out' on a little excursion to the county Antrim. With it was found another sword, at least five feet in length, long since cut up into lagh hooks. For the benefit of the uninitiated, it is right to mention, that on the west of Donegal, a lagh hook is formed of a broad curved blade of iron, about eighteen inches or two feet in length, fastened hook-fashion at the end of a wooden pole some twenty or twenty-five feet long. The fishermen on the coast here, standing in their canoes, cut with this implement the branches and roots of the submarine plants in deep water. The sea weed on being cut rises to the surface, and is either at once gathered into the curraghs, or is allowed to float to the shore with the tide. This sea weed is made into kelp, and moreover in 'the Rosses' forms almost the only manure used for potatoes. I am inclined to think that the old sword thus cut up was a two-handed one.

"No. 2. Cut-and-thrust sword, with metal handle, found in the autumn of 1855, at Meenanaloby, townland Crickamore, parish Templecrone, county Donegal, under the roots that formerly supported an enormous fir-tree, five feet deep. Of the size of these roots some idea may be formed from the fact, that, at the present moment, covered with 'scraws,' (heather sods), they solely form the roof of an outhouse in which twenty-four sheep are kept every night. With the sword, the finder, Owen O'Donnell, discovered a large globular-bellied, coarse black glass bottle, with a long neck, since broken. It contained a thick yellow sediment, resembling bees' wax, without scent or taste.

"No. 3. Earthen jar, or pipkin, found about 1848, by Shane Do-

herty, in cutting turf in the island of Innis Free, in the bay of Innis Rath O'Donnell, near Arranmore Island, parish Templecrone, Co. Donegal. It was eight or nine turf deep in an old partially drained bog, that had once been a *seskin* or quagmire; the ear is broken off. Since found, it has been constantly tied up at the head of a bed, and used by old Oona O'Doherty for holding medicine."

Mr. Prim exhibited a transcript of a portion of a very interesting document, the "Cartulary of Sir Richard Shee," a large vellum book of the period of Queen Elizabeth, in which were recorded all the "evidences" connected with the property possessed by Sir Richard Shee, and acquired by purchase by him and his father in the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Wexford. This curious book, Mr. Prim stated, was at present in the possession of Colonel William O'Shee, of the French service, and resident at Pontoise, in the department of the Seine and Oise, the lineal descendant and representative of Sir Richard Shee, and consequently the head and representative of the Kilkenny Shees—Nicholas Power O'Shee, Esq., the head of the family in Ireland being descended from the third, whilst Colonel O'Shee was descended from the eldest son of Sir Richard. Last year Colonel O'Shee had paid a visit to Kilkenny, from a desire to see the monuments of, and collect all the information possible respecting, the family history of his ancestors. He had then afforded him (Mr. Prim) an opportunity of examining Sir Richard Shee's Cartulary; and an inspection of it at once convinced him of its great importance in aiding to elucidate the history of a large number of ancient manors and townlands in the county of Kilkenny; as not only were the deeds of conveyance of the various properties to Sir Richard Shee and his father from those from whom they had made the purchases set out, but in most instances all the deeds which conveyed them from family to family since the first Anglo-Norman settlers had acquired them in right of the Conquest were transcribed into the book; and beside serving to illustrate local, territorial, and family history to a great degree, a clue was given to the derivation of the names of a large number of places in the county, no trace of which he had previously been able to discover. At his request, Colonel O'Shee had most kindly made the transcripts from the Cartulary, which were now laid before the meeting, and had offered to contribute still more for the benefit of the Society, in return for such information as the Secretaries could supply to him respecting his ancestors, from the period of their settling in Kilkenny. He (Mr. Prim) was sure the Society could not fail to appreciate the very great labour which Colonel O'Shee had thus undertaken for them, as evidenced by the carefully copied documents now laid before the meeting; and he was convinced that they would fully recognise the value of the documents themselves when hereafter published in the Society's transactions.

The transcripts, having been examined by the meeting, excited much interest, and there was a unanimous expression of their feeling of indebtedness to Colonel O'Shee, who had thus taken so much trouble on the Society's behalf.

On the motion of the Rev. James Graves, seconded by Dr. James, it was resolved that Colonel O'Shee should be elected an Honorary Life Member of the Society; and that the thanks of the meeting should be conveyed to him by the Secretaries.

Mr. Graves, on the part of George V. Du Noyer, Esq., of the Geological Survey Department, exhibited to the meeting fac-similes of the illuminations of an ancient Charter Roll of the Corporation of Waterford. The document was of the period of Richard II., when the Corporation of Waterford had got all their charters, comprising grants from the time of Henry II. downwards to that period, transcribed into a single roll, the work being illustrated in the margin throughout with illuminations of great interest and beauty, including full-length portraits of each king whose charter was given, some in armour, and some in robes of state. Portraits also of an archbishop in full canonicals, of a chancellor, and of many of the chief burgesses of the city of Waterford, as well as singularly curious portraits of the mayors of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, at that day, figured in the quaint costume of the Second Richard's reign though partaking of many of the peculiarities of that of Edward III., adorned the document. The illuminations varied from nine to three inches in length. Mr. Du Noyer having been recently in Waterford, in connexion with the Geological Survey, he (Mr. Graves) had brought him to the town clerk's office to see the roll, and, at his request, had procured for him permission from the Corporation of Waterford to copy these curious illuminations. Mr. Du Noyer, struck with the interest and importance of this ancient work of art, as being unique in its kind, and considering that it, like all other unique records, was in danger of being lost or injured, wished to publish fac-similes of all the illuminations, and had already issued a prospectus calling for 400 subscribers at £1 each to cover the outlay. There was no doubt that the production of such a work would throw much light on the question of art, and on the social habits in the Anglo-Norman cities of Ireland at the close of the fourteenth century; whilst the charters were highly important in an historic point of view. In case of Mr. Du Noyer obtaining the 400 subscribers—which he seemed to be quite sanguine of—he (Mr. Graves) had agreed to edit the roll. The meeting could judge what the chromolithographs from the accurately coloured tracings made by Mr. Du Noyer would be, by the drawings now before them.

The meeting evinced the warmest interest in Mr. Du Noyer's

drawings; and it was resolved that the Society should subscribe for five copies, in order to assist so far in securing the publication of so very desirable a work.

The Rev. G. H. Reade, Inniskeen, county of Louth, contributed a drawing of an ancient ecclesiastical bell, in his possession. It was constructed of bronze, with an iron lining riveted on. It was eight inches high, two feet round the mouth, and greatest diameter seven and one-half inches. It was an adjuration bell, and might have belonged to St. Columbkille, as it was found at Gartan, the birth place of that saint, in the county of Donegal, and had been preserved in a family there from time immemorial: it had been used as a medicine bell—a drink of water out of it being the panacea. In 1847, the potatoe failure drove the family of its possessor to America, and the bell was sold to the person, from whom the Rev. Mr. Reade obtained it, for £3. The rivets were bronze, the handle iron, and the outer covering of bronze was nearly perfect. The inside lining of iron consisted of four plates, and he fancied that it was put inside in order to keep the venerated bronze together, as there were rivets indicating that purpose. The iron did not line the top, which was convex. The bronze outside was one casting.

Mr. 'Geoghegan forwarded the following note with reference to the MS. copy of the Bible brought under the notice of the Society by him at the January Meeting (p. 8, *infra*) of the Society:—

“With respect to the original owner and testator of the Codex De-rensis, any opinion that I may venture to offer must, of necessity, be founded on conjecture. Doctor Reeves, in a letter he has favoured me with on the subject, observes—‘I have found the names of Petrus de Paris, and John Spenser, on the Irish Chancery Rolls, but they are too far back, and John Spenser was not an ecclesiastic.’ In the absence, therefore, of more tangible proof, there are two events in Irish history in which the name of Parys or Paris appears, to which I would wish to direct attention.

“In the year 1535, a certain Christopher Paris, who was Governor of the Castle of Maynooth under Thomas Earl of Kildare, betrayed it to Sir William Skeffington, and, according to Stanihurst, was forthwith hung as a reward for his treachery. Both the betrayal of the castle and the immediate hanging of Paris are denied by Moore, who states that there is no official record in the State Papers of either circumstance; and that, on the contrary, the castle was taken by assault after a siege of nine days,—its governor, Paris, with many others, having their lives spared until *the Lord Deputy and Council should decide their fate*.

“Fifteen years afterwards, A. D. 1550, when the Baron de Fourquevaux, and the Sieur de Monluc, afterwards Bishop of Valence, were sent by Francis I. on a secret mission to the Irish northern chiefs, the French noblemen were met at Dunbarton by two Irish agents—William Fitzgerald, a relative of the Earl of Kildare; and *George Paris, a gen-*

tleman of the English Pale, 'whose father or brother had been executed for treason, and therefore (writes Sir John Masone to the English Council), 'he seemeth to seek all the ways he can to annoy the King, and the Realm.'

"This circumstance certainly corroborates Moore's doubts of the credibility of the statements of Stanihurst concerning the treachery of Christopher Paris and his melodramatic death at the hands of Skeffington.

"Accompanied by Fitzgerald and Paris, the French emissaries sailed for Ireland, anchored in Lough Foyle, landed at Culmore, and from thence proceeded to Donegal Castle, the Residence of O'Donell, where they met that chieftain, and O'Neill Earl of Tyrone.

"It is therefore a curious and suggestive coincidence—bearing in mind the statement of Doctor Reeves that the manuscript has been executed by a Continental artist, and the express directions of its owner, Peter Paris, that it should be handed down in succession from one Irish priest to another—to find it still in the same ecclesiastical custody, and in the identical county with which, more than 300 years ago, another Paris had such intimate connexions, in which at one time he resided, and from whence he past and repast on more than one occasion to the Continent, being, in the expressive words of Sir John Masone, 'a common post between the wild Irish and the French.'"

The following communication was received from Maurice Lenihan, Esq., Limerick, in illustration of the accompanying plate of old Thomond Bridge, and King John's Castle.

"These remarkable objects of historic and antiquarian interest must always command the attention of every person who visits Limerick. When, in 1185, John Earl of Morton and Lord of Ireland arrived in that city, captivated with the beauty of the place his first care, we are assured by Richard Stanihurst and earlier writers, was to fortify it—to build a castle, and throw a bridge across the Shannon. Tradition states that the building of the bridge cost only a sum of £30; but this is not surprising when a labourer's hire was less than three halfpence a day. We are assured by the 'Four Masters,' that at the period in question, there were but two bridges over the river between the sea and its source, and that those were of wood. The marks of the hurdles on which the fourteen arches of Thomond bridge were turned were visible to the day the bridge was removed, to make way for the present structure, in the year 1838. Whether King John erected the bridge so removed in 1838, is doubtful, as the principle and materials of its construction point to a period long subsequent, viz.,—the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the old bridge over the Shannon, at Athlone, which was similar in many respects, was erected. That he chose the site, however, for a bridge, there is every reason to believe; and that he built a wooden bridge, at Limerick, is probable. On the many incidents in the wars of Thomond, and in the later sieges of Limerick, of which Thomond bridge was the theatre, this is not the place to dwell. The site is picturesque, and the view from it beautiful—embracing the Shannon as it washes the walls of the castle, and winds through a lovely country towards Killaloe—with the Clare mountains forming a noble background. The castle has been always an object of as deep interest as the bridge. It is one of the largest and most ancient

of our Anglo-Norman fortresses. When the workmen of John, who had now become King, were about to build and enclose it, the work was for some time put a stop to by the intervention of the bishop, on whose lands the king's men had encroached. The bishop's remonstrance was forwarded to the king, who was then in London; and John wisely bethought him that his better policy was discretion. Writing a strong and earnest letter, he commanded that no progress should be made in the work until his return to Ireland (which took place in 1210), in order that the bishop should receive no injury, and that his Majesty should continue on the best terms with his venerable father in God. The letter, or at least a copy of it, is extant in the 'Black Book' of Limerick, and proves the king's anxiety to live on cordial terms with the Church. He appointed a constable to the castle, and a chaplain. The succession of constables was uninterrupted up to the decease of the late Colonel Vereker, in 1842, who was the last Constable of the Castle of Limerick, the office having been prospectively abolished in the year 1809. When chaplains ceased to be appointed to the castle, we have no record; but it is certain that the office was an important one in early times, and that the chaplain claimed, though he was not permitted to enjoy the tithes of a certain fishery, mill, and land, against the treasurer of the Cathedral, as appears also by the 'Black Book' above referred to. The castle from age to age has undergone many repairs and alterations; in the first Lord Ormery's time it was in a very bad state; it forms nearly a quadrangle, and within the ground enclosed are walls and towers; in 1751 barracks were erected within the enclosure, capable of containing four hundred soldiers. The castle gate towards the King's Island, or near Thomond bridge, is flanked by two enormous towers, one of which is semicircular, the other circular; and the arms of the city surmount the gate. The engraving represents these historic objects as they were early in the present century."

Mr. B. B. Feltus sent the following memorandum relative to the similarity often to be observed between Irish and Eastern customs:—

"It is an immemorial custom, still in some places observed by the Irish peasantry, for the relatives in a house where a dying person lies to crowd round the bed, and lift the body *in articulo mortis*, placing it on the floor, there to expire. This custom, at once so strange and *bizarre*, does not seem to have any connexion with Christian rites or traditions, but to point to a source of pagan symbolism. In an interesting volume by Canon Trevor on the 'Natives of India' (see chap. vii., p. 224), the same custom is stated to be common among the Hindus—a coincidence so striking, though between peoples wide as the poles asunder, can hardly appear fortuitous; and, with many other traits of Eastern origin observable in language, phraseology, and sentiment, opens an interesting field for ethnological research."

The following paper was then submitted to the Meeting:—

MEMORIALS OF THE FAMILY OF LANGTON OF KILKENNY.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

GALWAY has been long famous for its "Tribes," described by the accomplished historian of that town as the descendants of "a colony" of thirteen persons, who settled there in the middle ages, and by their energy in trade, their upright dealing, and conspicuous charity and hospitality, made an honourable name, far and near, for the place of their adoption, and left to their descendants the maintenance of the high character which they had won, and the care and exercise of the municipal offices, and rule and government of the community whose interest they had done so much to advance and foster. The names of these thirteen families, thus known under the general appellation of the "Tribes of Galway"—a name originally given in derision by the Cromwellian intruders, but, as Mr. Hardiman states, "subsequently adopted as a mark of honourable distinction between themselves and their cruel oppressors"—are thus supplied in a well-known distich:—

"Athy, Blake, Bodkin, Browne, Dean, D'Arcy, Lynch,
Joyes, Kirwan, Martin, Morris, Skerret, French."

The Cromwellian settlers in Kilkenny also found in possession of the municipal offices there, and taking a leading position in the local trade and management of public affairs, a similar knot of families, who might, for like reasons, have been designated the Tribes of Kilkenny. They were ten in number, and may also be recapitulated in a couplet, after the Galway fashion, thus:—

"Archdekin, Archer, Cowley, Langton, Ley,
Knaresborough, Lawless, Ragget, Rothe, and Shee."

Mr. Hardiman notes of the founders of the Galway Tribes that "they did not settle in the town at one time, or on the same occasion, as is generally supposed, but came hither at different periods, and under various circumstances;" and so likewise was it with the progenitors of the ten chief families which flourished in Kilkenny during the first half of the seventeenth century.¹ Some of them

¹ Mr. Hardiman refers to the "Tribes" as "the new colony" of Galway, giving the names of twenty-five families settled there and trading along the coast, shortly after the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. In like manner, in Kilkenny the chief municipal offices in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth

centuries were filled by names which had almost died out in the town in the sixteenth and seventeenth, when the leading positions in the community came to be nearly monopolized by the ten families to whom I have above alluded. Amongst those more ancient principal families which thus had nearly all died

were settled in the city more than a century earlier than others, and some of the more recently settled were amongst the most wealthy, prolific in spreading out branches, and important in social condition. Nine were of English descent, the tenth only—the Shees—being of undoubted Milesian blood; and these latter, whilst amongst the latest settled of the families, were at the period referred to the most numerous, and held the most prominent position of all. In proof, however, that these ten families supplied the chief citizens of the town, and almost monopolized amongst themselves, for a considerable period, the leading public offices of the community, it is only necessary to point to the fact that, for the half century which preceded the capture of Kilkenny by Oliver Cromwell, of the chief magistrates annually elected to preside over the corporation and govern the town—of course, fifty in number—there were but *two* who did not bear some one of the ten family names which I have suggested as entitled to be denominated “the Tribes of Kilkenny.”¹

So thoroughly identified are these “Tribes” with the public affairs,

out in the course of a few centuries, may be mentioned those of Downing or Dunning, Fennell, Le White, Outlaw, Croker, Kilberry, Godyn, Owen, Kyteler, Talbot, Lombard, Cotteral, Felyn, &c. Again, to complete the parallel between the two towns, Mr. Hardiman observes, in connexion with the “Tribes”—“Besides the names already enumerated, there are many other families who, though not similarly distinguished, were equally ancient and respectable, as well from length of residence in the town as through alliance with the other inhabitants, by whom they were gradually affiliated, and finally considered, without any distinction, as members of the same body;” and he names eighteen families as the principal of these. In Kilkenny likewise there were several families holding a respectable position in the community, at the time at which the “Tribes” were flourishing, and with whom they frequently intermarried and became connected in trade. Of these I may here enumerate, as amongst the most prominent, the names of Hackett, Savage, Bryan, Cleere, Pembroke, Gafney, Murphy, Comerford, Fitzgerald, Daniel, Raughter, or Rafter, Wale, or Wall, Sherlock, Mothill, &c. Some of the families alluded to were of greater note in the county than in the city of Kilkenny, such as Fitzgerald, Archdekin, Comerford, Bryan, &c.

¹ The two names were those of Horsfall and Murphy. In 1616 King James insisted that the mayor to be elected for that year should take the oath of supremacy, and be in every way “conformable” to the new arrangements which he had established. All the members of the body being, apparently, Roman Catholics, none of them could take the oath prescribed, and the elections which were made were annulled by the government, till at length they hit on the device of admitting Sir Cyprian Horsfall, son to John Horsfall, Bishop of Ossory, to the freedom of the corporation, and in the same day making him a common councilman, and immediately advancing him to the aldermanic gown—an unprecedented piece of civic promotion. He was then elected mayor; and being in every way “conformable,” his return to the Lord Lieutenant received the governmental sanction. Sir Cyprian was again elected mayor in the year 1620; but whether on a like pressure from the Crown, or from the spontaneous act of the corporation, I have been unable to ascertain. The latter is the more probable, because in the interim between those years the members of the “Tribes,” who were all Roman Catholics, appear to have enjoyed the civic offices without at least any determined opposition from the State. In 1642 Patrick Murphy, a member of a respectable Irishtown family, enjoyed the mayoralty.



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[ANCIENT BRIDGES OF IRELAND.—No. I.]

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offices, and archives of the city, that the history of the ten families must form, in fact, the history of Kilkenny for a considerable period. To obtain the means of collecting together the necessary materials for the compilation of a full and accurate history of the town which forms the centre of the district of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society, was one of the chief objects had in view by the founders of that association when calling it into existence; and, therefore, if I now set about contributing to the Society's "Journal" the ten chapters requisite for placing on record and illustrating the memorials of those ten families, I feel that I am aiding so far towards the fulfilment of the Society's mission. I should not, however, set it down that the actual commencement is only now made; for I consider that I have already, on a former occasion, contributed the first of the ten chapters, in the memoir of the Cowley family,¹ supplied in the year 1852. I do not wish to be considered as offering the memorials of the Cowleys first, and of the Langton family secondly, because priority of place was due to them. On the contrary, as I have already indicated, precedence, on the ground of social importance and extent of family and wealth, would be due to the Shees—the Rothes and Archers closely following them; and whilst the Langtons would take a central position, the Cowleys should come amongst the last. But I took occasion in the year 1852 to trace the history of the latter family, because much interest attached to the subject at the moment, from the occurrence of the death of the great Duke of Wellington, that illustrious personage being lineally descended from one of Kilkenny's citizens in the sixteenth century; and I now devote the second chapter to a notice of the Langton family, because they have left a curious genealogical manuscript, carried on from father to son for several generations, and supplying much matter of general interest, besides furnishing a record of the succession of members of the family for centuries, which serves to invite the notice of a society such as this, and in fact supplies almost all the materials necessary for the illustration of this one of the ten "Tribes" of Kilkenny.²

The name of Langton—one of some note in English history—was anciently borne by several families, each unconnected by kindred or descent with the others, and bearing different armorial ensigns. There are numerous parishes in various parts of England denominated Langton—i. e. long town—the proprietors of which,

¹ See a paper entitled "Some Notice of the Family of Cowley of Kilkenny," Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society for the year 1852, vol. ii., p. 102.

² So much consideration must also be deemed due to the present representative of the Langtons of Kilkenny, Cap-

tain Henry Michael Faustinus Langton, of the Louth Rifles, from his having at once liberally acted on the suggestion of the Secretaries of this Society, by contributing towards its funds the sum necessary to defray the expense of printing and illustrating the memorials of his ancestors in the municipality.

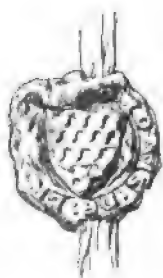
according to the custom of the olden time, assumed the name of the property, with the prefix "de"; which prefix was ultimately dropped. Some of these are described in the county histories as very ancient, noble, and knightly families; the principal lines being Langton of Yorkshire, Langton of Langton in Lincolnshire, and Langton of Langton in Leicestershire, the latter being the progenitors of the Langtons, Barons of Newton and Lords of Walton le-dale, and of the Langtons of Low, Lords of Hindley in Lancashire. From the Barons of Newton, through the junior branch settled at Low, the Kilkenny Langtons claim descent, and have, at least from the beginning of the seventeenth century, borne the same arms, viz., *argent, three chevrons gules*.¹ The most famous Eng-

¹ The three chevrons were not the original arms of this family of Langton, but were assumed by the issue of John de Langton of Leicestershire, who, by his marriage with Alice Banastre, acquired the Lancashire property at the end of the thirteenth century. I am indebted to William Langton, Esq., Manchester, for the means of fully tracing the circumstances under which these ensigns were adopted, he having kindly permitted me to read and make use of his notes on "the Armorial Bearings, and the Seals of the Families of Banastre and Langton," contributed to the Chetham Society's publications, in connexion with the "Visitation of Lancashire, 1533." Mr. Langton goes into the subject at considerable length, and with the most satisfactory results. I can here only supply a very brief epitome of his lucid and beautifully illustrated statement. The original arms borne by the Langtons of Leicestershire seem to have been, a shield *pair*, such a cognizance appearing on the seal of John de Langton, above mentioned, appended to a document of the 2nd July, 1332 (see Plate, figure 1). There is reason to suppose that this bearing was derived by the Langtons from the family of Marmion, under whom the former held the Manor of West Langton of the Abbot of Peterborough, it being part of a grant of a considerable tract of land made to the abbey by Earl Ranulph about the period of Edward the Confessor. The barony of Newton, otherwise called "the fee of Makerfield," acquired by John de Langton, by his marriage already referred to, was before the Conquest, and for some time afterwards a distinct hundred in that part of "Cestrescire" lying between the

Ribble and the Mersey. Subsequently it merged, with the contiguous hundred of Warrington, into that of West Derby, and became a portion of the county of Lancaster. Robert Banastre came into England at the Conquest, and held many lands, amongst the rest Prestatyn in that part of North Wales called Englefield; but the tower which he built there was destroyed when Owen Gwynedd, in 1167, recovered that country from the English; and Robert Banastre at that time brought all his people into Lancashire. We find Robert, called the son, but probably the grandson of Robert Banastre, holding the fee of Makerfield in the time of Henry II.; and Henry de Lacie, who flourished in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II., granted to him "Walatum," and other lands, to be held by knight's service. Camden informs us that the Latin form of the name Banastre, was *Balneator*, which led to the inference that it might be a title of office connected with the ceremony of the bath used in conferring knighthood; but the Glossary of Ducange gives "Banaste," "Banastre," and "Benate" as words used in various parts of France, answering to the mediæval Latin "Banasta," "Banastum," or provincially "Banasto," and having the meaning of a basket or creel, such as may be carried on the back, or slung in pairs, as dossers (panniers), across a pack-saddle; and Mr. Langton observes:—"Whichever of these derivations of the name be preferred—whether it designated a drawer of water, or a bearer of burdens, or were a mere nickname—no very elevated origin can be inferred for this family of feudal nobles, whose patriarch appears on the Roll of Battle Abbey, and one of whose scions



No. 2.



No. 1.



No. 3.



No. 7.



No. 8.



No. 9.



No. 6.

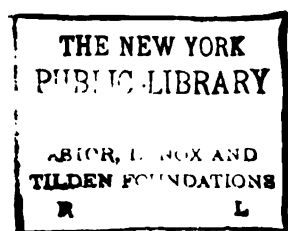


No. 4.



No. 5.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ARMS OF LANGTON.



lishman of the name, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, whose memory is inseparably associated with the great charter of English liberty wrung by the barons from King John at Runnymede, is claimed by all the principal houses referred to as belonging to their respective lines; but I believe it is not possible to decide accurately between the various disputants. I am not aware, either, that proof can be afforded as to which particular family John Langton, the distinguished Carmelite friar who made a figure at the Council of Basil, and wrote a Chronicle of England, should be assigned; but Walter de Langton,

ranks amongst the founders of the order of the Garter." Be this as it may, either of the interpretations accounts for the device on the early seals of the Banastres of Newton and Walton, and which is found in the arms of the Banastres of Darwen, blazoned as *two dossers jointant in fesse*; and in another ancient coat of the name as *water bougets*. The seal of Warrin Banastre, appended to a deed of the reign of King John, rudely represents either two water bags suspended in a netting, or a pair of panniers of wicker work; and on a later seal, that of Robert Banastre, of Newton, the device more clearly gives two water bougets or wicker baskets, joined by a strap. But after this, come in the *three chevrons*. Another seal of Robert Banastre—there were two of the name, and the first seal probably belonged to the father, and the latter to the son; but there being no dates to the documents to which they are attached, it is not possible to speak decisively—gives the device of a shield charged with the chevrons, but having a water bouget or basket on either side (figure 2 on Plate); whilst a third seal of Robert Banastre exhibits the shield with the three chevrons only. Mr. Langton sees reason to consider that the latter device was adopted from the family of Orreby, Philip de Orreby, Justice of Chester, having in 1219 obtained the wardship and marriage of Robert Banastre the elder—who was an infant at his father's death—and no doubt matching his own daughter with him; and Robert, the younger, the son of this marriage, being the first of his name who can be proved to have used the three chevrons. Alice, who married John de Langton, was the granddaughter and heiress of Robert Banastre, the last baron of his name; and the three chevrons borne by her family were assumed by their posterity,

but with a change of tinctures. With Banastre these were *gules, three chevrons argent*; but the colours were counter-changed by the Langtons, such an arrangement being not unusual "for difference." It would also appear that the immediate descendants of John and Alice retained a trace of their old paternal coat, having added a *bordure vair* to the shield charged with the three chevrons derived from Banastre. So much is obvious from the seal of Robert, son of John and Alice Langton, to documents of the year 1335 (figure 3 on Plate). It cannot be ascertained exactly when the use of the *bordure* was abandoned. The House of Langton of Low was founded by Robert de Langton, the son and successor of John and Alice, who endowed his second son, Robert, with the ancient patrimonial property in Leicestershire, as well as with the manor of "Hindlegh," near Wigan, within the fee of Makerfield; the mansion of Low in Hindley being the manor house of his descendants. At an early period the Low branch used as their crest an eagle displayed, with two heads, and some of them quartered on their escutcheon the *eagle displayed vert*, with the *three chevrons gules*. In the forty-second year of Edward III. (1368), John de Langton—who in a deed sealed with a shield bearing only the eagle displayed with two heads (figure 4 on Plate), describes himself as "son of Robert de Langtone Knight of Hyndlegh"—made a grant of premises which he had by the gift of Robert, his father, and William de Orel, and which had belonged to William de Orel, in the territory of Newton. This deed, and others antecedent to it, have led to the conclusion that there had been a matrimonial alliance between the families of Langton and Orel, through which this coat was introduced into the armorial bear-

Bishop of Lichfield and Lord Treasurer in the reign of Edward II., was undoubtedly of the Leicestershire stock, as he was possessed of considerable landed property at Langton in that county, which was inherited from him by his sister's son, Edmond Peverel; and John de Langton, Bishop of Chichester, and Lord Chancellor¹ to Kings Edward I. and Edward II., was unquestionably a near kinsman of his namesake, John de Langton, who settled in Lancashire before the year 1296, and must have been the progenitor of the Langtons of Kilkenny, a charter of the former king using the word *frater* in describing the relationship.

ings of the Langtons; and this inference finds support in the circumstance of there having been formerly in the window of Wigan Church a coat of arms, *argent three chevrons gules, impaling argent an eagle displayed with two heads vert, beaked and legged or*; while the seal of William, son of Richard de Orel, in the first year of Edward I. (figure 5 on Plate), is known to have been a double-headed eagle. Edward Langton, the last of the line of Low, in 1781 sealed his will with a signet bearing a shield charged only with the two-headed eagle (figure 6 on Plate). The crest sanctioned for Thomas Langton, Baron of Newton, at the visitation of Lancashire, A.D. 1533, was, *on a wreath or and gules, a maiden's head couped below the shoulders, proper, vested gules, and wearing a necklace with a pendant cross; the hair or; head tire sable*. An old carving of the arms of Langton existing on the mantelpiece at Samlesbury Hall, shows this crest with the head couped above the shoulders, and not vested or wearing the chain and cross, but having a curious head tire (figure 7 on Plate). I cannot find any crest as used by the earlier members of the Langton family of Kilkenny; there is none on the tablet bearing the escutcheon of Nicholas fitz Richard, carved for the ornamentation of the house which he built opposite the market cross in 1609; whilst the seal of his grandson, by his second marriage, Nicholas fitz Michael, attached in 1673 to a bond to Thomas Wilson, of Dublin, for £80, in which he joined Edmund Tobin, of Kilkenny—a document in the possession of the Rev. James Graves—only has the device of a shield charged with the three chevrons, without any crest; and the same device simply appears on the obverse of the penny token struck about the same

time in Kilkenny, by John Langton, merchant, a grandson of Nicholas fitz Richard, by his first marriage (figure 8 on Plate). The reverse of the token only bears a figure indicating its nominal value (figure 9 on Plate). But from the time of the grandson of the second Nicholas Langton, the family have, under the warrant of John Winstanley, Ulster King of Arms, granted in 1765, used for a crest, *a human heart gules, between two wings erect argent, with the motto, "All for Religion,"* subsequently changed by the head of the family for the allusive one of "*Sursum Corda*." This crest is engraved on a tomb erected to the members of the family of Silvester Langton, at the end of the last century, in the church of St. John, Kilkenny. The only crest in any way resembling this which appears to have ever been in use amongst the Langtons in England is one which, Mr. William Langton informs me, is given in a MS., bound up with the "*Visitation of Lancashire, 1533*," in Cod. 2076, Harl. MSS., said to have been copied from one of the time of Edward IV. It gives *a female bust proper, with head tire or, between two wings erect argent*. The Society is indebted to Mr. William Langton for liberally giving the use of the engraved blocks of the seals of members of the families of Langton, Banastre, and Orel, and of the carving at Samlesbury Hall, which illustrate this note.

¹ Lord Campbell erroneously assigns the Chancellor to the Lincolnshire Langton family. He undoubtedly sprang from the Langtons of Leicestershire, his kinsman, John, who settled in Lancashire, having been the son of Robert de Langton of West Langton in the county of Leicester, as is proved by fines which he and his son levied in reference to that property.

There is on record in the office of Ulster King of Arms, Dublin Castle, a pedigree of the Langtons of Kilkenny, which, if one were satisfied as to its perfect authenticity, would leave nothing for speculation as to the origin of the family, as it deduces them in regular succession from a Sir John Langton of Langton in Yorkshire—there stated to have been the nephew of the famous Cardinal Stephen¹—in the beginning of the thirteenth century, to Nicholas fitz Michael Langton, who emigrated from Kilkenny to Spain in the beginning of the last century. This pedigree, however, I am assured by Mr. William Langton of Manchester, who has carefully examined it, is decidedly incorrect in the early descents at least, the three first of which given are of the Langtons of Yorkshire, in no way connected with the Lancashire family, from whom the Kilkenny Langtons always claimed, and apparently with the fullest propriety, to be derived.² Giving up, therefore, all the English genealogy as fable, which the details in the notes to this paper compel me to do, I

¹ As I have already stated, there can be found no sufficient warrant for this appropriation. Archbishop Parker attributed the Cardinal to the Leicestershire family of Langtons; and he is also laid claim to most determinedly by the Langtons of Lincolnshire as being of that stock; but, although there is much assertion and speculation on the subject, there is no documentary evidence enabling us to adjudge between the conflicting claims with any degree of certainty. If heraldic evidence existed, the disputed point might perhaps be settled; but it was not usual at that early period for bishops to impale their paternal ensigns with the arms of the see which they filled, and on Stephen Langton's tomb in Canterbury Cathedral no armorial bearings are sculptured.

² The circumstances under which the pedigree in the office of Ulster King of Arms was made out were such as would account for errors occurring from hasty inquiries, and insufficient investigation of the early family history. Nicholas fitz Michael Langton, having emigrated from Kilkenny to Spain, and settled in trade in Cadiz, found that official evidence of his descent from an ancient and honorable ancestry would entitle him to privileges amongst the Spaniards, to which those of a class who could not make clear the fact of their possessing gentle blood were not admitted in that country. It was customary with the cadets of Scottish houses going into foreign military service to take with

them such certificates, to enable them to acquire estates in countries where the tenure of land was limited to those of noble descent, or to qualify them to take rank in services where such distinction was considered essential. The Irishmen serving in the French and Austrian services seem to have followed this example, and in like manner those trading in Spain found the advantage of official testimony to the respectability of their family and antiquity of their descent. Langton having written to his relatives in Ireland—his father was dead at the time, but his mother and uncle were residing in Kilkenny—to have his pedigree made out without delay, and authenticated at the Office of Arms in Dublin, the document which now is there enrolled seems to have been drawn up for him hurriedly in 1765, and a copy transmitted to Spain, where it was, the same year, officially inspected and confirmed by the heraldic authorities in that country, as fully appears by the certificate of the fact, remaining in the possession of his present representative, Captain H. M. F. Langton. But in the earlier portion of the document the names and descents of different branches of the families of Langton in England were brought together, so as to make a jumble of possible and impossible things; "but yet," as Mr. William Langton avers, "with some foundation of truth even in some of the most palpable errors: for instance, the tradition of the assumption of a maternal in lieu of the

consider that we may safely assume the Irish portion of the pedigree to be authentic ; and on that authority we have John, the third son of Richard Langton, Esq., fitz John, of Low, in Lancashire,¹ coming into this country in the year 1486, a political fugitive from the punishment likely to be inflicted by the Crown on those who supported the pretensions of Simnel or Warbeck to the throne of England. Having settled in Kilkenny, he there married, in the year 1491, Lettice, daughter of Jenkin Rothe, of Callan, a member of the opulent and respectable mercantile family of Rothe, of Kilkenny ; and had issue three sons and a daughter, viz., Richard, Edward, George, and Lettice. From the eldest son, Richard, the curious family record which it is intended here to print as the most important of the existing memorials of the Langtons of Kilkenny,

paternal coat of arms is preserved, although the disused coat is wrongly described, and the ensigns of the adopted one misstated." The certificate from the Herald's College in Spain, in confirmation or acceptance of the Dublin pedigree—a voluminous document, forming a book of considerable size—sets out at length the testimonials which accompanied it from noblemen and men of official standing in Kilkenny at the time. The attestation of the respectability of the Langtons of Kilkenny was signed by the Earl of Carrick, the Viscount Mountgarrett, the Viscount Wandesforde, Walter Butler, Esq., of Kilkenny Castle, the then representative of the noble House of Ormonde ; Sir William Evans Morris, Bart., of Kilcreene ; the Members of Parliament for Kilkenny, Sir John Blunden, Bart., and Haydock Evans Morris, Esq. ; Dr. Thomas Hewitson, Principal of Kilkenny College ; John Waters, Mayor of the city ; Eland Mossom, Recorder (styled in the Spanish document "*Archivista de dicta ciudad*"); several members of the corporation, including John Blunt, Thomas Butler, William Colles, Robert Hamerton, Anthony Blunt, George Carpenter, Thomas Wilkinson, &c. The citizens, not members of the corporation, who joined in the testimony given were—William Knaresborough, Thomas Laffan, Philip Murrai, John Sinnot, James Comerford, James Brian, Nicholas Shee, John Rian, and Peter Cormick. There were also nine Roman Catholic clergymen, as follows:—Dr. Dionisius Delany, styled Vicar-General of Ossory, Prothonotary Apostolic, Canon of the Cathedral of St. Canice, and Parish Priest of St. John's Parish ;

Patrick Murphy, P. P., St. Canice's Parish ; Patrick Molloy, "Perpetual Vicar" of St. Mary's ; Peter Brea, R.C.C., St. Mary's ; Robert Brennan, P. P., St. Patrick's ; Br. Andrew Ring, Guardian of the Convent of Minors of St. Francis ; Br. Martin St. John, of the Capuchins ; Nicholas Archer ; and Edmond Smithwick, Presbyter of Kilkenny. The genuineness of the various signatures was vouched for by the certificate, under his official seal, of William Wheeler, Notary Public, of Kilkenny ; and the accompanying pedigree was certified as correct under the hand and seal of John Winstanley, Esq., Ulster King of Arms, and principal Herald of Ireland. A commission, nominated by the Spanish authorities, sat at Cadiz, to receive and consider the proofs ; and they not only examined the British consul as to the genuineness of the documents and authenticity of the seals, but took *vide voce* evidence as to the respectability and repute of the ancient descent of the Langtons of Kilkenny, from various witnesses produced, some of them Irish officers in the service of Spain, then quartered in the garrison of Cadiz ; others, Irish merchants either permanently settled in trade in that town, or having casually visited it in the carrying on of their business. The investigation was conducted, apparently, with the utmost strictness and formality ; and the commissioners, at its termination, sent off a favourable report, to be adopted by the authorities at Granada.

¹ An Inquisition taken 17th May, 1595, 37th Elizabeth, on the death of Robert Langton of Low, recites a descent from Robert de Langeton and

clearly deduces the head branch of the family, which subsequently settled in Cadiz, in Spain, and more recently in the city of Bath, in England. But, whilst thus accepting the Irish portion of the pedigree on record in the Office of Arms, Dublin, as in the main correct, I must confess a difficulty presents itself in the outset, which can only be obviated by arriving at one of two conclusions, between which we have a choice. Either the arrival of John fitz Richard Langton from Lancashire in Kilkenny, and his marriage there, must have by mistake been dated at too recent a period, or else there must have been another and quite distinct family of Langtons settled in that city previously, and continuing to dwell there contemporaneously with the Irish branch from the English House of Low, for some time at least. The "*Liber Primus Kilkenniae*" more than once notices a Richard Langton or Langtown—for the name is given in both these forms—amongst the inhabitants in the

Margaret his wife, who levied a fine in the 9th year of Edward III.,—the fine under which the settlement of Hindley and the Leicestershire property was made upon his second son by Robert, second Baron of Newton of the line of Langton. The order of succession, however, in the earlier generations, is very imperfectly given in the Inquisition. Robert, the second son of Robert and Margaret, is omitted, and his son John is treated as the son of Robert and Margaret. John is said to have had a son Gilbert; but, according to Kuerden, John died *s. p.* in 1394, and was succeeded by his brother Gilbert. This Gilbert is confounded in the Inquisition with the great grandfather of Robert, who bore the same name, and who lived about a hundred years later. It is evident, therefore, that three or four generations at least have been omitted between the two Gilberts. Kuerden's memoranda (almost illegible), name a Robert in the time of Henry IV. as succeeding to Gilbert; then a John, in the time of Henry V., at which period there is mention of a younger brother, William; one John is said to have died without issue, and to have been succeeded by his brother Gilbert's son Peter; but no dates are given. In one of the Harleian MSS. there is an account of the lands held by John Langton of Low, 22nd year of Henry VI., 1443-4, but without naming his heir. It is not possible, therefore, to find the exact point at which the ancestor of the Kilkenny Langtons branched off; but that Richard, the father of John,

their founder, was a member of the Low family there can be no doubt, as the grandson of the latter, Alderman Nicholas Langton, sets it out prominently in the opening of the genealogical manuscript which I am about to introduce to the notice of the Society. If he were disposed towards fiction in the matter, for the purpose of giving importance to his family, no doubt he would have claimed descent, not from the junior branch of Low, but directly from the Baron of Newton, head of the Lancashire family, or from the chief of the Yorkshire House, also a family of distinction. The Inquisition above quoted, although itself inaccurate, as has been shown, clearly demonstrates the incorrectness, not merely of the three first descents of the pedigree of the Dublin Office of Arms, made out for the Langtons of Kilkenny, but even of its statements generally. The Langtons of Low continued resident proprietors there until the year 1733, when Edward, the last Squire Langton of Low, died, leaving his estates to a nephew, named Pugh. Low Hall, with the hamlet of Low Green, within the Parish of Wigan, is situate in the township of Hindley. The present structure is not ancient; but it stands surrounded by the original moat of the old manor house. The Langtons of Low held their manor of Hindley by the annual rent of three pepper corns, in free socage, of the head of the family, the Baron of Newton, as lord of the fee of Makerfield, whereof Hindley was a member; but that property also is no longer connected with the name of Lang-

reign of King Henry VI. In the year 1449 he is thus specially set down in the town rent-roll as holding from the corporation a house known as Ketlery's, or more properly Kyteler's Hall :—

“ Ricardus Langtown pro Ketlery's Hall, iiis.”

and he must either have died, or his tenancy have otherwise ceased within a couple of years following, as in another rental, set out soon after in the book referred to, the same premises are stated to be held by Nicholas Whyte, at the advanced rent of iiis. iiiid. In 1460, too, we have a Rev. Thomas Langton a member of the vicars choral of the Cathedral of St. Canice.¹ The presence of both these Langtons in Kilkenny precedes the period given in the pedigree for the arrival of Richard Langton fitz-John from Eng-

ton. The manors of Newton and Walton-le-dale had continued in the family by unbroken succession for above 300 years, when Thomas Langton, the last baron, alienated to the Hoghtons of Hoghton Tower the lordship of Walton-le-dale, to make his peace, it is said, with that family, Mr. Hoghton having been slain in a feud which occurred in the 32nd year of Queen Elizabeth. He was a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of James I.; and at his death, without issue, 20th February, 1604-5, the barony of Newton went through an heir female—his aunt—to the family of Fleetwood, in virtue of a settlement made by his grandfather, Sir Thomas Langton, Knight, on the issue of his first marriage with a daughter of Sir Edward Stanley Lord Mounteagle, the hero of Flodden Field, to the exclusion of his issue by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas Talbot. The Yorkshire Langton stock ended in an heir female, by whom the property was carried to the Danbys. There is quite sufficient evidence that the Sir John Langton of the Yorkshire family, who is given in the Dublin pedigree as intermarrying with the Nevilles, could not have been a nephew of, or have lived contemporaneously with, Cardinal Langton. In Whitaker's additions to Thoresby's “*Ducatus Leodiensis*” we find the following details and dates, which correct Thoresby's rambling pedigree. It appears that Sir Robert Neville of Hornby had a son and two daughters. The son, Thomas Neville, left a daughter, Margaret, who became the wife of Thomas Duke of Exeter, who died s. p. 1426.

The eldest daughter of Sir Robert Neville, Margaret, married Sir William Harrington, Knight; and the youngest daughter, Joan, having married John Langton of Farnley and Langton in Yorkshire, had a son, Sir John Langton, who, with his uncle, Sir William Harrington, were found to be coheirs of Margaret Duchess of Exeter, 3rd April, 11 Henry VI. Thus in 1433 we have living a son of the intermarriage between the Langtons of Yorkshire and the Nevilles, which the compiler of the Dublin pedigree would have us believe took place very early in the thirteenth century. Agnes, the daughter and heir of the last Sir John Langton, married, before the 22nd December, 1466, Sir John Danby, who left her a widow in 1496. She died 26th March, 1514. A comparison of these dates with those given in the earlier descents in the Dublin pedigree, as printed opposite page 84, will at once prove to the reader how unreliable is that portion of the latter document.

¹ In 1598 a Rev. James Langton also was one of the vicars choral of St. Canice, and vicar of M'Coyle, or Muckalee, diocese of Ossory (MS. T. C. D., marked E. 3-14, quoted in Cotton's “*Fasti*,” vol. v., p. 171). I cannot connect this clergyman, either, with the Kilkenny branch of the Langtons of Low; but it is possible he might be a son of Edward or George, the two younger sons of John fitz Richard of Low and Lettice Rothe, concerning whose wives or posterity, if they had any, we have no information either from public records or private family documents.

land.¹ And then we find, immediately after his advent, or at least his marriage, Thomas Langton serving as one of the portreves of Kilkenny, in 1507, and advanced to the office of sovereign, or chief magistrate of the town, in 1511; whilst again, in 1535, before the children of Richard fitz-John were likely to have had offspring of sufficient age to hold public situations, a James Langton was elected portreve. Nor are we without a monumental memento of the settlement in Kilkenny of a Langton family, distinct from the Irish branch of the House of Low, founded there at the end of the fifteenth century. In the ruins of the choir of St. John's Abbey is a monument which I had always conceived, till making a more careful scrutiny for the purpose of this paper, to be "The Great Tombe" of the latter family, often referred to in the documents which they have left as having been erected in the same abbey choir. The Christian names, and the periods at which the Langtons recorded in the inscription on the monument lived, would also correspond pretty accurately with the documents referred to; but the marriages which are shown by that inscription to have taken place prove the persons referred to in either to be altogether different. The inscription is of two periods, showing that the stone on which it was cut originally was used as his monument by a burgess of Kilkenny who lived in the middle of the fourteenth century; whilst just two centuries later than that person's decease the Langtons appropriated the tomb, but preserving the more ancient inscription in such a way as would seem to indicate a connexion by descent in the female line from its original proprietor.² The various inscriptions

¹ Amongst the nobles and men of importance summoned to attend the remarkable Parliament held in Kilkenny, on the 3rd of February, 1309, by the Earl of Ulster and John Wogan, Justiciary of Ireland, the name of John de Langton occurs (Rot. Pat. 3 Edw. II., m. 45). I am, however, disposed to consider that this personage was summoned from a distance, and was not connected with Kilkenny otherwise than as attending this Parliament. He was probably the John de Langton often subsequently referred to in the Close and Patent Rolls of the period, as constable of the castle of Limerick, an appointment which he received in 1313, as appears by Rot. Mem. 7 Ed. II., m. 43, in which he is termed "*civis Limericensis*." He probably left posterity in that locality; for James Langton, Esq., of Bruree, served the office of high sheriff for the county of Limerick in 1786. There is, I understand, a respectable family bearing the name of Langton seated near Charleville,

in the county of Cork, but from what stock they spring I am not aware. In the county of Kilkenny, since the death of Michael Langton, Esq., of Danville, there has been no one of the name of the class of gentry, nor in the city any respectable trader; but there are a few farmers, and several of the labouring population, bearing the name of Langton, in the county, and particularly in the barony of Gowran.

² This was an arrangement of ordinary occurrence at the period, as the monumental inscriptions in the cathedral of St. Canice testify fully in the instance of the families of Cottrell and Lawless, and several others. It is, however, by no means improbable that the John de Covintre of the more early inscription on the tomb in St. John's Abbey may have been a Langton who came from Coventry to Kilkenny, and there settled. There are numerous instances in the local civic records of settlers being called from the name of the town from which

run thus,—the first being in incised Lombardic letters, the others in raised old English characters:—

“Hic : jacet : Johannes : d[e] Couintre ✠ et : Isabella : uxor :
ejvs : quorum : animabvs : propiti[et] [vr] : devs : am : pater : et :
ave : maria :

“Hic . jacet . Johēs . Langton . quondam . ville . Kilkenie . bur-
gensis . et . Belena . Archer . uxor . ejus . qⁱ . paritur (sic) . obierunt . v̄ .
die . Maii 1571 .

“Et . Ricardus . Langton . filius . dicti . Johānis . qōd^o . burgens^o .
opidi pⁱdicti qⁱ . obiit xviii die Maii 15...8 . Et . Anastatia . Phelen .
uxor . ej^o . qⁱ . obiit . []

“Et . hic . jacet . Edwardus . Langton . filius . dicti . Johis . qōd^o .
burgēs . et . superior . Kilkenie . pⁱdicte . q . obiit . []

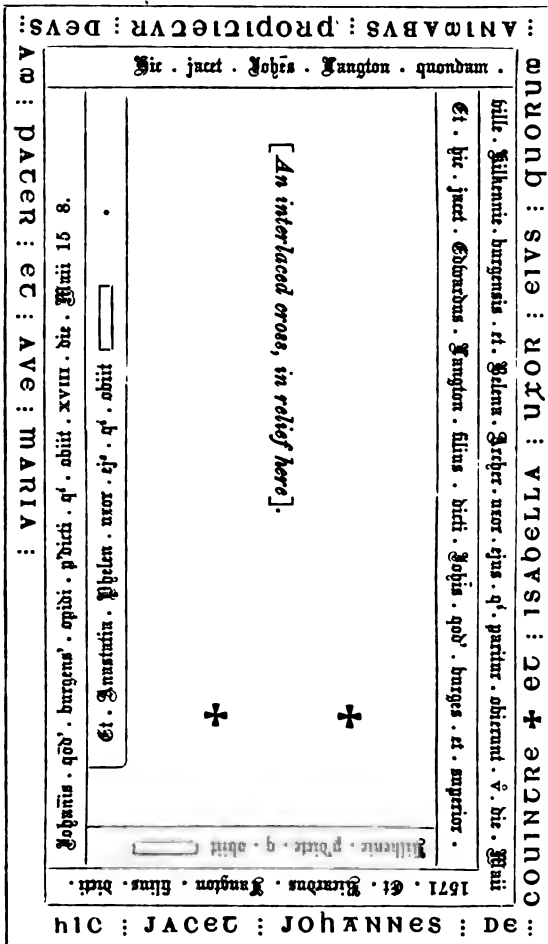
The John Langton here first recorded was sovereign, or chief magistrate of Kilkenny, in 1549, and again filled the same office in 1557; and his son Edward's sovereignty occurred in 1598. It is a curious circumstance that John fitz Richard, of the House of Low, is also stated to have had a Richard and an Edward¹ amongst his

they came, as Roger de Bristoll, Robert de Edessor (Exeter), Edward de Callan, Richard de Abinton, Thomas de Ely, &c. Sometimes the family name is given as an *alias*, thus Thomas de Mounister (Munster), *alias* English; and sometimes the family name is given first, and the name of the birthplace following, as John White de Ely. I do not, however, find an *alias* given for John de Covintre either in the state or municipal records, in both of which he is occasionally referred to at the period in which he lived. He seems to have been a respectable trader of the town, and a money-lender. In 1309 John de Ballygauran (Gowran) acknowledged himself indebted to John de Coventre, in the sum of nine shillings (Rot. Pat., 3 Ed. II., m. 13); and Walter Jordan and twelve others — amongst whom was Walter Clyne, no doubt a member of the family of the celebrated annalist John Clyn, then a Franciscan friar in Kilkenny—acknowledged themselves bound by bond to John de Coventre, in a sum of twenty shillings (Id., Rot., m. 36). He was alive in 1351,—as that year, under the date 11th of April, he is one of a number of burgesses of the town set out in the “Liber Primus Kilkennie,” as having assembled in St. Mary's church there to receive the submission of Philip Veng, *alias* Coran, a refractory burgess, who had been disfranchised for a breach of the town privileges, but was then restored to his

municipal status, on making a solemn declaration of his determination never to transgress again, and paying a fine of 100*s.* as reparation for his offence. The tomb of de Coventre and the Langtons in St. John's Abbey is an altar monument, partially inserted in a niche in the north wall of the choir. The lower portion is entirely covered with earth, so that only the upper slab, bearing the inscriptions, is apparent. I had recently an opportunity, however, of examining the front supporting stone, on the occasion of the digging of a grave close to it, and found it to be ornamented with carvings in relief, representing the emblems of the Passion, and of a date obviously not contemporary with John de Covintre, but belonging to the period when the later inscriptions were cut. The centre of the table slab also is ornamented with an interlaced cross, in relief, of a character contemporary with the Langton inscriptions; but there are two small incised crosses, which seem to have belonged to the original ornamentation of the tomb for de Covintre, the rest of which was chiseled away to make room for the device that found favour with the more modern appropriators of the tomb. There are no armorial bearings sculptured on the monument, whereby a clue might be afforded as to the original stock of the Langtons buried beneath.

¹ A Richard and an Edward Langton appear to have been tenants to the cor-

children; but this latter John was married to Lettice Roth, and his son Richard to a daughter of Blanchville of Blanchvillestown, so



that clearly we have here two distinct families, who seem to have been partial to the same Christian names, and had their places of

poration for several holdings in the town of Kilkenny, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, but we have no means of distinguishing as to which of the families they belong. Edward appears to have been dead before 1628; and in the corporation

rent roll of that year his "assigns" are always named as the tenants of those holdings. "George Langton's assigns" are also more than once set down in that year. This may have been the George who was a younger son of John fitz Richard and Lettice Rothe. It is very

sepulture in the same religious institution. May we not feel warranted in assuming, from these circumstances, that there was a relationship or connexion between the two families? And perhaps we may, on this slight foundation, be permitted to indulge in the speculation that, when John fitz Richard Langton, of the House of Low, became a fugitive from his native country to Ireland, he fixed on Kilkenny as a place of residence, from the inducement of having kinsfolk settled there from an earlier period.

Nicholas, the son of Richard, and grandson of John Langton, of the House of Low, was the first of that line who appears to have made a conspicuous figure in the municipality of Kilkenny. He seems to have been a man of means and ability; and on being elected a member of the corporation of the town, took a leading position in the council, filling the office of sovereign in 1606. Kilkenny was then simply a borough town, sending its two representatives to Parliament, but locally governed by a corporate body, constituted by twelve chief and twelve lesser-burgesses, known as "the upper twelve," and "the second twelve," who annually elected from amongst themselves a sovereign, as chief magistrate, and two portreves, whose duties seem to have been very much those of the more modern civic sheriffs. They however became ambitious of a larger state and extended franchises, at the beginning of the reign of King James I.; and that monarch, having made the granting of such honours and privileges a source of revenue, gave every encouragement to those who were willing to pay for the favours that they sought. In the year 1608 the corporation of Kilkenny, having supplicated His Majesty for a new charter, and paid the price of it, received that gracious concession. The charter bears date the 16th of October, 6 James I.; and, in consideration of the inhabitants of Kilkenny having been "an ancient colony from England," who rendered many services to the Crown, "as well in retaining the English laws, language, and customs, when the whole principality surrounding them had entirely lapsed into Irish barbarism, as in manfully repelling and prosecuting the rebels and enemies of His Majesty's royal predecessors," all previous charters, liberties, and privileges, were graciously confirmed; in addition to which their liberty was to include the adjoining borough of Irishtown, and the parishes of St. Canice, St. John, St. Mary, and St. Patrick, to be designated by the name of "The Town and Free Borough of Kil-

curious that the two Richards would appear to have died on the same day of the same month. Alderman Nicholas Langton records that his father, Richard, the son of John, of the house of Low, "deceased the 18th May, 1566." The Richard Langton of the monument in St. John's Abbey died, as appears by

the inscription, on the 18th May also, but one figure of the year is obliterated from persons constantly walking or standing on the tomb, the slab of which is level with the surrounding ground; however, whilst the first two figures are 15, the last is clearly 8, so that the year could not be the same.

kenny," governed by a corporate body consisting of a sovereign, free burgesses, and commonalty, with a common council composed of fourteen capital burgesses, and a recorder, which latter official, with the sovereign, and two senior capital burgesses, should be justices of the peace within the town and liberty; together with other privileges. However, the municipal magnates of the day appear not to have been satisfied with this royal concession, and aspired to a little more of civic state and dignity than they were entitled to assume under the new charter; and they seem immediately to have set about suing for an extension of His Majesty's favours, sending Nicholas Langton to London, to negotiate the matter. Langton succeeded to the fullest extent of their wishes, and the following year brought back with him the extended charter which they desired—that of the 7th James I., since known as "The Great Charter of Kilkenny"—elevating the town and liberty to the dignity of a city, to be governed by a mayor, aldermen, and common council, with recorder, sheriffs, sword and mace bearers, mayor of the staple, society of merchant staple, or merchants' guild, and various other guilds, pie-poudre court, fairs, markets, and various other rights and immunities. This charter named Nicholas Langton himself as one of the eighteen first aldermen; and both Nicholas and his eldest son, James Langton, were also nominated in the document, as amongst the first thirty-seven members of the society of merchant staple. On the 29th of September, 1613, the father was elevated to the dignity of the mayoralty; and the son was elected sheriff in 1612, and coroner in 1616. However, even before his advancement to the office of mayor of the city, a still more important distinction was conferred on the former, as, earlier in the same year, 16th April, 1613, Nicholas Langton, Alderman, was elected in conjunction with Patrick Archer, Esq., to represent the city of Kilkenny in the Parliament called by the government to sit in Dublin, for the regulation of the affairs of the nation,—the first Parliament held in Ireland for twenty-seven years, and which commenced with a very serious difference between the Protestant and Roman Catholic members as to the choice of a Speaker. Nicholas Langton considerably added to and improved whatever property the family had acquired in Kilkenny, building both a town and a country mansion, the former of which continues to be the property of his descendants to the present day. It was situated near the Tholsel, and at the east side of the High-street, opposite the Market-cross. The site was part of the "Freren Land," or local abbey property, vested in the corporation, by a grant from Henry VIII., at the suppression of monastic institutions. It consisted of what is called in the corporation records, "three parcels of a waste rome" [room], adjoining the house in which he had previously resided; and he obtained a fee farm lease of the premises from the municipal body, originally with

the intention of erecting on the ground a public shambles and corn market; binding himself at the time to leave open through it a public passage communicating between High-street and King-street, then known as Low-lane, a passage which exists to the present day, under the designation of the "The Butter Slip." The record of the agreement for this lease is set out in one of the ancient books of the corporation; and I have transcribed it for insertion here, as likely to be deemed, locally, a not uninteresting memorial of the Langton family:—

" FREREN LAND.

" 46. *Nicholas Langton 3 pcells of a waste some nere the Market Crosse.*

" A fee fearme past by the Sovarigne, Burgesses, and comons of the Towne of Kilkenny by Deede indented, bearing Date the xiiijth Day of January, 1602, unto Mr. Nicolas Langton of the said Towne Burges, of thre pcells of land, pcell of the freren land, being porcion of wast messuages or tofts situated betwixt nere the Market Crosse of the said Towne, extending in leingth from the high streate of the said Towne unto the streate called the Lowe Lane of the same. Of w^{ch} thre pcells one lieth in leingth from the said high streate in the west xxv foote by the square towards the Easte. And in bredth from the said Nicolas his nowe Dwelling house in the North, unto the said Nicolas his Lands nowe in the possession of Stephen Daniell in the South. An other pcell of the said 3 pcells lieth distant from the Easte side or bownds of the said pcell of land nere the high streate fyfete foote by the square, and lyeth in leingth from the said fyfete foote in the west xxvi foote by the square towards the Easte. And in breath betwixt the said Nicolas his lands in the north & south. The other pte or pcell of grownde lieth distant from this pcell of grownde last marked & meared fortie three foote distant towards the East, and lieth in leingth from the said xliij foote in the West unto the said Lowe lane in the easte. In bredth it lieth from a part of the said Nicolas is nowe Dwelling house in the north, unto the lands of Robert Rothe, Esq^r, in the south. Saving and allway excepting & reserving unto the said Corporcion & to all thenhabitants of the said Towne for ever in the thre ends of the said thre pcells of land next adjoyninge to the said Nicolas his nowe Dwelling house a good and convenient way and passadge at all tymes aswell for themselves as for their horses, truckquilles, & carts loden or unloden, as for all other necessities in & throwgh the said way or passadge, w^{ch} way or passadge shalbe in every place viij foote by the square in bredth, and vi foote of lyke square measure in height from the said forestreate nere the marked crosse to the lowe lane.

" To have and to holde the said thre pcells of land except the preex-
cepted unto the said Nicolas, his heirs & assigns in fee fearme for ever, yeld-

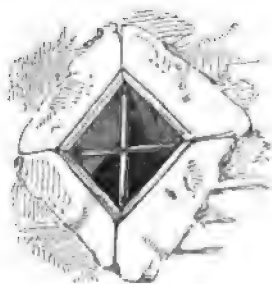
¹ From the document it does not appear whether the passage known as "The Butter Slip" was then to be first formed, or that, having previously existed, Nicholas Langton, in erecting his buildings, was to be bound to leave it

open. It is probable, however, that it had existed before the time. The present breadth of the lane, and the height of the arches on which portions of the buildings are thrown over it, correspond exactly with the covenants of the lease.

ing & paying yearly for the same unto the said Corpora^cōn, their successors & assignes, two shillings sterling curraunt mony of England, at the feasts of St. Michell Tharchangle & Easter, by evin por^cōns, for all manⁿ accōns services & demaunds. A clause of Distresse auctorising the said Sovarign, Burgesses & Comōns, &c. to Distraine for the said rent if after the space of vi weeks next after any of the said feastes the same or any pt. thereof shalbe unpaid. A covenant that the said Nicolas, his heirs or assignes, shall at their owne chardge erect & edifye a conveynient Shamles for the use and comoditie of the said Corpora^cōn betwene the said fore-streate building neare the Crosse wth shall extend in leingth fyfte foote and in breadth six or seaven foote, wth a wall of lyme & stone all alonge the South part therof of such convenient height as is requisite for the same, and shall build the side next the Inner passadge and buildinge of the said Shamles wth sownde oken tember & the pticōns thereof wth good oken plancks, and shall cause to be made convenient frames apt to receave doores & windowes for the said shamles, and shall make the roffe thereof with oken tymber, & cover the same wth latts & sclats sufficiently. And shall also cause to be made and sett upp, at his the said Nic., his heirs, exors., and assignes, is pper costs and chardges, two good strong gates of oken planks, the one of them to be made uppon the part of the said passage wth is next to the M^ket Crosse & the other gate towards the lowe lane, where the Sovarigne of the said Towne shall appoint. And shall also build on the East side of the said midle rome (viz.), betweene the said midle Rome & the said pcell of land nere the lowe lane a convenient corne market with a wall of lyme & stone, and cover all over wth oken timber, pinns latts and sclatts, & the said shamles & corne market shall build, make upp, and finish before the feast of St. Michael Tharchangle next ensuinge the date of the said Dede. And moreo^v shall pave the said way or passadge from the said fore streate towards the m^ket crosse at leingth into the said lowe lane w^hin the said tyme. A warraunt of attorney to Arthur Shee to putt the said Nicolas in possessōn & clause of warrantie against the said Sovaraigne, burgeß, Comōns, and their successors."

Why the stipulations in this contract, for the laying out of a shamles and corn market, were never carried out, I have not been able to ascertain; but the nature of the agreement entered into by Nicholas Langton with the corporation, in 1602, must have been changed by mutual consent and agreement within the next seven years, as, on the ground acquired under this fee-farm lease, he in 1609 built "the great stone house" which for more than a century and a half afterwards was the residence of the representative of the family in Kilkenny, except during a few years when the Irish inhabitants were expelled from the town by the Cromwellian settlers. This house, the present establishment of Messrs. Wall and Son, linen and woollen drapers, has undergone many changes modernly, but still retains internally some of the old floors of oak, supported by great beams of the same timber, resting on stone corbels. In the rere several of the original stone-framed and mullioned windows, surmounted by drip labels, and the old chimney shafts of massive

masonry, are to be seen; and the kitchen fire-place, an arch of ten feet in the span, bearing evidence of ancient profusion and liberal hospitality, is a striking feature in the internal arrangements. Externally, the most noticeable feature at present is a little lozenge-

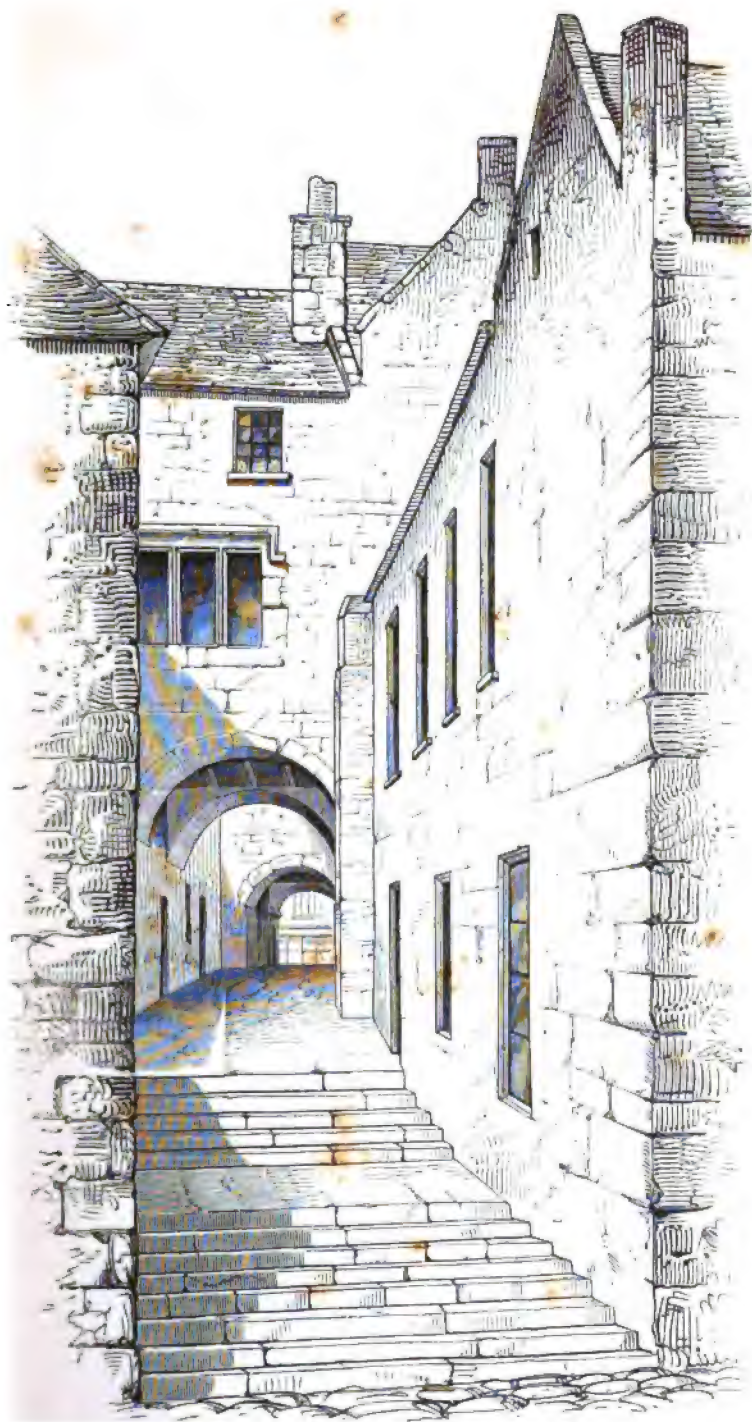


shaped window, preserving the original grating, looking into the "Butter Slip" from the second story. It is eighteen inches in height and width, from point to point of the lozenge. The original front of the house presented to the street a row of four round-headed arches, one of which gave entrance to the passage known as the Butter Slip—no longer available, as intended by the framers of the lease, for the traffic of horses and carriages between High-street and "Low-lane," or King-

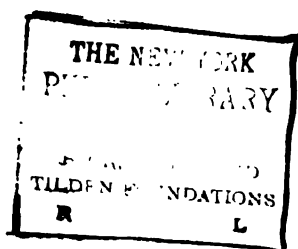
street; an arrangement which must have been dangerous enough from the abruptness of the declivity at the latter side—but now convenient as a "short cut" for foot passengers, for whose accommodation at a more modern period a flight of steps was placed to ease the descent. The upper front of the house showed a parapet, with a central gable, crowned with a massive stone chimney; but both gable and chimney have disappeared from the beginning of the present century, and the house now presents the ordinary modern eved roof to the street. The original front elevation, with only the change effected in the modernization of the windows of the first floor, will be found accurately depicted in the view of the old Market Cross, in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society for 1853 (vol. ii., part 2)—a view which must have been taken before the year 1771, when the cross was removed, and a public pump substituted for it. An engraving of the rere of the premises, showing the arches used in the building of the house for the passage of the Butter Slip, in accordance with the provisions of the lease, is here supplied from a drawing by the Rev. J. Graves. But the most striking memento of Nicholas Langton, in connexion with the town residence which he built opposite the Market Cross, is a large stone tablet, bearing his armorial ensigns, and an inscription recording the date of its erection. Its original position, no doubt, was the street front of the house above the centre pier of the colonnade of arches;¹ but it was probably removed at

¹ It would seem that this escutcheon was in its original position in 1765, as in the preamble to the pedigree of the Langton family, that year drawn up in the office of the Ulster King, it is stated—"Langton of Walton, who were

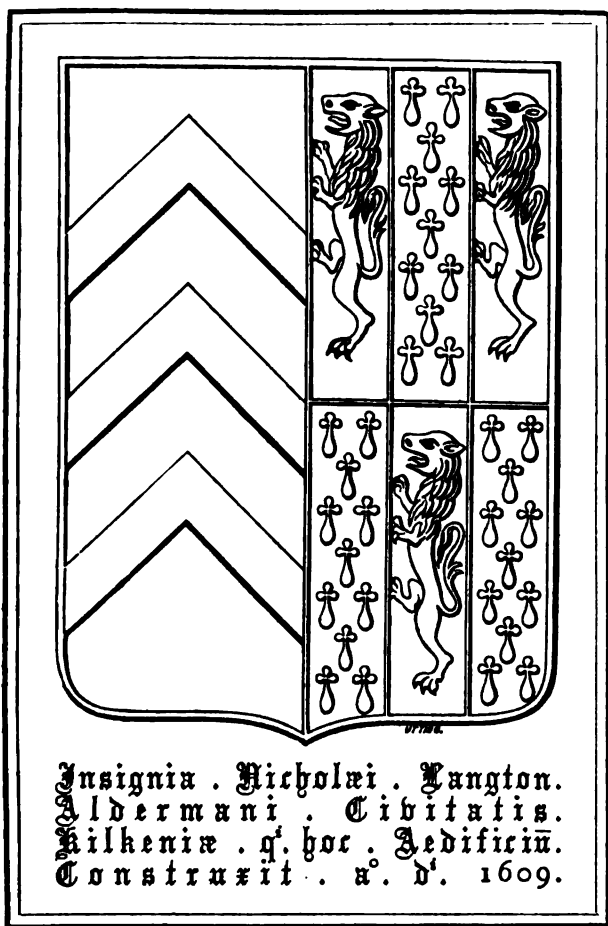
Barons (bore) *argent, three chevrons gules*; which are the arms of the Langtons of Kilkenny, and which Nicholas Langton, Esq., fixed on the front of the house he built in Kilkenny, anno 1609, which may at this day be seen."



LANGTON'S HOUSE AND THE BUTTER SLIP, KILKENNY.



the time of the modernizing of the first floor windows as they appear in the view of the Market Cross before referred to, and it is at present inserted in a wall at the re-re of the premises. The field of the escutcheon is charged with the three chevrons for Langton, impaling, as the arms of Daniel or Danyel, *per fesse, argent and ermine, a pale counterchanged, three lions rampant*.¹ Beneath is the inscription, in raised old English characters.



¹ There are thirty-one different coats for Daniel or Danyel, given in "Burke's General Armoury," some bearing a resemblance to, but none of them exactly agreeing with, the above. A sketch of the escutcheon on the house of the Langtons having been submitted to Sir

J. Bernard Burke, Ulster King, for his opinion, he states—"The arms impaled with Langton, viz., *per fesse, arg. and erm. a pale counterchanged, three lions rampt.*, are certainly intended for a coat of Danyel." The arms of Daniel in the Spanish pedigree are incorrect.

rebellion of 1641, and the sittings of the Supreme Council of Confederate Catholics¹ in Kilkenny; and he only just survived by a single year the surrender of the city to Cromwell. He no doubt experienced some of the hardships of the arbitrary rule introduced under the governorship of Kilkenny committed to Colonel Daniel Axtel, the regicide, but was spared the affliction experienced soon after, in the year 1654, by his widow and younger children, in the "ukase" which drove them from their home opposite the Market Cross, and forced them to take up their residence for nine years in the town of Ballinakill, Queen's County, which was selected by the Cromwellian authorities as the place of transplantation, or, as the victims themselves termed it, "banishment," for the native citizens of Kilkenny.² Nicholas Langton, the eldest son of this Michael, having been bound apprentice to a merchant at Ross, was sent to France on a trading voyage by his master in 1649, but was taken, with the ship and cargo, by Moorish pirates, and detained as a slave for three years and four months on the coast of Barbary, when he effected his escape by swimming to the nearest Spanish post, in the manner told in his own words in the manuscript which I herewith lay before the Society; and, having returned to Ireland, joined his mother at Ballinakill, till after the restoration of the King, when the banished citizens of Kilkenny appear to have been, in 1663, also restored to their property, or some portion of it, and permitted to resume their residence in that city. Langton re-entered into possession of the paternal mansion at the Market Cross, where his son

person, whom I cannot connect with the branch of the House of Low, died in 1626, and left a son and heir, Richard Lanckton, who succeeded him in possession of a stone house, and other premises in Kilkenny, part of the property of the dissolved monastery of St. John, and held from the king, in soccage, in *capite*.

¹ One of the members of the Supreme Council of Confederate Catholics was William Langton, of Kilkenny, whom I cannot connect with the branch of the House of Low, except on the supposition that he may have been a descendant from Edward or Richard, the younger sons of the first settler in Kilkenny. The family seem to have recognised him as "one of them;" for, amongst the documents left by the late Mr. Michael Langton of Danville, is a paper containing copies of monumental inscriptions connected with his ancestors, one of which is there given as follows:—

"Hic jacet Willielmus Langton, quondam Major civitatis Kilkennise, qui hoc

monumentum fieri fecit, et obiit die. . . . A. D. 16 . . . et Catherina Archer uxor ejus, quæ obiit die. . . . A. D. . . ."

This inscription is now nowhere to be found in Kilkenny, but those which accompany it on the same paper were at St. John's Abbey. William Langton's mayoralty was in 1645-6. He was also sheriff in 1625-6. Another local dignitary whom I cannot connect with the family tree is Walter Langton, who was portreve, or chief magistrate of the corporation of Irishtown, in 1576.

² See an exceedingly interesting paper, by John P. Prendergast, Esq., entitled "The Clearing of Kilkenny, Anno 1654," "Journal of Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society," vol. iii., part 2, new series, p. 326. Nicholas Langton was one of sixteen banished citizens of Kilkenny who petitioned King Charles II. on his restoration, at the same time applying to the Marquis of Ormonde to second their prayer to his Majesty, for the restitution of their property in that town (*ibid.* p. 341).

and successor, Michael, was born in 1663 (old style), as was Michael's son, Nicholas in 1705. This Nicholas Fitz Michael the second settled as a merchant in Cadiz, in Spain, where he married; and his eldest son, Michael Laurence Joseph Langton, was born in 1737. For these latter two members of the family the pedigree on record in the office of the Ulster King was made out, for the purpose of securing them those privileges which in Spain were only extended at the time to men of birth and ancestry, and they were adjudged by the Spanish authorities to have fully made good their claim to all such rights and immunities. The family would still probably be settled in Cadiz but for Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Spain, in consequence of which Michael L. J. Langton removed his family to England, intending to follow them thither himself; but he was suddenly seized with a fatal illness, and died in Cadiz during the siege in July, 1810. His eldest son, Michael Theobald Langton, settled in Bath, and married Miss Mary Ryan, of Waterford,—a lady whose father's great-grandfather had acquired the property of Danganmore, in the county of Kilkenny, by marriage with the heiress of the last male descendant of the Barons Palatine of Danganmore, a branch of the family of Comerford of Staffordshire, which had settled in Kilkenny in the reign of King John, and whose descendants, somewhat more fortunate than those of the larger number of the old Anglo-Norman settlers, had preserved some small portion of their ancient patrimony through the two revolutions of the seventeenth century, with their sweeping attainders and confiscations.¹ Thus Captain Henry Michael Faustinus Langton, the eldest

¹ The last Comerford of Danganmore, however, did lose the greater part of his ancestral estate, by confiscation. His castle and lands of Derryleagh, now the fine mansion and demesne of Castlemorres were granted by Oliver Cromwell to Matthias Westmoreland, a lieutenant in his army, by whom the property was sold to Captain Hervey Morres, son of Sir Redmond Morres, of Knockagh Castle, in the county of Tipperary, who joined the army of the Commonwealth, and commanded a troop in the Protector's own regiment of horse. Captain Morres afterwards favoured the restoration of Charles II., and obtained from that king a patent erecting Derryleagh into a manor, under the title of Castlemorres, with courts leet and baron, and three annual fairs to be held in the village of Ballyribbon, on the property, the name of which he changed to Newmarket. He died in 1724; and was the progenitor, by his third wife, Frances Butler, granddaughter to the first Viscount

Galmoy, of the Lords Mountmorres and Frankfort de Montmorency, as well as of the late Sir William Morres, Bart., of Uppercourt and Kilcreene. The present proprietor of the Castlemorres estate, John Pratt De Montmorency, Esq., is a descendant in the female line. According to family tradition, the way in which Danganmore, the chief seat of the Comerford family, and from which their titular dignity of Baron was derived, came to be saved to their descendants at the time of the confiscation of the rest of the property, was that it had been settled in marriage on Catherine Comerford, the lady who brought it into the Ryan family, and who is said to have been a widow at the time that she took, as her second husband, a gentleman of that name, from Silvermines, in the county of Tipperary, who had lost his own property in the wars. The only son of this marriage, Mr. Jeremiah Ryan, married a Miss Peppard, in 1721, and at his death his widow fixed her resi-

son of this marriage, and the representative of the Langtons of the city of Kilkenny, descended of the House of Low and of the Barons of Newton and lords of Walton le-dale, in Lancashire, comes to be a landed proprietor in the county of Kilkenny, also, as the heir and representative in the female line of the ancient Barons of Danganmore. The "great stone house" at the Market Cross, however, is not now his property, but belongs to the Rev. Edmund Madden, R. C. Curate, at Swansea, in Wales, the representative in the female line of a junior branch of the Langton family, who continued to occupy the premises after the senior branch had emigrated to Spain. This branch, which became extinct in the second generation, was founded by Silvester, a younger brother of Michael Fitz Nicholas the second, who seems to have been in partnership in trade with the latter, and to have continued the business after his death, taking a lease of the house from Michael's son, Nicholas, then in Cadiz. This Silvester Langton, in a manuscript which he has left after him, in his own handwriting, states that he was "born on the 29th day of December, 1681, in the Big house opposit the Cross, in Kilkenny, and was married to Anne Langton, daughter of Thomas Langton of Birr, the 25th January, 1712." Silvester was succeeded by his son, the late Mr. Michael Langton, of Danville, from whom the "big house" was rented by his nephew, the late Mr. Michael Comerford,¹ of King-street—son of Mr. James Comerford, married to

dence in Kilkenny. Their eldest son, John Ryan, entered the French army, and served in the Irish Brigade, at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. After about seven years' service he returned to Ireland, on his father's death; and in his place a commission in the French army was given to his younger brother, who subsequently attained the rank of a general. John left three sons, of whom the elder, Peter, married a Miss Wall, but died without issue; the second, John, an eccentric but generally esteemed citizen of Kilkenny, never married; and the youngest, Henry Jeremiah, was grandfather to Captain Langton, to whose mother the family property passed not many years since. Captain Langton pays a small chieftain for Danganmore to the Marquis of Ormonde, as lord of the soil.

¹ Mr. Michael Comerford seems to have been the last head and representative of one of the various branches of that family of ancient note and status in the county of Kilkenny; but of which of them, it is, I fear, not now possible to decide. The Danganmore family was the head branch; but the Comerfords of

Inchyolohan, of Ballymack, of Ballybur, and of Callan, were all conspicuous amongst the gentry of the county of Kilkenny in the olden time. The people inhabiting the neighbourhood of Ballybur Castle, near Desart, always looked upon Mr. Michael Comerford as the lineal representative of the ancient proprietors of that fortified residence. He himself seemed to be under the impression that his line was that of Ballymack; but he appeared to me to have had no reason for arriving at that conclusion except the interest which the Act of Attainder of Thomas Queuerford, or Comerford, of Ballymack (for having joined in the rebellion of James Fitz Maurice in 1569), amongst the published Statutes (13th Elizabeth, cap. vii.) had excited in his mind. He had once in his possession the means of ascertaining the exact facts, had he but tried to decipher the old family title-deeds and other papers, which had come down to him from his ancestors, but unfortunately they were destroyed without his having done so. Those documents had been carefully preserved by his grandfather and father, in an oaken

Anne Langton, fourth daughter of Silvester, on the 27th November, 1754—who for many years resided there. Mr. Michael Langton lived to a very advanced age, and, having never married, at his death, his property, including the house at Danville, of which he was the builder, and the leasehold interest in the “big house,” or “great stone house,” at the Butter Slip, came to Mr. Comerford, who, also having never married, at his demise, a few years since, was succeeded by his grand nephew, the Rev. E. Madden, whose grandfather, Mr. Edward Madden, had married Miss Jane Comerford, eldest sister of Michael, in 1781. The Rev. Mr. Madden recently purchased from Captain Langton his interest in the Butter Slip premises, which thus have become his exclusive property, paying only a small chiefry to the Marquis of Ormonde, as lord of the soil; and thus the “great stone house,” although it has passed away from the representative of its builder in 1609, is yet, in 1864, the property of a descendant.

The manuscript account of the Langton family which I propose

chest, in the hope that some day such a change in the existing state of things might take place, as that the production of the title-deeds would serve to restore to them their ancestral possessions. Mr. Comerford described to me how he remembered in his early youth seeing his grandfather William Comerford, of Kilkenny, on sunny days, taking the old parchments from their receptacle, and carefully “airing” them, so as to insure their preservation. However, on the death of his own father, James Comerford, Michael became their possessor; but his mother claimed to have the chest given up to what she considered a more useful purpose, and the contents were therefore emptied in a corner of the garret of the old house of the Langtons, where they served as a magazine for waste paper, and were often put in requisition when a turkey was required to be singed; whilst the damp and mice so injured the parchments, that upon looking over them about fifty years ago, they appeared to him to be altogether illegible and valueless, and he threw them into the fire. Three or four of the parchments had large pendant seals attached to them, which remained for some time after in the house; but by degrees they all vanished except one, and that he gave as a curiosity to his nephew, Mr. Jeremiah Scully, of Freshford. A portion of this seal has since been presented by Mr. Scully to the Museum of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, and

it proves to be the Irish great seal of Charles I., which probably had been appended to a patent passed under the Commission for the Remedy of Defective Titles. James, the father of Michael Comerford, after his marriage with Anne Langton, carried on business as a merchant in the “great stone house,” in partnership with Mr. Emanuel Murray, who was married to his wife's sister Elinor. It was this firm of Comerford and Murray which loaded the first and only boat that navigated the Kilkenny canal from the tide water to the city, and on the passage of which a large advance of money from Parliament for the completion of the navigation works depended. It was rather a “take in,” the navigation by the boat, as in many places it was only forced along by the labour of vast crowds of men collected together for the purpose; but ultimately the vessel did arrive in Kilkenny, and discharged its cargo at New Quay, described by Mr. Comerford as then a much more open place than it was in the memory of the present generation, before it was altogether swept away recently in the forming of the new public markets. Mr. Michael Comerford witnessed the removal of the Market Cross of Kilkenny in 1771, being seven years old at the time. He remembered seeing the ropes fastened to the structure, to pull it down, and he stated that the street was covered with straw to receive the falling mass.

to print here was first seen by me in the possession of the late Michael Comerford, who found it amongst the family papers which had been in the possession of his uncle, Michael Langton, son of Silvester; and it is now in the keeping of Mr. Comerford's executor, Mr. Michael Banim, the distinguished litterateur. It is only a copy, of which what seems to be the original is in the possession of Captain Langton,¹ whose father and grandfather continued to enter in the book all the particulars of the births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths of their children, in exactly the same form that adopted by their progenitors who had in succession for so many generations carried on the record. Its local interest cannot fail being considerable, from the many particulars of people and events of note in former times in Kilkenny which are incidentally introduced; although, of course, by readers unconnected with the city, the minute particulars entered into of mere family matters may be deemed in some degree tedious. However, I would hope that as the fullest memorial which exists of any one of the ten "Trials of Kilkenny," the propriety of its publication by a local Archaeological Society will by no one be disputed. Before giving the manuscript, however, I think it proper to supply such a genealogical tree as will enable it to be better understood by the reader. An earlier portion of the pedigree I deem it right to set out just as it was drawn up in the Irish Office of Arms, and certified by the Ulster King in 1765; but that portion of it of which the authenticity is so much more than doubtful I have given with dotted lines to distinguish it from the rest, which may be implicitly relied on being supported by documents of unquestionable genuineness.

¹ The following entry, made in the book by Michael Laurence Joseph Langton, the son of the first settler in Spain, and himself born there, makes this fact pretty clear, and also accounts for the existence of the copy which I found in the keeping of Mr. Michael Comerford, and a transcript of which is now laid before the Society:—

"I was married the 2^d of October, 1758, at San Lucar de Barrameda, to Marie Elene Wadding, daughter to Gerard Wadding, of Carrick on Sure, and Anastacia Murphy of Kilkenny. . . . The 21st January, 1763, I had the misfortune to lose my beloved wife, whose extraordinary virtue and amiable temper gained her the general esteem, and made her death much lamented; she was buried in the vault of St. Simon's Stock's altar in the Carmelites Church of San Lucar de Barrameda, and firmly believe her soul enjoys of the eternal felicity, throw the merits of Jesus Christ our Redeemer,

and in reward of her most exemplary life. Having been at death door melancholic, the Physicians desired should travel to dissipate my sorrow cause of my sickness. I thought immediately of going to assure of my personal profound respect to my venerated Grand Mother Elinor Roth, at Kilkenny and to see my Relations in the place where my Ancestors had lived for many years. My said beloved Father deliver'd me then this precious and book, that I should continue follow my fore Fathers example, being the Son of the eldest branch of my Family and left the Copy of it in the house long to me and my heirs near Townsell, call'd the Pent house. On my return to Cadiz, I was married, the 7th July, 1766, in Paris, at St. Sulpice Parish church, by its Vicar, Berthod to Marie Dillon Hussey, Daughter of Thomas Dillon and Marie Hussey, three from Dublin."

Michael Langton,
Ch. Mat. 24.

Edward
William
Nicholas

Hard,
ed. Henr. di

Madden = Bridget

Wm. A. D. 1844.

Off. of A. M.
in note 2 p. 2
documents, etc.
In the
2nd Sept. 1844
of Kilkenny, etc.
daughter of 11
and page 35, n.

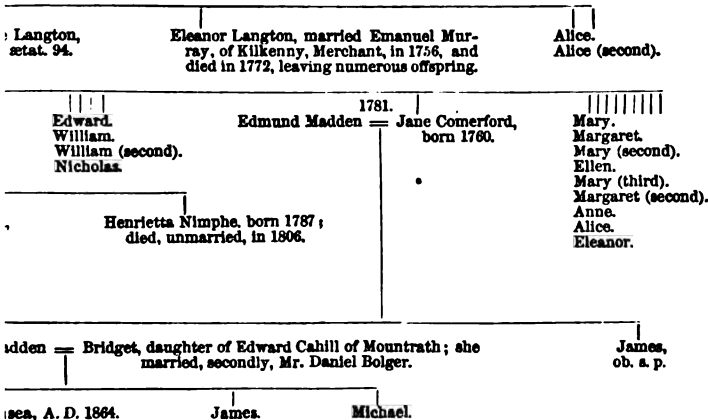
. The descents connected by dotted lines are copied from a Pedigree in the Office of Arms, Dublin Castle, but sufficient proof that it is unreliable is afforded in note 2, page 65, and note 1, page 66; the remainder is compiled from authentic documents, and information supplied by members of the family.

☞ In the Spanish Pedigree, Michael Langton fits Nicholas fits Richard (ob. 23rd Sept., 1651) is stated to have married Anne, daughter of William Murphy of Kilkenny, and it is so printed here; but it is almost certain that his wife was daughter of Patrick Murphy, Mayor of Kilkenny 1642-3. See page 92, note 2, and page 95, note 2.



Token struck by John fitz James Langton,
circa. 1660.

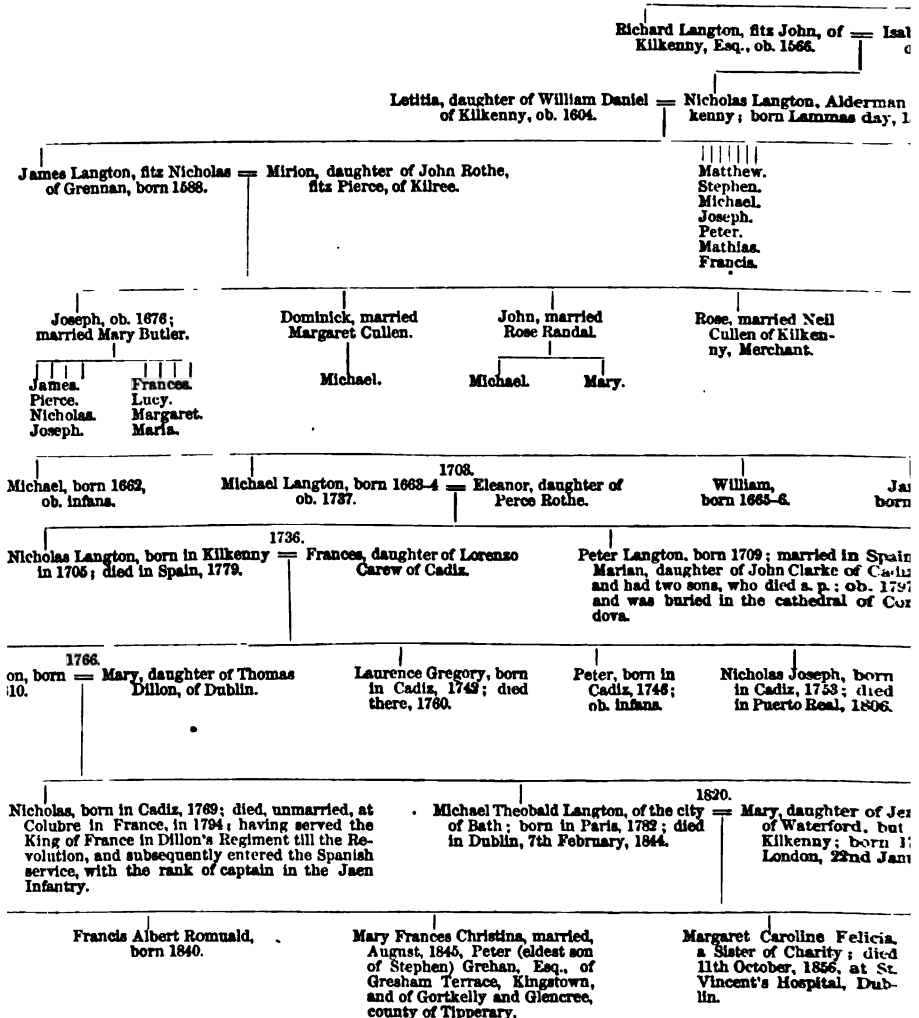
Kate.
ond).

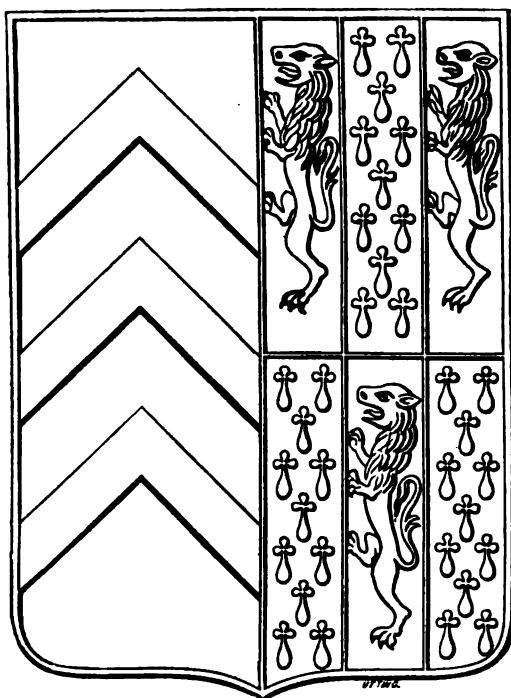


PEDIG

SIR JOHN
Step!
Arch
of the

John Langton fits Richard, Esq., settled at Low, in the county of Lancashire, between three lions pale rampant, or armed langued azure; and assumed gules, which are the arms of the Langtons of Kilkenny, over since the monument in St. John's Abbey, Kilkenny, may be seen.





**The Arms of Nicholas Langton, Alderman of Kilkenny,
A. D. 1609.**

Mary Ellen, daughter of Gerard Wadding = Michael Laurence Joseph Langton
of Carrick-on-Suir, ob. 1763. in Cadix, 1737; died there.

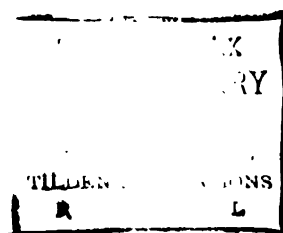
Frances Maryanne.

Mary, married P. Cruise
of Rathcool.

Ellen.

Henry Michael Faustinus Langton,
of No. 6, Southwick-place, Hyde
Park, London, and of Dangan-
more, county of Kilkenny, Cap-
tain in the Louth Rifles, A. D.
1864.

Theobald Arthur Lambert,
born 1880.



LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

GENEALOGIES.

THE COPY OF MY GRANDFATHER'S AND FATHER'S MEMORIALS
OF THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS, OF THE DAYS OF THEIR
BIRTHS, BY WHOM CHRISTENED, AND WHO WERE GODFATHERS.

Coppy'd by me att Ballynekill of the Queens County in
the year of our Lord God 1658 : being ye 5th year
of our Banishment by Cromwell,
who then reign'd by
the title of

PROTECTOR.

And again Transcribed in Kilkenny in the year of our
Lord God, 1679, being the 16th year after my return into
my Ancestors' house, and the 19th year of the King's Re-
storation.

With several additions to my said Father's writings.
A Narative of my Captivity and Sufferance in Salle, of
my deliverance from them by God's Mercy, and of the
nativity & christening of my Children, for the example of
Posterity, to be by them Immitated.

Sit nomen domini benedictum in Seculæ.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Langton Fitz Richard Fitz John of the House of Low in Lancashire.

I was born¹ upon Lammas day 1562, my Father deceased the 18th of May, 1566.

I² contracted my wife, Lettice Danniell, upon New Years day in Anno 1587, & by reason we were found to be of kindred 3 & 4 degrees, we could not marry, until a dispensation were had, and myself being bound for England, thereafter I came home, I travelled to Connaught, to Bishop Muldowny,³ and got his dispensation for the kindred, & was married unto my first wife on Midsummer Eve, Anno 1588, by whom I had children as followeth—

1. My Son James Langton,[†] was born the 27th day September 1589 early in Morning, whose godfathers James Butler fitz Edward & Nicholas White of Waterford, Merchant, and godmother Margaret Archer y^e wife of James Archer fitz Richard.

2. My Son Mathew Langton was born the 21 day of September Anno 1590 being St. Mathew's day, whose godfathers were James Archer fitz Richard and Nicholas Wale, and godmother Megg Archdeacon y^e wife of Walter Ryan.

* My Grandfather³ died on the 21st of December 1632 in the house of Grenan after he had finished it, and by reason he was very big and pursive, being dead, he was Embowelled and confined there, and brought by boat to Kilkenny and buried in his own Monument⁴ in the great Quire of St. Johns Abbey.

† My Uncle James was married unto Mirion Roth fitz John by whom he had Sons and Daughters to y^e number of 25; of whom some were married, namely—Joseph unto Mary Butler who died in January 1676 and left alive with her 4 boys and 4 girls; Dominick unto Margaret Cullin, he's now living, hath a son named Michael; John⁵ unto Rose Randol, now living, have a son & daughter, Michael and Mary. The sons of Joseph are James, Pierce, Nicholas, and Joseph. Rose was married unto Neal Cullin,⁶ whose Sons and daughters dyed. Frances married unto Thomas Langton, who hath a son living named James. Lucy married Antho. St.

¹ This is the writing of Alderman Nicholas Langton, grandfather to the transcriber.

² Thomas Strong was consecrated R. C. Bp. of Ossory in 1582, on the 29 of March; he died in 1601, but for a long time prior to his death he resided at Compostella, in Spain (Burk's "Hib. Dominicana," Suppl., p. 869), which accounts for the necessity of Nicholas Langton going to Connaught in 1588 to seek a bishop of the Church to which he belonged.

³ This is the commentary of the transcriber, Nicholas fitz Michael, the grandson of Alderman Nicholas Langton, and throughout whose "writings," and those of his son Michael it is continued.

⁴ As stated at page 79, this monu-

ment is not now in existence. Commodities for the market of Kilkenny used at the period to be brought down from the Queen's County in small boats, called cots, on the River Nore, a means of traffic which has been long since prevented by the erection of mill weirs.

⁵ This John Langton, third son of James, was a merchant of Kilkenny, and about the year 1660 struck a penny token, bearing the family arms on the obverse. (See Plate facing page 62, figures 8 and 9).

⁶ The inscription on a mural tomb at St. John's Abbey informs us that—"Neale Cullon, citizen of Kilkennie, built this monument for his dearly beloved wife Rose Langton, deceased the 4th of October, 1646, his father John Cullon,

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Fitz Richard.

3. My Son Stephen Langton was born the Second day of August 1591 whose godfather was Nicholas Wale and godmother Margaret Archer wife to James Archer Fitz Richard.

4. My Son Michael Langton was born y^e 4th day of September 1592, whose godfather was Walter Ryan, & godmother Ellen Ragett, the wife of Nicholas Wale.

5. My Son Joseph Langton* was born the 25th day of March Anno 1594, being the day of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, betwixt the hours of 10 & 11 of the Clock at night; whose Godfather was Nicholas Wale, and Godmother Elizabeth Shee, daughter to Mr. Henry Shee,¹ at which time his mother & myself made a promise to do our Indeaours that he should be a Priest, God give him grace so to be Amen.

6. My Son Peter Langton, was born y^e second day of August an. 1595 whose godfather was Richard Wale and godmother Elizabeth Brimigham y^e wife of Walter Archer y^e Elder.

7. My Daughter Nichol Langton† was born y^e 19th day of Novem-

Leger;² has two sons Antho. & Bartho. Margaret marryd into Adam Lawles,³ hath a son & a daughter living, vidz., James & Cath. Mary and Catherine married obscurely. My said Uncle dyed of a palsy wherewith he was sick for 12 months, and was brought by boat from Grennan & buried in my Father's Tomb in St. Johns Abby.

* He was a Dominican Fryar, & reputed to be the best Preacher y^t was in his time. He took Orders in Valladolid where he preached often before the King and Queen of Spain to y^e great Satisfaction of the Spaniards. He continued after in Ireland near 30 years, where he converted many to the Catholick Religion, chased devils out of Many possessed Bodies, & was admired for Sanotity of life. In the year 1652, he, with many other Priests & Friars, in obedience to Cromwell's Proclamation, transported him for Spain, where he continued his wonted preaching, & died at his Convent at Valladolid, in the year 1659, where he was honorably buried, & was esteemed for a Holy Man.

† My said Aunt was married unto Thomas Shee, who was killed at Durrow, by

his mother Ellen Seix, himself and his posteritie." The following distich is beneath :—

"My virtue death heere seems to oversway
My virtue's fruit by death will ne'er decay."

Over the inscription is an escutcheon of the arms of Cullen:—*gu. a garbe, with a crescent for difference, or, between three dexter hands of the same, one in chief and two per fess, in base three trefoils slipped vert impaling a shield which represents the arms of his mother and wife emblazoned per fess, in chief, or, a lion rampant gules for Seix, in base argent, three chevrons gules for Langton, crest on a helmet a dexter hand, or, motto, From virtue abundance.*

¹ This would appear to have been the Henry Shee who built the fine old Eliza-

bethan house in High-street, opposite the junction of Walkin-street. He was first cousin to Sir Richard Shee, Knight, of Upper Court and Bonnestown, and was Mayor of Kilkenny in 1610-11.

² In the depositions of 1641, Anthony Sellinger, or St. Leger, and his brother Edmond Sellinger, apothecary, are named amongst some of the citizens of Kilkenny charged by Thomas Lewis, gentleman, an English settler, with having, during the troubles of the period, despoiled him of household goods, &c., worth £40. (MS., F. 2. C. Trin. Col. Dub.)

³ Adam Lawless was elected portreve, or chief magistrate of the corporation of Irishtown, in 1636. He was a member of the family of Lawless of Talbot's Inch, near Kilkenny, from which Lord Cloncurry descends.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Fitz Richard.

ber, Anno 1596, whose Godfather was Nicholas Wale, and Godmother Ellis Purcell, the wife of Morgan Cashin the younger. My said Daughter (after her Mother's death), was called Lettice by the Bishop at Confirmation.

8. My Son Matthias Langton* was born y^e 23^d day of February Anno 1597, about y^e hour of 11 at night, being the Eve of St. Mathew; whose godfather was Walter Archer the younger, & godmother Dorothy Dunn, the wife of Barnaby Fitzpatrick.

9. My Son Francis Langton was born the 15 day of July 1599, whose Godfather was Nicholas Wale, & Godmother Megg Archdeacon; he dyed the 25th of the same month.

10. My daughter Mary Langton† was born the 13th day of March Anno 1601, whose godfather was John Rochford, of Killarie,¹ & godmother Elizabeth Shee and Megg Archdeacon.

11. My Daughter Jane Langton‡ was born y^e 14 day of November 1603, being Monday, about the hour of eleven in the Forenoon; whose Godfather was Thomas Purcell fitz Richard, & Godmother Elizabeth Shee, wife to John Rochford, of Killarie.

y^e Garrison of Ballinekill,² anno 1642, being y^e 2^d of the Warr; by whom she had sons & daughters. Her son Michael Shee was married unto Alson Gough, of Dublin, by whom he had sons John, Thomas, Nicholas, Stephen.

* I could hear y^e my s^d uncle was bound apprentice to my grandfather Mr. Patrick Murphy,³ and being high spirited went out of his service beyond Seas. We could hear from a Soldier that came out of Germany in the year 1641, that they knew one Mathew Langton, an Irishman, in Germany, that he dyed in an honourable condition & left a son, named Nicholas.

† W^m, her Eldest Son twice married, and had a plentiful issue, his eldest son being Alexious named Nicholas; her 2^d Son was born Dumb & dyed unmarried; James, her 3^d son, had many children, & Edmond her 4th, was a Priest; her Daughter dyed young.

‡ My said Aunt married to Edmond Commerford of Castlechely who dying left her with child of a son whom she called by his fathers name.

¹ The Rochfords of Killaree were amongst the most anciently planted of the Anglo-Norman families of the county of Kilkenny. Some small remains of their feudal residence, the Black Castle of Killaree, may still be seen in the parish of Odogh.

² He was probably killed in the action which was fought shortly before Michaelmas, 1642, between Durrow and Ballinakill, by a detachment of the English garrison of the latter town, led by Lieutenant Gilbert, Ancient William Alfrey, Junr., and the Rev. Thomas Bingham, against some of the troops of the Council of Confederate Catholics, under the command of Edmond and Ed-

ward Butler, the two eldest sons of Lord Mountgarrett, and Captain Gerald Blanchville, of Blanchvillestown. The former, being vastly outnumbered, were totally routed, and the heads of their leaders, who were slain, are alleged to have been brought to Kilkenny and exposed on the Market Cross. On the side of the Confederates, Captain Walter Butler and several others fell. (Depositions of 1641, MS., F. 2. C., Trin. Col. Dublin).

³ Patrick Murphy filled the office of mayor of Kilkenny in 1642-3. His tomb, an altar and mural monument combined, in the renaissance style, may be seen in St. Canice's Cathedral.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Fitz Richard.

The 27th day of August 1604, my Mother¹ dyed at Cloghreane being the year of the great infection,² and was buried in our Ladies Quire in St. Johns Abby, by reason she could not be buried in the great Tombe where my Father was buried. My said wife dyed the 3^d day of September 1604, about the hour of eleven at night, being the year of the Infection. She left of the afores^d children alive, seven, Viz' 4 Sons & 3 daughters, God bless them. This was to me a doleful day having lost the rarest jewel of a wife y' any man of my rank had time out of mind. She was buried at St. Johns Abby, where I mean, God willing, to be buried myself.

"The 18th day of April 1605 I married my second wife Nichol Archer being youngest daughter of Patrick Archer fitz Edward,³ by whom I had children as follows :—

1. My Son Michael Langton was born y^e 26 day of September Anno 1606, whose godfather was Mr. Walter Ryan, & godmother Mrs. Bess Shee, wife to Mr. Walter Archer; he was baptized by his Uncle S^r Pierce Archer, and confirmed by a Catholic Bishop.

2. My Daughter Catherine Langton⁴ was born the 29th day of November Anno 1607, whose godfather was Walter Ryan, & godmother Mrs. Bess Wemble; she was baptized by S^r Pierce Archer, & confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

3. My Son Edward Langton[†] was born on Maunday thursday in passion week, being y^e 7th of April 1609; whose godfather was Mr. Walter Archer,⁴ & godmother Mrs. Ellen Butler, wife to Mr. Oliver Shortall.⁵ He was baptized by S^r Pierce Archer, & confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

* My Aunt was married to Mr. Luke Raggett by whom she had a plentiful Issue which dyed young.

† My Uncle was married unto Mrs. Megg Archdeacon fitz⁶ Nicholas, who dyed

¹ Nicholas Langton does not mention his mother's name; but in the Spanish pedigree she is stated to have been Isabel, daughter of William Blanchville, of Blanchvillestown, Esq., a family of great respectability, which frequently intermarried with the House of Ormonde. William was probably a younger son. Edmond Blanchville, who married a niece of Piers, Earl of Ormonde, seems to have been proprietor of Blanchvillestown at the period.

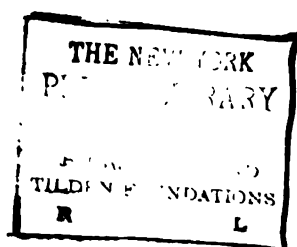
² The plague which, in 1603, ravaged England, and struck terror into the Court of King James I., in London, does not appear to have reached Kilkenny till the middle of the following year. In October, 1604, the corporation of Irish-town were engaged in taking sanitary measures with the hope of abating its virulence.

³ Patrick Archer was elected sovereign of Kilkenny, in 1601, and mayor in 1611.

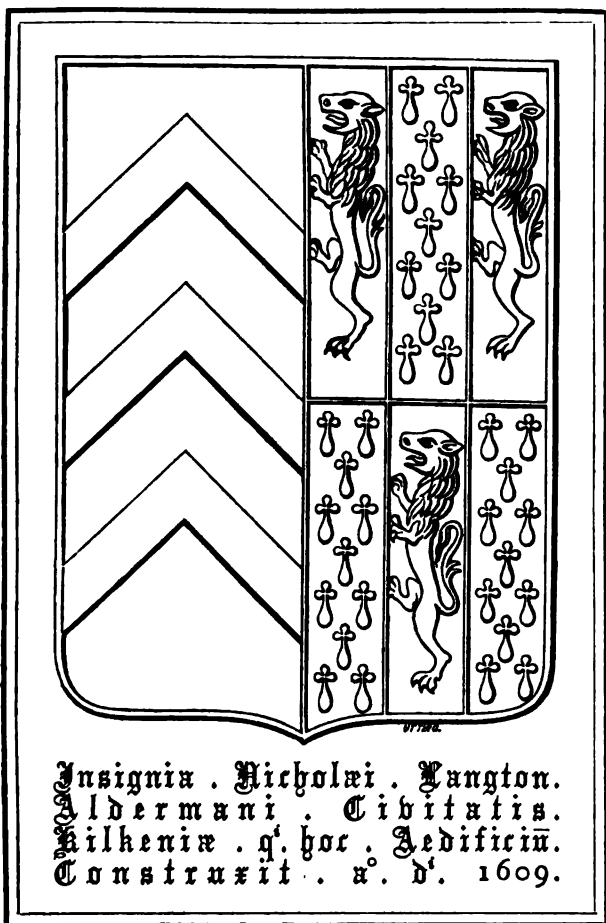
⁴ Walter Archer was elected mayor of Kilkenny in 1621.

⁵ This was Lady Ellen Shortall, her husband having been subsequently knighted. She was daughter to John Butler, of Kilcash, Esq., and sister of Walter eleventh Earl of Ormonde. She first married Nicholas Shortall, of Upper Claragh, Esq.; but he having died 14th September, 1600, she soon after married Oliver Shortall, of Ballylarkin and Castledogh, Esq., who some years later received the honour of knighthood. She was married a third time to a member of the Fitzpatrick family.

⁶ Nicholas Archdeakin was one of the two sheriffs of the city of Kilkenny, for the year 1631-2.



the time of the modernizing of the first floor windows as they appear in the view of the Market Cross before referred to, and it is at present inserted in a wall at the rear of the premises. The field of the escutcheon is charged with the three chevrons for Langton, impaling, as the arms of Daniel or Danyel, *per fesse, argent and ermine, a pale counterchanged, three lions rampant*.¹ Beneath is the inscription, in raised old English characters.



¹ There are thirty-one different coats for Daniel or Danyel, given in "Burke's General Armoury," some bearing a resemblance to, but none of them exactly agreeing with, the above. A sketch of the escutcheon on the house of the Langtons having been submitted to Sir

J. Bernard Burke, Ulster King, for his opinion, he states—"The arms impaled with Langton, viz., *per fesse, arg. and erm. a pale counterchanged, three lions rampt.*, are certainly intended for a coat of Danyel." The arms of Daniel in the Spanish pedigree are incorrect.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Michael Fitz Nicholas.

seized of a palsy in her house, in Kilkenny, after coming from Mass and from confessing and receiving ; being taken faint she was layd upon her bed where she soon yielded her soul unto her Saviour & Redeemer. Amen. He dyed the 21st of December Anno 1632 ; God of his mercy join together their souls in Glory.—Amen.

He was a wise, prudent, magnanimous, & hospitious man, and was employed by y^e Corporation of Kilkenny which was then but a Suffraigne Town, to sue for a charter of Mayoralty, which he obtained to his great satisfaction, & to the honour & satisfaction of that future triving City, where he was made Mayor the year following when Mr. Thomas Ley (who was Suffraigne when the charter came) ended his year of the Mayoralty.¹ He purchased the lands of Grenan & built the stone house thereof, he planted the Orchard, & divided the lands into Parks, which he quicksetted, he purchased & built the stone house near the Markett Cross in Kilkenny where I dwell, with several thatched houses & parka, which he left to my Uncle James ; he purchased a house in Rosin-street with a garden in Mill-street, which he left to my Father, & a house in Walkin-street, which he left unto my Uncle Edward. He lived happily and dyed in a good old age, after marrying Ten of his children, and leaving unto each of y^m that was unmarried one Hundred pounds sterling.

MY FATHER HIS WRITINGS.

In the name of God Amen.

I was born the six & twentieth day of September anno 1606, and was marry'd unto my loving Wife Ann Murphy,² upon the 4th day of Feb. 1629, and was married by my brother Fa. Joseph Langton & had Children by my said wife as Followeth :—

1. My Son Nicholas Langton was born the 27th day of 7^{ber} anno 1630 about three of the Clock in the morning whose godfather was Mr Richard Comerford, of Ballyburr,³ & Godmother Mrs Ann Shee fitz John, he was baptized by Father James Shee, and confirmed by a Catholic Bishop.

¹ This is an error of the writer. Nicholas Langton procured the great charter of Kilkenny in 1609, and he was not himself elected mayor until 1613. Thomas Ley was succeeded in the mayoralty, at Michaelmas, 1609, by Robert Rothe.

² We have a diversity of testimony as to the name of this lady's father. In the Spanish pedigree, which I have followed in making out the genealogical tree facing page 84, she is set down as "Anne, daughter of William Murphy, of Kilkenny." In a pedigree of the family of Killekelly, certified by Hawkins, Ulster King, in 1772, Michael Langton, "of Greenan, Queen's County," is

stated to have married "Anne, daughter of John O'Murphy." But her son, Nicholas fitz Michael Langton, clearly indicates that the Christian name was Patrick, as in reference to his uncle Matthew, at page 88, we have already seen he says, "my said uncle was bound apprentice to my grandfather, Mr. Patrick Murphy." There can therefore be little doubt that this Anne was the daughter of Patrick Murphy, to whom the monument was erected in St. Canice's Cathedral.

³ Richard Comerford was the representative of a respectable branch from the family of Comerford of Danganmore. His father's great grandfather, Richard

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Michael Fitz Nicholas.

2. My Daughter Nicholl Langton* was born y^e 4 day of Feb. 1682, about six of the clock at night, whose godfather was Mr. Walter Dobbin, of Goodins Garden, & godmother Mrs. Margaret Raget, y^e wife of Mr. Michaell Raget;¹ she was baptized by S^r Thomas Horahan,² & Confirmed by a Catholick bishop.

3. My Son Patrick Langton† was born y^e 7th of March, 1633, about twelve of the clock at night, whose godfather was Mr. Michaell Raget, & godmother Mrs. Dorothy Shee; he was baptized by S^r Thomas Horahan, & confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

4. My daughter Anstace Langton‡ was born the 29th of December 1635, about ten of the clock, whose godfather was Mr. Edmond S^r. Leger, & Godmother Mrs. Margaret Neale; and was baptized by S^r Thomas Horahan, and confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

5. My Son Richard Langton§ was born y^e 4 day of April 1637, whose godfather was Mr. Michaell Raget, and godmother Mrs. Dorathy Shee;

* My s^d sister was married unto Mr. Nicholas Roth fitz Pierce,³ who dyed in 6 months, & she was 2^d married unto Mr. Mathew Archer, of Birr, by whom she had a plentiful Issue, a great many of whom dyed children, she dyed in January 1672, & left then of her children alive, six: Ignatious, Edward, Barnaby, Mary, Anne, Margaret, who at confirmation was given her mother's name. Edward dyed four years after his mother.

† My s^d brother was marryd unto Mrs. Joan Cusack fitz John, by whom she had a plentiful Issue, she dyed the 15th day of November 1676, and he the 4th day after; they leaving two sons & two daughters alive, viz Michaell, John, Frances, and Mary, the charge of which I took to myself, & after I had discharged all his debts, and gathered what I could of his debts & settled his affairs, I gave Michael & his means unto his grandfather, Mr. John Cusack; Frances, her means with her unto her uncle Luke Cusack; John, his means with himself unto his uncle Rich^d Cusack, and took bonds of them for the paym^t; y^e youngest being Mary, with her means I kept to myself whose means I intend (God willing), rather to better than to diminish.

‡ My said Sister dyed of y^e plague, in August, Anno 1650.

§ My said Brother died of the plague y^e 29 7^{mo} 1651.

Comerford, by marriage with Ellen, the daughter and one of the coheirresses of Patrick de la Freigne, acquired the property of Ballyburr, under a deed of settlement made by the father of the latter, Fulco de la Freigne, on the 20th November in the 17th year of the reign of Edward III. (Inquisitions, Com. Kilkenny, temp. Eliz., 4). The Richard Comerford referred to in the text died seven years later, as appears by the inscription on his monument in the old churchyard of Grange, near Desart, in which he is styled "Dominus de Ballyburr, vir vere pius, probus, prudens, fortis, variis in Republica muneribus pace belique summa cum integritate perfun-

tus. Obiit 13 Junii 1637."

¹ Michael Ragget was one of the city sheriffs for 1631-2.

² This evidently is the "S^r Thomas Howaghan priest," who, says the MS. E. 3, 8, Trin. Col. Dub., "keepeth with M^r. John Roch [Roth] fitz pierce, Alderman."

³ This Nicholas Rothe was son of Peter, eldest son of John Rothe fitz Peter and Rose Archer, who built, in 1504, the old Elizabethan house in Coalmarket, now popularly termed "Wolf's Arch." The wife of Peter, and mother of Nicholas Rothe, was Letitia, daughter of Walter Lawless, of Talbot's Inch, near the city of Kilkenny.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Michael Fitz Nicholas.

and was baptized by the S^r Thomas Horahan ; confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

6. My daughter Frances Langton was born y^e 4th of October, 1638, about one of the clock in y^e morning, whose godfather was Mr. Adam Lawles, and godmother Mrs. Margaret Neale, and baptized by S^r Thomas Horahane ; Confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

7. My Son James Langton* was born y^e 21st of 9^{mo} 1640, about Eleven of the clock at night, his godfather was Mr. Michael Raget, and godmother Mrs. Rose Shee, the wife of Mr. Andrew Cowly ;¹ was baptized by Fa Thomas Horahane ; Confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

8. My daughter Mary Langton was born y^e 20th of August 1642, about four of the clock in the evening ; her godfather was Mr. Andrew Cowly, and godmother Mrs. Ellen Marshall ; she was baptized by S^r Pierce Archer, & dyed a few days after.

9. My daughter Margaret Langton† was born the 20th of June 1644, about twelve of the clock at night, whose godfather was Mr. Michael Raget, & godmother Mrs. Letice White y^e wife of Mr. Michael White, of Waterford ; she was baptized by S^r Pierce Archer, in our Ladies Church, & was confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

10. My daughter Mary Langton‡ y^e 2^d was born y^e 3 day of August 1646, about four of the Clock in the afternoon ; her godfather was Mr. John Ball, & godmother Mrs. Mary French, wife unto Patrick Darcy² Esq. ; she was baptized by S^r Pierce Archer, Confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

* My s^d brother parted from my house at Kilkenny on y^e 23^d of X^{mo} 1667, for to visit our sister Archer, at Birr, & being arrived there fell sick of a burning fever, whereof he dyed y^e 3^d of January following.

† My s^d Sister without our consent, and expressly against our wills, did marry one Farrell who was a Shoemaker of Dublin, & although the Man had noe qualities in him that might win the affections of his betters, yet could we not disuade her, but by stealth went and married him. She brought him a son y^e 24 of 7^{mo} in Dublin, whom y^e named Mathew, she dyed of a burning fever y^e 12 of March following, and lyeth buried in St. James Churchyard, Dublin, when y^e s^d child was nursed he was brought home by his Foster Father unto whom I pay'd for his nursing, and have brought him up with my own children. God make him a good man.

‡ My s^d sister was married unto Mr. Laurence Kelly, in Kilkenny, where they

¹ Andrew Cowley was one of the representatives of Kilkenny in the Confederate Catholics' Parliament, and he was sheriff of the city in 1642. A portion of his monument is still in existence, in St. John's Abbey, on which is an escutcheon of the Cowley arms, impaling those of Shee, and on either side the initials A. C. and R. S. Beneath is a defaced inscription, of which the first four words are legible, being "Andrew and Rose here—"

² This, doubtless, was Patrick Darcy, the distinguished lawyer, a leading member of the Parliament assembled at Dublin in 1640, and one of the Supreme Council of Confederate Catholics in Kilkenny in 1641, in whose assemblies he represented the Law Lords sitting in Parliament. The Confederate assemblies were still being held in Kilkenny in the year named in the text, and subsequently. Lodge, however, gives the Christian name of Patrick Darcy's wife as Elizabeth. She

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Langton Fitz Michael.

My honoured & dear Father dyed the 23^d of September 1651, & was buried in the monument which he built for himself & posterity in our ladys quire of S^t Johns Abby; this was unto us a dolefull day, a day of sorrow & sadness, for besides y^e loss of a good & loving Father, a Father who bestowed breeding & Education upon us, & did purchase ample means for to bequeath unto us (which by the fraction of those unhappy times were lost). I say it was our hard fate to be deprived of our good father in a time so full of oppression, a time when our nation groand under the heavy yoke of Tyranny, having been subdued by the usurper Cromwell, their towns taken, their means sucked from them, their nobility & gentry either banished or put to death, & lastly the few that remaind were quite draind of Substance, they were transplanted into Connaught, & the Citizens banished into y^e Country. In such a time then dyed my Father, leaving then alive with my distress'd Mother Six of their children, & I who was then in captivity with the Turks or Moores in Salle upon the Coast of Barbary. I do remember that about the time my Father dyed, I being in Captivity did for many nights bitterly weep in my sleep, & awakeing could not for a long time restrain my self. My dear Mother having that great charge of tender orphans in a time when her means did daily decrease, yet notwithstanding kept the younger ones to virtuous schooling, bound my brother Patrick an apprentice to a merchant, & marry'd my sister Nichol, giving her an ample Portion; my brother Richard dyed six Days after my Father.

I was born in my Grandfather Murphys house in Irishtown,² and after being nurst in the country, & kept at school at home until I attain'd

were very much reduced, & then y^e went to live at Birr, where soon they came to be in a thriving condition, and had a fair issue, namely, Bazil, Anstace, Ann, Michael, Ignatius, William, John, James, & Mary. My said sister dyed of a consumption y^e 7th day of October, 1682.

was daughter to Sir Peter French, and their only son, James Darcy, born in 1633, married Frances Trushot, daughter to a gentleman of Brittany, and captain of a ship of war to Louis XIII., by his wife Anne Keating, maid of honour to the Queen of Charles I.

¹ This tomb, like that in "the great choir" of the same abbey erected by Nicholas fitz Richard, no longer exists; but amongst the family papers in the possession of the late Mr. Michael Comerford was a memorandum of the inscription which it bore, as follows:—

"Here lieth Michael Langton Fitz Nicholas, Marchant, Burgesse, and some time Sheriff in this City of Kilkenny, who built this monument A. D. 1641,

for him and his dear bedfellow Anne Murphy, mother of their hopeful issue. He passed from this world 25 of Septe. A. D. 1651. She ended her happy days A. D. On whose souls God have mercy.

"Ye Cristian friends in passing by y^e. pra^r. we ha^{ve} crav^d,
That here interr'd expecting Christ, a resting place to have.
And as for them that went before, prayers you may surely yield
The like of those that are to come expect when ye have need."

The shrievalty of this Michael Langton fitz Nicholas occurred in 1639-40.

² This is another proof that Anne Murphy was the daughter of Patrick, as he was a merchant of Irishtown.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Langton Fitz Michael.

Fourteen years of age, was then bound an apprentice to Mr. Francis Dormer of Ross, & immediately sent for France to learn the Language of that Country, where I was left two years, at my Father's cost, then brought over and served my master at home for a twelvemonth, who then sent me over into France upon a voyage, & at my return was taken by the Moors of Salle; we say'd forth from St. Martins Isle y^e 12 day of May 1649 (stila nova), and were taken by two Salle piccaroons on y^e 20th of the same month who lay waiting for more pray for seven days after, but having got none hoyst sayl for Salle, carrying the men of our vessel (in number seventeen), together with the men of a French ship, and the men of a Dutch Ship, which they had taken before us, along with them, where they arrived the first day of June following, and having anchored abroad were saluted by a number of their townsmen and comrades, who came forth in boats, throwing mellons, cucumbers, citrons, and such like at them to welcome them; which sight was as doleful to us poor Christean slaves, as it was rejoicing to our heathen hosts. But alas poor we, when at evening tide the vessels hal'd into the river, there anchored, cast out their boats, and carried us ashore, the land of Cham, where we were no sooner than delivered unto a tawny Moore, in whose custody we remained for five days, during which time we were visited by divers of the Inhabitants, not out of pity, compassion, or charity, but to see if they might know or sound out what we were, and what ransoms we could be able to give; and some (who had Christean cleaves), sent them to taulk and discours with us, promising to reward them if they would Discover such of us as was able to give Ransoms. During the five days we were thus kept, we were well treated and fedd, which alas, proceeded not from any kindness they had for us, but to make us appear the better when we were brought to be sold at the marget, whither we were brought the 6th day in the morning, and taken by as many more as we were Christean Slaves, and led along the market place, each Moore of them crying out and proclaiming what was bid for the Christean he lead; in which manner we were for two hours exposed to the cant, then when none appeared to vie or bid more money, each of us was delivered unto his buyer. Then was I lead by one of the eight (who joined in giving 360 crowns for me), to his house, and there left. Then it was that I, poor wretch, began to weep, and not till then, as if I had not been a slave till then, for while I enjoyed the company of fellow captives, I heeded not my misery, verifying the Proverb, Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris; then it was, I say, that I began to think of my misery of being a Captive to heathen moors in a place so distant from Parents & Friends as Salle in Africa is from Kilkenny in Ireland: far from relief from any comfort, or from y^e society of any Christeans or good People, other than a few poor Slaves who when accidentally met had only the comfort of relating our Misfortunes & Miseries to each other; and there was I a captive for three years & four months, and kept chain'd & doing all Slavish works sighing & groaning in my captivity; the great God of heaven & earth, almighty, Powerful & merciful, who from his throne sees

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Fits Michael.

the sufferings of his Servants, and is never wanting to free such as have their hopes in him, when all human relief fail'd, when my parents were not able to relieve me, nor yet at leisure to think of me, they groaning under the oppression of an insulting enemy; then it was I say that my God & Saviour wrought wonderfully my deliverance, for on the 27th of september anno 1652, at night I slipt off my Chains by the help of oyl, got out of the room where I was lockt in by night, through a passage where I observed the cat to get out & in, & by y^e favour of a white mantle which was given me for all bedding and covering, & which is an usual wearing with the turks, I past the streets through the people until I came to the River-side, where I trew away my said cloak, tyed my shirt, prayer book, & p^r of beads about my head, & swom over to old Salle, & being come below the town, after I had put on my shirt, I went with all the speed I could along the sea coast towards Memora, a garison the Spaniards held in Barbarie five leigues distant from Salle; which place was the receptacle of all the poor Christean Slaves that could make their escape thither; I being there arrived next morning early, was gladly received in by the Soldiers of the garrison, and was by them treated the kindlier for being Irish, which nation they term their Brothers. I continued in Memora 44 days during which time I had the allowance of a Soldier given me, then when the vessel that brought provisions to the garrison out of Spain was ready to parte, I had my pass given me & went aboard y^e s^d vessel in company with three other captives, who had made their escape in a boat to Memora before me; & on y^e 10 day of November we arrived at Cadiz where we kissed the Christean Land, from which we had been absent many months. O! that I could have the spirit of David & his harp, whereby I may incessantly sing forth the praises of the most high and holy Lord God of Hosts, who most wonderfully wrought my deliverance, brought me out of the hands of Pharaoh and the Egyptians.

I* was born on the 26th day of Sep^r. anno 1630, at the hour of four in the morning, and was married to my dear beloved wife Jane Shee, y^e 2^d day of October 1659, by whom I had children as followeth :—

1. My daughter Ann Langton was born y^e 14 of August ano 1660 about y^e hour of one in the morning (at Ballinekill where I dwelt in my banishment) she was baptized at Sampsons-Court by Father Paul Cashin; her Godfather was Mr. George Russell, & Godmother Mrs. Mabel Fitz Patrick, y^e wife of my brother-in-law John Shee; she had her confirmation at Kilkenny in August 1669, from bishop Phelan,¹ who was

* Nicholas Langton, my² dear Father, dyed 9th Xber 1683.

¹ The Rev. James Phelan succeeded Bishop Rothe, who, it appears by the Lynch MS. penes Dr. Todd, died in Kilkenny, after its occupation by Cromwell, and was buried at St. Mary's Church. De Burgo (Hibernia Dominicana, p.

502), does not give the date of Bishop Phelan's consecration.

² The earlier commentaries on the entries of Nicholas Fitz Michael are made by his eldest son, Michael Fitz Nicholas the Second.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Fitz Michael.

our first Catholic Bishop in y^e diocess of Ossory since the year 1649, at which time all our clergy were expelled by y^e parliament & the usurper Cromwell. My said daughter was married unto Mr. Nicholas Ley* y^e 28 day of January anno 1682,¹ by doctor W^m Dalton, at his entrance to our Parish, it being y^e first marriage he solemnized therein.

2. My daughter Mary Langton† was born y^e 13th of August 1661, at Ballynekill about three of the clock in the morning & was baptized by Fa. Paul Cashin at Dittifore. Her godfather was Mr. Richard Fitzgerald of Kilkenny and her Godmother her Aunt Mary Shee. She was confirmed by bishop Phelan, at Kilkenny, anno 1669.

3. My son Michael Langton was born y^e 30th of September 1662, & was baptizd at Balnekill† by Fa. Paul Cashin; his Godfather was Mr. Richard Fitzgerald & Godmother Mrs. Mary Green, y^e wife of Mr. George Russell.

4. My son Michael Langton was born in Kilkenny in the house of my Father y^e 6 of February 1663, at five of the Clock in y^e morning, & was there baptizd by Fa. Luke Archer.² His Godfather was Mr. Lucas

* My Nephew Thomas Ley was sent to study at the College of Lyle in Flanders, but it being war time, he betook himself to the army in the service of France, came home a compleat Gentleman & dyed by a fall from on horseback. My Nephew Laurence Ley went to Cadiz & from his apprenticeship there, married and settled, & has issue Nicholas, &c. My nephew John Ley married Captain Butler of L Daughter and had issue Cate, Laurence & Nicholas. My said Sister had other children, viz., Nicholas, Laurence, John, Elizabeth, James, Jane, William, and Walter.

† My sister Mary above mentioned was married unto James Archer Fitz William on y^e 21st of May, by Dr. William Dalton anno 1687, and had by him children, Mary, Lettice, Nicholas, William, John, Jane, Michael, Nichol, Margaret, and Peter. Nicholas is a Secular Priest, William took to the Sea, Jane married James Butler of Ballinekill. Michael married Nichol Archer of Birr, by whom he had children, Margaret, James and Ann.

‡ Y^e 15th Feb. 1662, I^s returned from Ballinekill to live in Kilkenny after nine

¹ This must be "New Style," as there was an entry, as follows, in a manuscript book formerly belonging to Nicholas Ley, in the possession of the late Mr. Michael Langton of Danville:—

"Nicholas Ley fitz Thomas and Anne Langton fitz Nicholas was married by Dr. W^m. Dafon [Daton?] Parish Priest of St. Mary's Parish, in Kilkenny, the 23^d (sic) day of January, 1681—Nicholas Ley."

This "Book of Nicholas Ley" was lost by Mr. Langton's having unfortunately lent it to the late Mr. Abraham Rothe, who gave him a written engagement (still extant), for its safe return,—an engagement never fulfilled. It con-

tained numerous copies of very curious corporation documents, some of which were transcribed by the late Christopher James, Esq., Barrister-at-Law; and those transcripts are now in my possession.

² "Sir Lucas Archer priest brother to Patrick Archer esq. keepeth with his brother in law Nicholas Archer." MS. E. 3. 8, Trin. Col. Dub. This is possibly the clergyman mentioned in the Langton MS.; but if so he must have been an old man, as the date of the Trinity College MS. is about 1625.

³ This and several of the subsequent comments on the text were made by Nicholas fitz Michael himself.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Fitz Michael.

Archer. His godmother Mrs. Elinor Delahyde y^e wife of Mr. George S^t Leger ; my said son was nursed by his mother, confirmed by a Catholick Bishop.

5. My Son William Langton* was born y^e 11 of March 1665, at five of the Clock in the evening, and was baptized by Fa Luke Archer his godfather was Mr. Phelim Caddan and godmother Mrs. Joan Archer y^e wife of Mr. Patrick Murphy ; he was confirmed by Bishop Phelan.

6. My Daughter Anstace Langton was born y^e 23^d of May 1667 at nine of the Clock at night and was baptized by Fa Luke Archer ; her godfather was Mr. Garret Commerford & godmother Mrs. Mary Kelly y^e wife of Mr. Rich^d. Synot ; she was confirmed by Bishop Phelan.

7. My Son James Langton† was born y^e 21st of July 1668 at three of the clock in the evening and was baptizd by Fa Luke Archer ; his godfather was Mr. James Rafter and godmother Mrs. Margaret Brehan y^e wife of Mr. Lucas Archer ; he was confirmed by Bishop Phelan.

8. My Daughter Margaret Langton‡ was born y^e 19 of August 1669 about five of the Clock in the evening, and was baptizd by Fa Luke Archer, her Godfather was Mr. George S^t Leger, & Godmother Mrs. Catherine Shee y^e wife of Mr. James Rafter, she was confirmd by Bishop Phelan.

9. My daughter Elizabeth Langton§ was born y^e last day of August 1670 about four of the clock in the morning, & was baptizd by Fa Luke Archer ; her Godfather was Mr. Barnaby Shee and Godmother Mrs. Cate Baggot y^e wife of Mr. Walter Seix ; she was confirmed &c.

10. My Son Joseph Langton|| was born y^e 1st of January 1671 at ten of the Clock at night and was baptizd by Fa Luke Archer ; his Godfather was Mr. John Shee and Godmother Mrs. Marg^t Brehan.

11. My Son Richard Langton¶ was born y^e 17th of January 1672 at four of the Clock in y^e evening & was baptizd by Fa Luke Archer ; his Godfather was Mr. Edm^d. Tobin & Godmother Mrs. Cate Shee.

years absence and banishment. My said son dyed y^e 8 of 8ber following & was buried in Rosconnell Church.

* My s^d Son dyed at Inchiquine within 22 miles of Dublin, being on his journey to Dublin for to be cut for the stone with which disease he was a long time troubled but most cruelly tormented for three Months and after he was brought home to be interred got him opened and a stone taken out of the bigness of an egg, he is buried in my father's monument.

† My s^d Son dyed of a loosness y^e 11th of 7ber 1679 which continued 11 with him ; he was buried in my Father's Tomb in S^t. John's Abbey.

‡ The children of my sister Catherine and Michall dyed infants, Margery was married the 21st of June 1712, to Nich. Shee. In September 1680 she was seized by a fever which continued with her 6 weeks and made her lame of one leg and rotted a part of her face. My said sister was married y^e 26 Feb. 1692 unto Martin Archer fitz Michael by Doctor W^m. Dalton & had issue Catherine Margery Margaret Michael and dyed in our house y^e 17th May 1697 of a deep consumption.

§ My s^d Daughter dyed y^e 21 of October 1680 of a fever which continued with her six weeks, and was buried in S^t. Johns Abby.

| My s^d son dyed of a consumption y^e 21st March 1673, having languished thereof nine months.

¶ My s^d Son dyed y^e 4th day of July 1674.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Nicholas Fitz Michael.

12. My daughter Nichol Langton* was born y^e 30th of March 1674 at five of the Clock in the morning & was baptized by Fa Luke Archer; her godfather was my brother Patrick Langton and godmother Mrs. Mary Langton y^e wife of Mr. Edmond Tobin; she was confirmed by Bishop Phelan.

13. My Son James Langton† was born y^e 3^d day of June 1675 at nine of the Clock at night, & was baptized by Fa Luke Archer; his godfather was Mr. George Fitz Gerald of Waterford, & godmother Mrs. Bridget Hayward y^e wife of Mr. Vincent Knatchbull.¹

14. My daughter Dorothy Langton‡ was born y^e 25th of August 1677 at 6 of the clock in the morning and was baptized by Fa Luke Archer; her godfather was Mr Vincent Knatchbull & godmother Mrs Cate Shee; she was confirmed by Bishop Phelan.

15. My son Dominick Langton§ was born y^e 20th of Feb. 1678 at ten of the clock in the morning, & was baptized by Fa Luke Archer; his godfather was Mr Marcus Shee, and godmother Mrs Mary Langton y^e wife of Mr John Nolan.

16. My Son Sylvester Langton|| was born y^e 30th of Xber 1680, at 6 of the clock at night, & was baptized by Fa Luke Archer next day, being S^t Sylvester's day; his godfather was Mr Nicholas Ley, & godmother Mrs Beale Roth, both being then unmarried; my brother² above mentioned was Confirmed by James Whelan, Lord bishop of Ossory.

* My s^d sister³ was married to John Murphy y^e son of Patrick Murphy in August 1713 & has by him Issue Cicilie, born in our hous 8^{ber} 1718.

† My s^d son dyed y^e 23 of July 1673.

‡ My s^d daughter dyed y^e 18 of July 1680.

§ My s^d son dyed y^e 29th of 8^{ber} following.

|| My s^d brother marryd his wife Ann Langton daughter to Thomas Langton & Mary Molloy of Birr Sunday y^e 25 January 1712. She dyed X^{ber} 1719 leaving him children Mary & Jane. S^d Sylvester marryd a second wife Mary Sexton widow of Edm^d Tobyn⁴ by whom he left five children, viz^t: Ann, Elinor, Allice, Joseph and Michael Langton—he dyed y^e 18 March 1749, & made a most exemplary end,⁵

¹ An Inquisition taken at Rosbercon, 30th October, 1621, found that the Manor of Balleene, in the county of Kilkenny, the property of Viscount Mountgarrett, was then in the possession of Vincent Machpoll, of Potterath, and — Marshall of Balleene (Printed Calendar of Inquisitions, temp. Jac. I., No. 31). The similarity of the sound of the first of these names with that in the text is striking.

² This is an interpolation made by Michael Fitz Nicholas the Second, before the copy of the manuscript from which we print was made.

³ This entry is made by Michael Fitz Nicholas the Second; but the comments on the numbers following, down to 15, inclusive, are by his father.

⁴ A son of Mary Sexton's, by her first husband, Tobin, obtained a commission in the French army; and on the breaking out of the first Revolution, he came back to reside in his native city. He was a man of most polished manners and winning address, and his society was courted by the highest circles in Kilkenny (*teste* the late Mr. Michael Comerford, King-street).

⁵ The tomb of Silvester Langton

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Nicholas Fitz Michael.

17. My Son William Langton was born y^e 18th of September 1683 at 6 of y^e clock at night and was baptized by Doctor Dalton. His Godfather was Mr Edward Caddan,¹ and godmother Madam Ann Peyton, y^e wife of William Peyton, Esq, of Ruffam Hall, in Norfolkshire; my brother² above mentioned was confirmed by James Whelan Lord Bishop of Ossory and called Nicholas in remembrance of my Father.

My s^d uncle Nicholas Langton dyed y^e 21st of August 1747 after making his peace with God.

My honoured & dear father dyed on Sunday about four of the clock in the after noon it being y^e 9th of X^{br} anno 1683 after having received all the rights of the church by the hands of Doct^r W^m Dalton, he lived in the love of all his neighbours & acquaintance (& dyed in the love & fear of the almighty God) to the great looss and grief of all his relations, but more especially of his well beloved Children, of whom he was extremely careful in Educating them in all virtues & good breeding, in w^{ch} he spared not what was needful, he is buried in the monument w^{ch} his father built in our Ladies Chappel of S^t Johns abbey on whose soul the Lord be merciful.

My Grandmother Ann Murphy & wife to my deceased grandfather Michael Langton, dyed y^e 8th day of June in the year of our Lord 1687

his 2^d wife dyed August 21st 1755. Ann Langton was married to M^r James Comerford³ of Kilkenny Nov. 1754. Ellinor marryd M^r Emmanuel Murray of Kilkenny,⁴ April 27, 1756, both by the Rev^d M^r Patrick Molloy parish Priest of S^t Mary's.

forms one of the flooring slabs of the present parish church of St. John, the ancient Lady Chapel of the monastery, and is probably in its original position. The inscription runs as follows:—" Beneath this vault are deposited the remains of Anne Langton, daughter of Thomas Langton of Birr, and wife to Silvester Langton of Kilkenny. She died in December, 1719, aged 32 years. Mary Langton, alias Fitzpatrick, their daughter, died 2d March, 1746, aged 30 years. Silvester Langton died 18th March, 1749, aged 60 years. Mary Sexton, his second wife, relict of Edmund Tobin, died 21st August, 1755, aged 62 years. Joseph Langton, son to Silvester and Mary, died 8 of March, 1760, aged 24 years. Jane Langton, daughter of Silvester and Anne, died 16th November, 1801, aged 83 years. On whose souls the Lord have mercy."

This inscription may be of either of the two latter dates, but can scarcely be older. Above it the crest, a human

heart between two wings erect, is carved.

¹ Edward Caddan was a merchant of Kilkenny, of much repute in the eventful period of 1689-90. He married Arabella, daughter of Edward Rothe, by his wife Joan, daughter of Nicholas Archer, of Kilkenny.

² Another interpolation of Michael Fitz Nicholas the Second, who also was the writer of the rest of the manuscript carried on under the heading of "Nicholas Fitz Michael."

³ For particulars connected with this marriage between Anne Langton and James Comerford, see note to p. 82, *ante*.

⁴ The inscriptions on the family monuments in St. Mary's churchyard, state that Philip Murray died 27th December, 1773, aged 73; Emanuel Murray, merchant, died 17th December, 1802, aged 68 years; his wife, Elenor Murray, *alias* Langton, died 9th May, 1772, aged 38; their son, Philip Murray, died 13th August, 1758, aged 11 months.

LAUS DEO. AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Michael Fitz Nicholas.

& is buried in the monument of my grandfather, on whose soul the Lord have mercy.

My honoured and dear mother, Jane Langton, als Shee, dyed on monday y^e 25th of Feb. 1716 at midday (after having received the rights of the holy church) an exemplary penitent & patron to her numerous issue, she is buried with my dear Father in our monument at S^t Johns; The Almighty God have mercy on her.

My aunt Mary Butler als Shee sister to my dear mother dyed on Friday y^e 14th of May 1725 at midday after receiving the rights of the holy church in the 81st year of her age. She left of her Issue living only her son Nich^l. who is Fa. Vincent Butler, a venerable old man of the holy order of Preachers.

I was born in my fore fathers house the sixth day of February anno 1663 at five of the Clock in the morning* & married unto my dearly beloved wife Elenor Roth Fitz Peter† on thursday the 21st of 8^{mo} 1703 at the house of M^r James Kearny of Clonbrogan.

1. My daughter Jane Langton was born at our house at Kilkenny thursday y^e 5th 8^{mo} 1704 about 8 at night, & being wake was presently Christened by Doctor Edw^d Murphy;³ her godfather my brother Silvester, & godmother my Mother.

2. My Son Nicholas Langton‡ was born tuesday y^e 20th of November

* My^a honoured and dear Father died on Friday at five of the Clock in the Morning, it being the third day of June ano 1737 after having received all the rights of the Church by the hands of Father Ned Shea. He lived in the love of all his neighbours & Acquaintances & dyed in the love & fear of Almighty God to the great loss and grief of all his Relations but more especially of his well beloved Children of whom he was extreme fond in educating them in all virtue & good breeding in which he spared not what was needful; he is buried in the Monum^t which his grandfathers built in our Ladies Chapple of St Johns abby on whose soul the Lord be Merciful.

† My honord & dear Mother^d died on Saturday morning at one of the Clock the twenty ninth day of August ano 1772 in the 85 year of her age after having received the rights of our holy Mother the Church by the hands of Father Patrick Molloy.⁵ She lived in the esteem of all who knew her & died lamented by them. A tender Mother & Charitable Christian, she was blessed with a full possession of all her senses untill it pleased the allmighty to take her Soul. May he be merciful to her.

‡ My s^d Son at the age of 14 went into France and thence to Spain.

¹ The writer here is Michael Fitz Nicholas the Second.

² A Rev. Edmond Murphy was parish priest of St. Mary's, Kilkenny, in 1704. He had received orders at Seville, in 1673, from Don Ambrosio Ignatio Spinola, and Gusman Archbishop of Seville.—“A List of the Names of Popish Parish Priests.” Dublin: 1705.

³ It does not appear which of the children of Michael Fitz Nicholas the Second has entered this obituary notice of him.

His two eldest sons, having very early emigrated to Spain, and died there, neither of them was likely to have been the writer.

⁴ This entry is made on a slip of paper pasted into the manuscript, and was apparently made by the same hand as that which recorded the death of Michael Fitz Nicholas the Second, but at a later period.

⁵ The Rev. Patrick Molloy was parish priest of St. Mary's, Kilkenny. It was

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Michael Fitz Nicholas.

1705 near ten at night in our house & was Christened next day By Doctor Edw^d Murphy; his godfather was my Cousin Mathew Ward and god-mother my wifes sister Rose Roth.

[S^d Nich^d Langton died in Cadiz y^e 7th Aug^t 1779, in y^e 74th year of his age; he lived in y^e highest esteem, supported a very fair character & died regretted by all

the custom that the Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese should hold St. Mary's parish in *commendam*, appointing a curate to take spiritual charge; and the Right Rev. Dr. Dunne, the bishop at the time, so received it from Pope Benedict XIV.; but that prelate resigned it, and collated the Rev. Patrick Molloy thereto as parish priest. On the death of Dr. Dunne, in 1761, the new Roman Catholic bishop, Dr. Thomas de Burgo (author of the "Hibernia Dominicana"), on his appointment, received the parish in *commendam*, in the usual manner; but Father Molloy refused to surrender in the bishop's favour, and appealed to Rome against the proceedings taken by De Burgo to dispossess him. A large number of the Roman Catholic parishioners supported the claim of Molloy, and memorialled the Pope in his favour, declaring that, if he was deprived, great tumults and popular dissatisfaction would be the result, and the dissensions would afford ground of triumph to the enemies of their faith. In support of their statement, they cited a letter from Anthony Blunt, the mayor, to the Lord Lieutenant, expressing sympathy with Father Molloy, and speaking unfavourably of the proceedings of the bishop. Dr. de Burgo, in his case in reply, cited a testimonial, certified by Nathaniel Alcock, notary public, of Kilkenny, that the bishop was so well esteemed by the magistrates and Protestant as well as Roman Catholic gentry of that county and city, that no one would disturb or molest him; and other testimony was given that the allegation of apprehended tumults was a mere pretext. The Congregation de Propaganda Fide issued a decree on the 24th August, 1762, declaring that, as the parish had always been held in *commendam* by the bishop, it should still be so held by Dr. de Burgo. It would yet seem that the

matter was not here decided; and it is certain Father Molloy and his coadjutor, Father Creagh, continued to officiate in the parish throughout the remainder of the episcopate of Dr. de Burgo; and an entry made in the pocket-book of Silvester Langton, by his daughter Jane, in 1767, speaks of Father Molloy as having ultimately succeeded in his suit in Rome. The following are some of the entries in the pocket-book referred to respecting this dispute:—

"My niece Catherine Murry was born 10th March 1762 . . . She was baptized by Mr. Pat Molloy Parish Priest."

"My niece Jane Murry was born on Monday y^e 13th June 1763 . . . She was baptized by Mr. Deling, as y^e Parish was in dispute between Doc^r B. & Mr. Molloy."

"My nephew Wm. Comerford was born y^e 22^d Sep^r 1763, . . . he was baptized by Far. Rich^d. Shee, as y^e Parish was still in dispute."

"My niece Anne Murry was born y^e 28th Aug. 1764. She was baptized next day by Doc^r. Burke, as y^e disputes in y^e Parish still continued."

"My nephew Edmond Comerford was born y^e 11th Jan. 1767. He was baptized 5 days after by Far. McGeniss, a Dominican friar, tho' all disputes in y^e Parish was over & Mr. Molloy appointed by y^e Court of Rome parish priest, yet so much did the party spirit continue."

"My niece Anne Comerford was born y^e 10th Feb. 1768, and was baptized y^e 16th by M^r. Peter Crea, coadjutor to Mr. Molloy."

"My niece Ellinor Comerford was born y^e 19th Jan: 1773. She was baptized y^e 23^d by y^e Rev^d. Mr. Molloy. Confirmed by Dr. Burke at St. James's."

A thin folio volume, being a collection of the official proceedings of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in this case,

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Michael Fitz Nicholas.

3. My daughter Mary Langton* was born y^e 25th day of March 1707 about 4 in y^e morning in our house and christend y^e next day by Doct^r Pa. Shee¹ her godfather Captⁿ John Nolan and Godmother my mother in law Cornelia Magrath.

4. My daughter Cornelia Langton† was born y^e 27th day of 7^{mo} 1708 about 10 of the Clock in the morning in our house, and was Christend by Doctor Patrick Shee; her godfather was my brother in law Nicholas Ley and her godmother M^{rs}. Ann Lawles als Bryan.²

5. My Son Peter Langton‡ was born Saturday y^e 18 of March 1709 betwixt the hours of one & two in the morning in our house, and Christened by Doctor Pa. Shee; his godfather my Cossⁿ. John Langton fitz Robert, & godmother my sister Anstace Langton.

his acquaintance as well as family May y^e almighty be merciful to him.]³

* My s^d daughter dyed of a lingering consumptive fever with a stitch & at the time we conceived good hopes of her she avoided a worm y^e 17th of March 1723 in the morning & dyed that night; the almighty have mercy on her soul.

† My s^d daughter died y^e 8^d of May 1767 of a lingering illness of two years.

‡ My s^d son Marry^d in Cadiz in Spain Mary Anne Clarke with y^e approbation of his and her Relations; y^e Celebration was at y^e Country seat of her uncle and his first Cousin Mr. Lawrence Ley on y^e 28 of June 1747, New Stile; their Issue are 4 they all Dyed young.

[S^d Peter Langton died in Cordova y^e 8th Mar 1781 where they were banished to as Irish men and Roman Catholics—he was a respectable man & much beloved by all Spaniards and Irish also].⁴

printed at Rome, collated and indexed in the handwriting of Bishop de Burgo, and supplemented by some MS. copies of similar proceedings, written in De Burgo's hand, formed portion of the extensive library of the late Thomas Bibby, of Kilkenny, Esq. On his death, it, together with other rare books, was removed to London by his son, Mr. Thomas Bibby, and sold at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, in the spring of 1863. This unique volume was purchased by Boone for the Library of the British Museum, at £18 10s.

¹ This, no doubt, was the Dr. Patrick Shee who soon after was Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, and filled the see for some years. He was at this time parish priest of St. Patrick's, Kilkenny. —See "List of the Names of the Popish Parish Priests." Dublin: 1705.

² This lady was the sister of James Bryan, Esq., of Jenkinstown, who represented the city of Kilkenny in King James's Parliament, held in Dublin in 1689. Her husband, Walter Lawless,

Esq., of Talbot's Inch, was high sheriff of the county of Kilkenny under King James's Government. Their son, Patrick Lawless, entered the Spanish service, and attained to a high military command, with the Governorship of the Balearic Isles.

³ The entry between crotchets above is in a later hand, apparently that of Jane, daughter of Silvester Langton, and cousin to Nicholas, whose death it records. A marginal note to the copy of the manuscript in the possession of Capt. Langton, in that gentleman's father's handwriting, states of this Nicholas that "He died in Cadiz the 7th August 1779, and was buried in the family vault of the Church of the Women's Hospital, purchased by his father-in-law, Mr. Laurence Carew, for all his descendants."

⁴ The remarks within crotchets are interpolated in a later hand, apparently that of Jane Langton. A marginal note, in the handwriting of Captain Langton's father, in the older copy

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Michael Fitz Nicholas.

6. My son Edmond Langton* was born Saturday y^e 30th of June 1711 at half an hour after Six in y^e morning in our hous & was Christend y^e same day by Doct^r. Patrick Shee ; his godfather was my Nephew John Ley and godmother Margery Archer.

7. My daughter Ann Langton† was born Sunday y^e 10th of August 1712 at a q^r. past two in the Morning in our hous & was Christened y^e 11th by Doct^r. Patrick Shee ; her Godfather my brother in Law James Archer & her godmother my sister Anne Ley.

8. My daughter Rose Langton‡ was born wednesday y^e 23^d of X^{br} 1713 twixt y^e hours of one & two in the morning in our house & was Christen'd y^e next day by Doctor Patrick Shee. Her godfather my brother Mr. Nicholas Langton & her godmother my Coss^a. Mary Langton aïs Archer fitz Mark.

9. My Son John Langton§ was born Munday y^e 12th of 7^{br} 1715 about y^e hour of eight in y^e Evening in our house & was Christend wednesday y^e 14th by Doctor Patrick Shee ; his godfather was my Cousin John Kelly & godmother Mrs. Catherine Nagle aïs Comerford of Clonmell.

10. My son William Langton|| was born Munday y^e 18th of Feb. 1716 betwixt y^e hours of ten & eleven at night in our house and was Christend y^e next day by Doc^r. Pa. Shee. His godfather was my brother in law Martin Archer and his godmother Mrs. Honour Conway aïs Bourk.

11. My son John Langton¶ was born on Wednesday y^e 11th of March 1718 about y^e hour of 10 in the Morning in our house & was Christened y^e Monday following by Doctor Patrick Shee ; his god father Mr. John Galbally of Dublin & his godmother Mrs. Margaret Ley aïs Butler, wife to my nephew John Ley.

* My said son dyed of a malignant faver & Cold in the head y^e 21 day of his sickness on Monday y^e 16 X^{br} 1717 ; he was a boy of a sweet temper & countenance. I proposed him for a religious Life.

† My dear Sister dyed of a favour y^e 23^d October 1760, much and justly lamented by all her family & neighbours she is buried in our Monument of St. Johns.

‡ My s^d Daughter departed this life on the first day of January 1731 after many tedious aylments being distempered from the time of her being wounded, but lastly by a malignant Palsie & favour may y^e almighty be Merciful to her.

§ My s^d Son John dyed y^e 12 January 1717 of a lingering favour which took him when we thought him past danger of the Small Pox.

|| My s^d Brother dyed y^e 29th of 8^{br} 1750 in Dublin & was brought to Kilkenny & buried in our Monument of St. John, much lamented by all who knew him as he was a sincere friend, just and honorable in all his dealings, on whose soul the Great God be mercifull.

¶ My s^d. Son dyed y^e 8th of X^{br} following at his nurses of a lingering Favour.

of the manuscript, makes a different statement, as follows :—"N. B.—He died in Cordova during the expulsion of the English from Cadiz, in the year 1779, leaving no issue, his two sons hav-

ing died long before him. He left all his fortune to his nephew, Edward Murphy, who had married Josepha Langton, also his niece. He was buried in the famous Cathedral of Cordova."

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Nicholas Fitz Michael.

12. My Son Mathew Langton* was born in our hous on Friday y^e 5th of August 1720 about two of the Clock in y^e morning & was Christened next day by Doctor Patrick Shee; his godfather my Coss^m Mathew Ward and his godmother my mother in law Cornelia Magrath.

13. My daughter Margaret Langton† was born in our house on Wednesday y^e 16th of August 1721 twixt 9 & 10 at night & was Christened next day by Doct^r. Patrick Shee; her godfather my nephew John Clarke & her godmother my Coss^a. Ann Moor als Archer.

My son Nicholas Langton¹ Married in Cadiz of Spain Frances Carew Daughter to Mr. Laurence Carew aged about 17 years; their Marriage Solemnized the first of 7th 1736 Old Stile.

1. My Grandson Michael Laurence Joseph Langton‡ was born in the

* My s^d son dyed y^e 8th of January 1734.

† [She died² the 15 Febr^y 1774 in the house of Jane Langton³ of a dropsical complaint.]

‡ [He departed this life on the 16th. July 1810 in his own house in Cadiz.]⁴

¹ Although carried on under the head of Nicholas fitz Michael (the Second), it will be seen that these entries are made by his father, Michael fitz Nicholas the Second. The son was in Spain, but his father continued the entries in the manuscript whenever he received a notification of the birth of a grandchild.

² This entry between crotchets is in a different handwriting from any other in the manuscript. Although not above stated, the Margaret Langton referred to was married to a Mr. Murphy. In the copy of the manuscript in the possession of Capt. Langton there is a subsequent entry, apparently made by or copied from a memorandum of Michael Langton Fitz Nicholas the Second, stating:—"My daughter Margaret Langton was married, in this house, to Mr. William Murphy, of Graigara, February y^e 11th 1745-6. My Grandson Edward Murphy was born the 7th June 1747." There were several other children; but Edward, the eldest, went to Spain, and became a prosperous merchant in Cadiz. He there married his cousin, Josepha Langton; and, having amassed a large fortune, returned to Ireland, and purchased the estate of Annaghs, near Ross, and the house and lands of Birchfield, near Kilkenny, besides a third property,

situated in the county of Carlow. He had eight children, who all died under six years of age, except one son, Edward J. Murphy, of Castle Annaghs; and one daughter, Frances, who married Thomas Fitzgerald, Esq., and died at Caen, in Normandy, leaving five children. The son, Edward J. Murphy, became embarrassed in his circumstances, and lost the property acquired by his father, which was sold to pay his creditors, he himself dying in the debtors' prison, in London, in 1841. Mrs. Josepha Murphy, his widowed mother, died at Cadiz on the 16th October, 1826.

³ Jane Langton was daughter to Silvester by his first wife. She never married, but was a notable, clever, and well-educated woman, and for many years after her father's death carried on the business in the "Great Stone House" of the family, ultimately handing it over to her brothers-in-law, Messrs. Comerford and Murray.

⁴ This entry is in the most modern handwriting to be found in the manuscript, and apparently was made by the late Mr. Michael Langton, of Danville. Michael Theobald fitz Michael, Captain Langton's father, in his continuation of the entries in the older copy of the manuscript now in the possession of the

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Nicholas Fitz Michael.

house of his father Nicholas Langton in Cadiz in Spain y^e 5 Day of July 1737 old Stile his godfather Lawrence Carew his grandfather.

2. My Grand daughter Eugenia Langton* was born in the house of her Father Nicholas Langton in Cadiz in Spain y^e 4 of September 1738 Old Stile; her godfather Lawrence Ley.

* My said granddaughter dyed y^e 8 February 1743 Old Stile.

latter, writes thus of the death of Michael Laurence Joseph:—

“My beloved Father died on the 16th of July, 1810, in his dwelling house in Cadiz, during the seige, of a dropsy brought on by extreme anxiety of mind occasioned by the misfortunes of his native country, to which he was most loyally attached, and his tender uneasiness for the future fate of his family, of which he had always been a fond father and a zealous protector; and for the personal safety of those that were still under his care he had timely provided by sending them to England in February 1809, but unwilling himself to depart from his native country while it remained free from the invasion of the French enemy, and independent under a Spanish patriotic government; altho’ he had resolved to quit it in the last extremity if the French proved successful in their attempt to take the town of Cadiz, rather than to submit to live under the yoke of the oppressors of his country. In his last illness, when he felt himself aggravated a fortnight before his death presuming that he would not recover, he took leave affectionately of his last surviving sister and other intimate friends & relations, forbidding from that time the entrance of his apartment to every body but his spiritual and temporal attendants, devoting the remainder of his life solely to the awful preparation of his soul for eternity; foretelling on the morning of the last day of his life that he would not survive it, and accordingly breathed his soul into the hands of his creator at seven o’clock in the evening of the Festival of the Blessed Virgin under the appellation of Mount Carmel, on his very birth day, having completed 73 years. Thus closing with exemplary piety and perfect Christian resignation the evening of

a life adorned with the practice of every civil and religious virtue; possessing in a high degree the character of a most honorable, just, and upright man, having always been remarkable for his scrupulous integrity, sagacious prudence, veneration for our holy religion, and contempt for all worldly honours and decorations that were not the reward of signal services to the state; having refused them when offered to himself, as he valued more the solid merit of a good fame which he deservedly acquired by his extreme punctuality in fulfilling all his engagements in every personal transaction, and by complying with the duties of a good parent procuring a good and moral education to his children..... The Body was interred in the burial ground of the parish of St. Josef exterior of the walls of Cadiz, at the right of the chapel, in the tomb No. 118, on the high row of the principal front in the 11th division, with his name and age and day of his death inscribed on the monument, and his soul rests I hope and trust, through the mercy of God, in eternal glory. My Father’s remains could not be deposited in the family vault belonging to us in the church of the Women’s Hospital in Cadiz, in consequence of an order from Government prohibiting, without distinction of class, rank or person, any burial to be effected within the town ever since the great plague that ravaged the whole province in 1800.”

Mr. Michael Laurence Joseph Langton had been twice married—first, in 1758, to Maria Ellen Wadding, daughter to Gerard Wadding of Carrick-on-Suir, and Anastatia Murphy, of Kilkenny; secondly, in 1766, to Marie, daughter of Thomas Dillon and his wife Marie Hussy, of Dublin. His son, Michael Theobald, who settled in England, has made this

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3. My Grand Daughter Seraphina Langton* was born in the house of her Father Nich^l. Langton in Cadiz y^e 1 of April 1741 Old Stile; her Godfather Nicholas Del Castillo.

4. My Grandson Lawrence Gregory Langton† was born in Cadiz y^e 9 day of March 1742, New Stile; Christend y^e 14 of same month; his god father Mr. Michael Hoar.

5. My Grand Daughter Mary Langton‡ was born in the house of her Father in Cadiz [10 May 1745 was married to Thom^s. Walsh had a daughter who died an Infant].

6. My Grand Son Peter Langton§ was born y^e 2 October 1746 in the hous of his father in Cadiz; his godfather his uncle Peter Langton.

7. Josepha Langton|| born in 1748.

* [She Married Michael Suttin, alias de Sotto left 4 sons Redmond, Laurence Mich^l. & Nicholas de Sotto & a daughter Frances married to an officer Miguil Mongaro.]¹

† My s^d Grand Son dyed at his fathers of a lingering Cough May 9th 1760.

‡ [She died in Sⁿ. Lucar on the 28 August 1777.]²

§ [He died an Infant.]³

|| [Married to Edward Murphy; has a Son Edward Joseph & a Daughter Frances married to Thom^s. Fitzgerald.]³

note of his own marriage, in continuation of the old family manuscript:—

"I was married on the 21st day of November 1820, first in the Roman Catholic chapel at Bath, by the Rev. Peter Baines, and immediately afterward, in conformity with the laws of the country, in the Parish Church of St. James, at Bath, by the Curate, Rev. Mr. Player, to Mary Ryan, eldest daughter of Jeremiah Ryan, Esq., and of Margaret Ryan, daughter of Joseph Burke, Esq., all residents of the City of Waterford in Ireland, where my wife was born the 28th May 1795; but her father was from the County of Kilkenny, and her Mother from the Queen's County."

¹ This is a subsequent entry, by Michael Langton, of Danville. In the older copy of the MS., Mr. Michael Theobald Langton made this marginal note at the name of his aunt Seraphina:—

"N.B., She died in Cadiz in the Month of August 1798 of a complicated dropsy of humours. She had been married to Don Miguel Sutton Conde de Clonard, from whom she had the following children, who all survived her, viz.—a son, Don Raymundo de Soto—his father

having altered the family name from Sutton to de Soto. This son, as eldest, inherited the title of Count of Clonard and he married the Marquesa de la Granada, from whom he had several children. A daughter Do^{na} Francisca de Soto, who married D^o. Miguel Hungaro, & they have had one son. A son, D^o. Nicholas de Soto. A third son and fourth child D^o. Miguel de Soto who was a professed Augustinian friar in the Convent of Regla, near Rota, and since passed to Carracas, in Spanish America."

² These three entries were made at a comparatively recent period, by Mr. Michael Langton, of Danville. In addition to the children of Nicholas Fitz Michael the Second above entered, there was another son, born subsequently, concerning whom the following record is made in the copy of the manuscript in the possession of Captain Langton:—

"My Grandson Nicholas Josef Langton was born the 13th April 1753, new stile, in the house of his father in Cadiz, Mr. Thomas Power was his Godfather. He was ordained secular Priest the 19th September 1779 & dyed the 16th January 1806, in Puerto Real. R. I. P."

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 6th, 1864.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

The Rev. Gorges Irvine, The Rectory, Castleblayney; Edward Tipping, Esq., Bellurgan Park, Dundalk; and Travers Wright, Esq., Killincoole Castle, Castlebellingham: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Mrs. William Archdall, Castle Archdall, Enniskillen: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Patrick Joseph Keenan, Esq., Chief of Inspection, National Board of Education, Marlborough-street, Dublin: proposed by Dr. Newell.

Eugene Alfred Conwell, Esq., M.R.I.A., Inspector, National Board of Education, Trim: proposed by G. V. Du Noyer, Esq.

Robert Alexander, Esq., Bishop-street, Londonderry; and John Little, Esq., Waterloo-place, Londonderry: proposed by A. G. Geoghegan, Esq.

James Ryan, Esq., Foulksrath Castle, Jenkinstown: proposed by Mr. Prim.

The Rev. James Graves said, that no doubt the Members of the Society present were aware, from the statements in the newspapers, of the outrage which had been committed a few weeks since, at Clonmacnoise, by the defacement of the sculptures on the ancient megalithic crosses, and the carved ornamentation of the doorways. Immediately on its occurrence reports had been forwarded to him on the subject, as Secretary of the Society, not only by the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, himself a Member of their Society, who was rector of the parish, but also by the Rev. P. R. Young, the Roman Catholic curate. He had at once (as it seemed to him there was no time to be lost) taken a step for which he should now ask the sanction of the Society. He wrote to those gentlemen, in-

timating that, if they should be able to trace out the perpetrators of the outrage, the Society would see them borne harmless in all expenses; that it was important to take immediate legal advice, and that they should put themselves into communication at once with Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., Local Sessional Crown Solicitor for the King's County, a zealous archæologist, and a Member of the Society. His suggestions had been promptly acted upon; and, fortunately, although the inhabitants generally of Clonmacnoise had been attending their respective places of worship, it being Sunday at the time when the Vandalism was committed, two young persons, servants of a neighbouring farmer, had seen a man in the act of injuring the sculptures, so that their evidence was available. They stated the delinquent to be one of a pleasure party, who had come from Birr to the "Seven Churches;" and it appeared that upon their being brought to Birr, for the purpose, they identified, from amongst the excursionists of the day, a certain individual as that person. The case was investigated before the magistrates at Birr petty sessions, on Saturday last; and the result was, the sending of the accused for trial at the ensuing assizes. The people of Birr seemed very indignant at the charge, and sought to retort it on the people of Clonmacnoise. It was very natural and gratifying to see the Birr people anxious to remove the stigma, if they could, from their community, of having amongst them a person capable of perpetrating such an act; but it was strange that they should allege that people had been suborned to lay the crime at their door. No one, of course, could have any wish that any one but the real wrongdoer, whoever he might be, should be punished; but, whether in this instance he might be punished or not, it was important that the prosecution should be instituted, and fully carried out, in order that a warning might be held out against the recurrence of such practices.

Mr. Duffy said, of course the Members would be most happy to sanction the steps taken by Mr. Graves in the matter. It was most important that the matter should be investigated to the utmost.

The Chairman observed that he also had had a letter from the Rev. C. Vignoles, in which he mentioned that the case had caused considerable interest, as a prosecution of the kind was unprecedented.

Mr. Graves said, it was certainly the first prosecution brought under the act of Parliament, and it was time to make a beginning, in order that people might see what severe penalties attached to such conduct. This would be achieved whether a conviction took place or not; public attention would be drawn to the matter, and he hoped a stop would be put to doings of the kind. It would be creditable to the Kilkenny Archæological Society that it was

the first to take the field for the enforcement of a most salutary law, which would tend to protect national monuments from barbarous defacement. Idle, thoughtless people, with mischievous propensities, were too much in the habit of battering the sculptures in every old churchyard and ruinous sacred building. The act under which this prosecution was instituted was intended to protect all monuments, ancient and modern, from wanton as well as from malicious injury.¹

Dr. Barry Delany moved that the Rev. Mr. Graves should be empowered to disburse all necessary expenses in prosecuting the case to the extent which he (Mr. Graves) might consider the Society could afford; giving him full power to receive all contributions towards aiding in that object which any one might wish to give.

Mr. Duffy was happy to second the motion. Of course it was not against any individual the Society wished to proceed, but for the discovery and punishment of the offender, and the example of others.

Mr. Prim felt sure that the Society would not be allowed to bear any large proportion of the expense. Sir William Wilde had already written to him, offering a subscription of £1; and no doubt others would willingly take part in the movement. The Royal Irish Academy ought to join; if it did not as a body, certainly several of its members would.

¹ On the occasion of the wanton injury done to the Portland Vase, in the British Museum, an act (the 8th & 9th Vict., cap. 44) was passed for the better preservation of public monuments. It was, however, soon found not to be comprehensive enough, and its provisions were enlarged and re-enacted by the statute of 24 & 25 Vict., cap. 97, sec. 39. As it is most important that archæologists should be aware of the powers which this statute gives them for the preservation of our national monuments, the provisions of the act, now for the first time put in force, are subjoined:—

“Whosoever shall unlawfully and maliciously destroy or damage any book, manuscript, picture, print, statue, bust, or vase, or any other article or thing, kept for the purposes of art, science, or literature, or as an object of curiosity in any museum, gallery, cabinet, library, or other repository, which museum, gallery, cabinet, library, or other repository is either at all times, or from time to time, open for the admission of the public, or of any considerable number of persons to view the

same, either by the permission of the proprietor thereof, or by the payment of money before entering the same, or any picture, statue, monument, or other memorial of the dead, painted glass, or other ornament or work of art, in any church, chapel, meeting-house, or other place of divine worship, or in any building belonging to the Queen, or to any county, riding, division, city, borough, poor law union, parish or place, or to any university or college, or hall of any university, or to any inn of court, or in any street, square, churchyard, burial ground, public garden or ground, or any statue or monument exposed to public view, or any ornament, railing, or fence surrounding such statue or monument, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and being convicted thereof, shall be liable to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding six months, with or without hard labour, and if a male under the age of sixteen years, with or without whipping; provided that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to affect the right of any person to recover, by action at law, damages for the injury so committed.”

Dr. Delany asked whether anything could be done towards repairing the injury done to the sculptures?

Mr. Graves said, both the Rev. Mr. Young and the Rev. Mr. Vignoles, separately writing to him, had used the same word in describing the injury—"irreparable." Mr. Cooke, also, had gone to Clonmacnoise to see for himself, and wrote, describing it as "the great and wanton injury done to the sculptures." The Rev. Mr. Young had particularly remarked on the fact of such an outrage having been committed at the very time that the Kilkenny Archaeological Society had made arrangements, by means of special subscription set on foot for the purpose, to rebuild one of the richly sculptured arches which had fallen down, and the stones of which were all on the spot. Such a restoration as that could be made; but what reparation could be effected where sculptures were battered away?

Mr. Duffy thought it was clearly a case for the Government to take up. It was a matter of national interest and national importance.

Mr. Prim observed, that the Government had taken one step in the recognition of archaeology as of national importance. By the change recently made in the law of treasure-trove, and the undertaking that Government will fully remunerate all persons supplying for the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy all valuable relics of antiquity discovered throughout the country, this principle was established. The protection of the ancient monuments and architectural remains existing in our time was still more important.

Mr. Duffy suggested that if General Sir Thomas A. Larcom, the Under Secretary of State, were communicated with, he had no doubt the crown counsel of the circuit would be instructed to act in the case. Sir Thomas Larcom's appreciation of historical monuments was well known.

The Very Rev. Chairman undertook to bring the matter under Sir Thomas Larcom's attention by the next post.

The motion of Dr. Delany was then unanimously agreed to, Mr. Graves being at liberty to supply the necessary funds, as even if the Crown took up the case, it would be right to instruct Mr. Cooke to take every proper step to have counsel fully informed and aided towards the proper conduct of the case.

The consideration of Captain Hoare's proposition with regard to the getting up of a photographic album of the Members of the Society, which had been before the January meeting, was now resumed; and, after some discussion, it was resolved that the *cartes* of all Members forwarded to the Secretaries, accompanied by 1s. in postage stamps, should be fixed in an album, the necessary expense

of providing which this small contribution would serve to defray, the Members present considering that the outlay ought not to come from the general funds of the Society.

An estimate of the probable cost of the necessary repairs at the ancient castle of Kells was sent in by Mr. G. M'Mullen, who had been requested to do so by the Secretaries. However, as it would be desirable to ascertain what might be the necessary additional expenditure for works of reparation at Kells' Priory as well, it was determined to defer the consideration of the subject till a future meeting of the Society.

Mr. Prim read a letter from Colonel William O'Shee, of Pontoise, France, representative of the old family of Shee of Kilkenny, returning thanks for his election as an honorary Member of the Society at its last meeting. Colonel O'Shee stated that he would endeavour to show his sense of the compliment conferred on him by doing all in his power to advance the objects of the Society; and for that purpose, for the present he begged leave to send a map of the city of Kilkenny, copied from the Down Survey Maps in the Imperial Library, Paris.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Kent Archæological Society: "*Archæologia Cantiana*," Vol. V.

By the Sussex Archæological Society: "*Sussex Archæological Collections*," Vol. XVI.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: their "*Transactions*," new series, Vol. III.

By the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society: their "*Magazine*," No. 24.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "*Journal*," Nos. 80 and 81.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: their "*Original Papers*," Vol. VI., part 4.

By the Society of Antiquaries of London: their "*Proceedings*," second series, Vol. I., No. 8, and Vol. II., Nos. 1 to 5, inclusive.

By the Royal Institution of Cornwall: their "*Journal*" for March, 1864.

By the British Archæological Association: their "*Journal*" for June and September, 1864.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "*Archæologia Cambrensis*," third series, No. 39.

By the Author: "*On the So-called Ring-money*." By William Bell, Esq., Ph. D.

By the Author: "*A History of the Channa-Rory or Rudri-*

cians, Descendants of Roderick the Great, Monarch of Ireland," forming Part 1 of "Irish Family History." By Richard F. Cronnelly, Esq.

By the Author: "Memoir of Alexander Henry Rhind, of Sibster." By John Stuart, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

By the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker: "Faulkner's Dublin Journal," Nos. 2647, 2650, 2663, 2672, and 2674, all of the year 1752.

By Mr. F. Spong, Carlow: a brass Dutch tobacco box, of the period of William III., and two silver pennies of Edward I., found in his locality.

By Mr. J. F. Lynch, Architect, Carlow: a fine bronze celt, of the class termed by Sir William Wilde, "side-socketed palstaves," figured in the Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy, page 391.

By Mr. Rowe, Carlow: a silver penny of Edward I.; a gun-money shilling of James II., coined in November, 1689. Also an admirable photograph of Carlow Castle, from a different point of view from that which he had sent to a former meeting; and two views of Burton Hall, before its recent re-edification.

By John Butler, Esq., Maiden Hall: a rare copper jetton, found on the lands of Anamult.

By Mr. John Kelly, High-street, Kilkenny: an ancient copper buckle, with iron tongue, found in making some alterations in the old Elizabethan house in which he lives, originally erected by Henry Shee, one of the first aldermen of Kilkenny, under the Charter of James I.

By Mr. John Hogan, Kilkenny: a rubbing of an ancient coffin-shaped tombstone, in Kilmacow churchyard, bearing an interlaced cross, and the following inscription in black letter:—

Thys done bi edmonde butler and bi katrin b hys wyf anno d m cccc lii.

By Maurice Lenihan, Esq., Limerick: a rubbing from Limerick Cathedral, described in the following paper:—

"Among the many objects of antiquarian interest with which the historic Cathedral of St. Mary's at Limerick is crowded, there is not one of them that has challenged so much attention as the tombstone of Galfridus or Geoffrey Arthur, who had been Treasurer of the Cathedral, and who died A. D. 1519. He was a member of a remarkable family, which had been closely identified for very many ages with the ecclesiastical, the corporate, the professional, the mercantile, and the parliamentary history of Limerick, in which, according to the Arthur MSS. in my possession, the family have held a high position since early in the 12th century. Dr. Thomas Arthur, the writer of the MSS. was the friend of Sir James Ware, of Archbishop Ussher, and many of the eminent men of the seventeenth century. His MSS. are full of important matter relative to the city of which he was an ornament, and to the great men with whom he

came in contact; and I have drawn copiously on them for my forthcoming History of Limerick. With respect to the tomb of Galfridus, or Geoffrey Arthur, it was originally placed in the wall of the chapter room of the cathedral. In 1862, however, it was removed from its old place, during certain alterations and restorations. It is to be regretted that any change should have been made in the position of the monuments—such at least as those of Arthur, of John Ffox, and of Andrew Creagh, each of whom was a dignitary of St. Mary's, and each of whom had a curious tombstone. This Arthur monument is now located in the wall of the north transept, and close by it is that of Dean John Ffox, who, however, is not mentioned in the records, or in Cotton's '*Fasti Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ*,' as having occupied any station in the cathedral. Ffox's tombstone is about the same size as that of Arthur; but it is not so puzzling, so elaborate, or so curious. Both tombstones are fashioned of limestone, now black with age. The carving on that of Arthur may be judged of from the rubbing which I have taken of it within the last few months, and of which the engraving prepared for the Society's '*Journal*' is a perfect *fac simile*. The inscription had been for a very long period of time a complete mystery to all sorts of persons. Scholars, antiquaries, &c., were at a loss what to make of it. To prove this the more clearly, I may remark that in the first edition of Ferrar's '*History of Limerick*' (1767), though the inscription is strangely called '*a curious plain*,' one '*which very few gentlemen can make perfect as it is greatly abbreviated and cut in old English character*,' Ferrar made an effort to copy it, but it was a very lamentable failure on his part. Here it is :—

'Hic jace3 in tumuli fundo
Galfrid3

An. Dni. MDXIX.'

Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the absence of all knowledge of the inscription than the above. In his second edition Ferrar endeavours to mend his hand, and he states that it is an old inscription in '*Monkish verse*,' and greatly '*abbreviated*,' and he gives it as follows :—

'Hic jacet in tumuli fundo
Sublatus a mundo,
Galfridus Arthurie
Thesaurarius quondam istius ecclesie
Decima sexta luce Maia
Requiescat in pace perpetua.
A. D. 1519.'

"One is nearly as bad as the other, if in point of fact the mirepresentation in the latter of the character of the numerals is not the gravest error into which Ferrar fell. He adds—'There is another line on the stone relative to singing requiems for his soul, but antiquarians are not agreed as to his explanation of it.' Thus was the subject treated a century ago; and thus did it remain until A. D. 1827, when Fitzgerald and Macgregor, authors of another history of Limerick, made an attempt to describe and decipher the inscription, and to give to their readers a translation of it. They did the latter in very poor verse, scarcely a line in which tells in reality what the inscription truly means. The '*Latin original*,' as given

by Fitzgerald and Macgregor, is copied by Dr. Cotton into the first edition of his 'Fasti' (1847).

"This is Fitzgerald's 'Latin and translation:'—

'Hic jacet in tumuli fundo,
Sublatus a mundo,
Galfridus Arthurie,
Thesaurarius quondam istius ecclesie
Decima sexta luce Maya
Requiescet in pace perpetua,
Anno crucifixi Domini,
Millesimo quingento decimo nono
Tu tubis sic octavum cane
Que hic dice octo precum Eanæ.'

Which has been translated with more literal exactness than poetic fire:—

"Entomb'd here lies Geffry Arthur,
This same Church's late Treasurer;
From this world translated in May,
On the morn of the sixteenth day;
The Fifteen Hundred Nineteenth year
Of our crucified SAVIOUR,
Rests in perpetual peace.
Do thou incite the solemn train,
And with the doleful trumps proclaim,
Eight times this mournful story;
Then to Eana oblation make
Of eight prayers for the sake
Of his soul in Purgatory.

"In the second edition of Dr. Cotton's most useful and interesting work, the 'original' is given as it was transcribed, and contributed to Dr. Cotton by the Rev. Arthur W. Edwards, who had been attached to the Cathedral some years ago, and who, according to Dr. Cotton, 'has made all plain with the exception of one, or at most two words.' In order to make so debated and misrepresented, and, as it has become, so important an inscription, quite plain, it was suggested to me by the Rev. James Graves, the Secretary of our Society, and Editor of its 'Journal,' to make

HIC IACET IN TUMULI FUNDO
GALFRIDUS ARTHURIE
THE SAURARIUS QUONDAM
ISTIVS ECCLESIE
DECIMA SEXTA LUCE MAYA
REQUIESCET IN PACE PERPETUA
ANNO CRUCIFIXI DOMINI
MILLESIMO QVINGENTO DECIMO NONO
TU TUBIS SIC OCTAVVM CANE
QUE HIC DICE OCTO PRECVM EANAÆ

the rubbing which is herewith presented, and from which the accurate engraving here given is cut. I feel obliged for the opportunity that has

been afforded me, of aiding to throw light on a subject which for a very long period has been a serious puzzle to many. The true version of the inscription with its contractions expanded is as follows:—

“ Hic jacet in tumuli fundo sublatu a mundo
Galfridu Arture thesaurarius quondam istius ecclesie
xvi. luce maya requievit in pace perpetua.
Anno crucifixi domini 1519.
Tu transiens cave qui hic dices pater et ave.

“It is unnecessary further to dwell on this matter, except to state that antiquaries, as well as others, often make mistakes; and that historians such as Ferrar, and Fitzgerald and Macgregor, when alluding to the subject of Geoffrey Arthur’s tomb, should have been better acquainted than they appear to have been with an inscription on which the first-named evidently blundered very much, and the latter quite as much as the first. The following is the literal translation:—

“Here lies in the bottom of the tomb, removed from the world, Geoffrey Arture, formerly Treasurer of this Church. He rested in perpetual peace on the 16th day of May, in the year of the Crucified Lord 1519. You who pass by take heed that you here say a Pater and Ave.”

By John Cooper Shaw, Esq., Ardnehue, near Carlow: a collection of stone, bone, iron, and fictile antiques, which were described in the following report on the subject, sent in by Robert Malcomson, Esq., the Honorary Local Secretary of the Society for that district:—

“On the part of John Cooper Shaw, Esq., of Ardnehue Lodge, in the county of Carlow, I send for exhibition a number of antiquities recently discovered under the following circumstances.

“Ardnehue is situate in the parish of Killerrig in the barony and county of Carlow, and is distant about three miles from the county town, on the road leading from it to Hacketstown, and is on the estate of the representatives of the late Lord Downes. Early in the spring of the present year, Mr. Shaw, whilst searching for limestone gravel on a field upon his farm next adjoining his residence, at Ardnehue, observed at a particular spot, where the surface had been removed, that the subsoil was of a darker, richer and softer description than the surrounding earth, with occasional fragments of bones presenting themselves. Mr. Shaw was induced to undertake the excavation of the loamy soil there discovered, and in the prosecution of that work it was found that this stratum filled what had evidently been a trench or series of trenches of irregular curved shape, with occasional offshoots of minor extent. The soil or earth which has been removed from this deposit is calculated by Mr. Shaw to have amounted to six or seven hundred cartloads, the whole having been found interspersed with animal bones to a considerable extent. These were carefully picked and laid aside; and a number of them having been submitted to the anatomical observation of Mr. William Pallin, V. S., of Carlow, the following report was obtained from that gentleman:—

““The bones, which consisted of the remains of oxen, sheep, pigs, and

goats, were principally composed of broken fragments of the articular ends of the bones of the extremities, with the remains of several crania, all more or less injured, and in most cases having only one horn, the other having been broken off close to the root. A fractured depression in the centre of the forehead denoted that death was produced by a blow from some heavy instrument. From the size of the head, the breed to which they belonged must have been very large, more particularly that of the oxen, with a strong, wide, frontal bone, and straight projecting horns; and in some instances the teeth remained perfect, which was well seen in the sheep and pig, proving that the animal was in each case fully grown.

“The bones belonging to the oxen were principally the ends of femurs, fore and hind cannon bones, and a few vertebræ; those of the sheep were principally ribs and bones of the extremities; and those of the pig upper and lower jaw bones. There were also two coffin or foot bones belonging to a small horse, but which, from their difference in size, must have been from different animals. Although the bones must have been under ground for centuries, they were in perfect preservation, which probably depended on the antiseptic properties of the earth around them.”

“The earth or soil excavated has been used by Mr. Shaw as a manure, with the best results. A portion of it has been analyzed by Robert Galloway, Esq., Professor of Practical Chemistry, Museum of Irish Industry, Dublin, who writes as follows:—

“I have examined the earth you left with me. It contains of valuable substances, phosphates of iron and alumina, bone earth, and nitrogenous matter in the following quantities in every one hundred parts of the earth:—

Phosphate of iron and alumina, . . .	3.58
Bone earth,	1.44
Nitrogen in organic matter, . . .	0.09

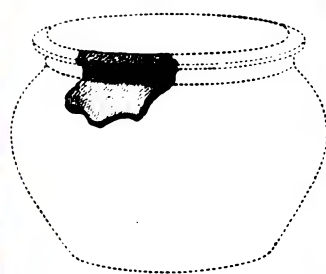
1.1 of ammonia, or 4.82 of sulphate of ammonia. According to the chemical valuation, it is worth about 9s. per ton.’

“Besides the bones of the quadrupeds indicated by Mr. Pallin, the skull of a dog, and the remains of fowl were discovered. No human remains, however, were met with, save the under jaw and teeth of a skeleton; but this was not found in such proximity with the other bones, or in such a position as to lead Mr. Shaw to think that it was in any way connected with the ‘kitchen midden’ in question, but is rather supposed to have been accidentally brought there in the process of tillage or manuring the farm, as an adjoining field is reported to have been, in very distant times, the site of a burial ground. In addition to these bones (of which an average specimen of the different sorts is sent for exhibition) in the removal of the soil from the trenches or cavities, which at some points descended to a depth of eight or ten feet below the surface of the field, and measured in breadth from one or two to five or six feet, four out of the seven stone celts forwarded by Mr. Shaw were discovered. These I have ticketed and numbered, respectively, 1, 2, 3, and 4. Two of them, I fancy, will be pronounced by the Society to be *unique* in shape and appearance—the large flat stone implement with the circular extremity, rough sides,

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No. 1.



No. 3



No. 2.

Stone Implements and Pottery from Kitchen-Midden, Ardnahue.

and polished edges,¹ measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3, and one inch thick (No. 1); and the perfectly lozenge-shaped celt, or hammer,² measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, by 3 inches across the lozenge, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness³ (No. 2); all of them are evidently of the rudest and most primitive age, and each of a different description of stone, though I am not mineralogist enough to determine their precise composition or lithological characters. At the bottom of the trench, in two or three distinct places, stones were found in such a position, and such unmistakeable traces of charcoal, or wood ashes were discerned, with here and there a 'clinker,' as to leave no doubt they had formed fireplaces. The disjointed remains of a quern, or hand-mill, were discovered, consisting of the upper stone or convex muller of a grain rubber, exactly such as is figured in Wilde's 'Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy' (Stone, Earthen, and Vegetable Materials), page 104, fig. 82, No. 2. Two or three bone pins, or bodkins, also turned up in the excavation; and the fragment of a two-sided hand comb (No. 5), found about two feet from the surface, is sent by Mr. Shaw, with one of the bone pins. The bodkin (No. 6) measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, is sharp-pointed, and polished, with a flat head pierced, having a hole for the probable purpose of its employment as a needle. Some rusted iron remains were found. One of these—probably a meat hook—is included in the articles sent (No. 7), but it has been renewed in the forge since its discovery. A small curiously shaped iron knife blade (No. 8) is also forwarded. It is two inches long in the blade, and 2-8th in the tang."

"Such are, I believe, the only remnants of the rude arts of past ages which have as yet been discovered in these 'digginga.' Much more of the soil remains for future removal; and Mr. Shaw, who purposes continuing his explorations after harvest, will husband any further discoveries as carefully and thoughtfully as he has already done.

"There was nothing in the surface or appearance of the field to indicate the existence of this 'kitchen-midden.' No mound, rath, or embankment can be traced, from observation or tradition, as having ever existed on the spot, which is situated on the gentle and natural slope of a hill, in a field which has been in cultivation apparently for ages.

"The stone celts marked respectively A, B, and C, and the portion of a sword scabbard with gold casing, marked D were found in different parts of the adjoining land, by Mr. Shaw."

Mr. Prim said that, in addition to the remains exhibited by Mr. Shaw, and so interestingly described by Mr. Malcomson, he had to present, on the part of Mr. Frederick Spong, of Carlow, a skull of the *Bos longifrons*, or extinct Irish cow, and a specimen of the black

¹ This celt-shaped stone, which is faithfully represented on the accompanying plate, fig. 1, has all the appearance of having been grasped in the hand for use, hence the edges polished from constant handling. It may have served for crushing or shelling corn or peas, as its flat end is blunt, and shows marks of wear and tear when used as a pounding instrument.—Ed.

² This stone hammer (see accompanying plate, fig. 2) would serve most admirably to fell the oxen, the perforations in the heads of which may have been made by it, or a similar weapon.—Ed.

³ This seems to have been a penknife. The comb alluded to is exactly similar to those found in the rath of Dunbel, county of Kilkenny, and also in Saxon cemeteries.—Ed.

earth analyzed by Professor Galloway; as well as, from himself, some fragments of fictile ware picked up at the Ardnehue "diggings." They were indebted to Mr. Spong for the earliest intelligence of the discovery made by Mr. Shaw, who had informed him of the fact in order to have his opinion as to the value of the rich earth found, as a manure; and Mr. Spong had at once suggested the propriety of having the workmen instructed to watch carefully for any remains in the way of implements or ornaments of primeval times, which might be expected to turn up in the excavations. It appeared that there had been eighteen heads of oxen, all of the same character, found amongst the deposit of bones, each of which, except two, had the frontal bone broken in, in the process of slaughtering. The only two skulls preserved were those unbroken, one of which Mr. Shaw had sent to Dublin, and the other Mr. Spong had obtained for the Society; the sixteen broken skulls, having been laid aside in the field, were carried off and disposed of by a rag-and-bone man, without Mr. Shaw's knowledge. He (Mr. Prim) had recently visited Ardnehue, guided by Mr. Spong, but had very little indeed to add to the clear and interesting description of the locality and discoveries made there, supplied by Mr. Malcomson. Mr. Shaw was from home on the occasion; but full information had been given him on the spot by a very intelligent man, who had been engaged as a labourer in the operations. He described seven or eight hearths as having been found, each formed by a ring of large stones, the centre being filled with charcoal; and some "clinkers" were found in the charcoal. At that time he (Mr. Prim) had heard nothing of the discovery of any iron implements; but the presence of the "clinkers," which he saw amongst the debris, suggested an inquiry on this subject, and also as to whether no articles of bronze had been found. The man referred to assured him that neither one nor the other had turned up; but, as it was now seen iron things had been obtained, there was very little doubt that Mr. Shaw would, in continuing the excavations hereafter, if he would have the matter carefully looked to, find bronze implements also. The few bits of coarse clay pottery which he (Mr. Prim) now laid before the meeting, he found amongst the heaps of clay which had been thrown up from the trenches; and one of them (see Plate facing p. 119, fig. 3), evidently belonged to a globular vessel, of somewhat classical shape, giving across the rim, when perfect, a diameter of eleven inches. In reply to his inquiries on the spot, he was told that no fictile vessel in an unbroken state had been lighted on. The fragments seemed to be of native manufacture, as the clay of which they were formed was thickly interspersed with particles of mica, the result of the disintegration of the granite rocks of the county Carlow. The "corn-rubber" found seemed to be the top stone of a very early quern, as it had an orifice in its lower surface, for

the insertion of the mill rind, on which it turned ; but there certainly was no hole on the upper surface for the insertion of a handle whereby a rotatory motion might be given. It was exactly a foot in diameter, and broken into two pieces across the centre. It was worthy of remark that amongst the bones found at Ardnehue, those which usually contain marrow were several of them broken, evidently for the purpose of its extraction. He had found in the debris fragments of a rounded flag, about eighteen inches in diameter, with marks of fire upon it, indicating all the appearances of having been used as a griddle.

The Rev. James Graves said that the importance of Mr. Malcomson's communication was undeniable. Mr. Malcomson has used with propriety the term of "kitchen-midden," or refuse heap, recently introduced by the Danish antiquaries. He (Mr. Graves) was at first of opinion that this deposit at Ardnehue might be referred to the extreme antiquity attributed to those Northern "refuse heaps ;" but the occurrence of iron implements, the comb, and the prevalence of "clinkers," or the slag of iron smelting, showed that the deposit belonged to a more recent period ; it was probably the site of some great Gaedhelic encampment of ancient times. The absence of entrenchments forbade its being the refuse of a stated dwelling-place like that found in the county of Kilkenny, at Dunbel, the results of the exploration of which formed the most interesting feature of the Society's Museum. He had no doubt that an equally important collection would result from the preservation of all objects found at Ardnehue. On consulting the records of the Ordnance Survey, in the Phoenix Park, he found that the late Dr. O'Donovan had interpreted the name of Ardnehue as meaning "the height of the cave." It remained to be seen whether any cave might yet be discovered there ; at all events, it was worth searching for.

Mr. Graves added that, as that subject was attracting considerable attention at present, he might mention that he had received a communication relative to a similar, but perhaps older, and still unexplored refuse heap at Bannow, in the county of Wexford. The following was a letter received by him from a Member of the Society, the Rev. John Lymbery, of Fethard Castle:—

"Are you aware of the large deposit of bones, &c., on Clare Island, near Bannow? As far as I can judge, it is one of those 'kitchen-middens,' as they call them. I think it would be well worth investigating. There is a growth of about a foot of vegetable mould over it, which may afford some clue as to the period at which this deposit was made. You can see 'Clare Island' on one of the Ordnance maps, between Bannow Island and the old church ; it lay in the former channel by which the tide passed, but is now no longer an 'island.' It is about thirty yards long, and is nearly covered, as far as I can see, by this kitchen refuse,

which is about a foot deep. I never heard of it until a few weeks ago, as I was walking there with a friend, when he mentioned its existence, thinking it a proof of the vigilance of the sanatory commissioners of those days, who had the relics of the food conveyed to such a distance from the now extinct town. On going there, I was really surprised to see such an accumulation of bones and skulls. The island, having been washed away by the action of the sea, is much smaller than it had been, as the very centre of the 'kitchen-midden' is exposed to view at the top of the little cliff, which is six or seven feet high; so that it might be easily, at least partially, investigated without removing the soil on the surface of the island. Should it be, as you conjecture, of such remote antiquity, few things of the kind would be more interesting. I doubt, however, that the bones are sufficiently decayed to warrant this conclusion. Another circumstance should be mentioned—that there is a large quantity of oyster shells; and our idea here is, that there were no oysters in Bannow Bay, until a cargo was conveyed there by one of the Colcloughs, as you may see that Mr. Leigh, of Rosegarland, mentions, in his account of the county Wexford, in the Society's 'Journal.' The bones are mostly those of cows, and are all broken to remove, apparently, the marrow; and some smaller, of deer I believe. It would be a pity to have this deposit removed without the presence of some scientific person: were the farmer who holds the land but aware of its value as manure, I fear it would soon be dispersed widely enough."

Mr. Graves observed that it seemed probable the formation of this refuse heap, so well described by Mr. Lymbery, was long anterior to the foundation of the now extinct town of Bannow. The channel in which it stood, and which formed the chief entrance to Bannow Bay in times far remote, had been silted up from time immemorial; hence the washing away of the island, which must have taken a considerable time to accomplish, must have occurred long before the foundation of the town of Bannow by the Anglo-Normans. This refuse heap most probably belonged to a very early period, and would be well worthy of examination.

Mr. A. G. Geoghegan sent rubbings of an ogham on a granite boulder in the townland of Corrody, parish of Glendermot, county of Londonderry. The boulder is a broken one, and has been removed from its original site in the middle of a field, and is now placed in the adjacent clay bank which forms the fence. The characters, although suffering from long exposure, and the *fleasg*, are distinctly and plainly traceable. The upper part of the boulder

///, ///, ///, ///, ///, ///, ///

is broken off, and in the hollow there are some characters; but unfortunately these had since his first visit been defaced, so as to prevent a satisfactory rubbing being taken of them. The entire inscription, as now decipherable, appeared pretty much as above

Mr. Bold forwarded photographs and accounts of the following articles :—

No. 1. Large triangular, flat-sided, water-worn stone; greatest length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; greatest breadth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, having circular slanting cavities drilled nearly opposite each face¹—found by Morgan Coll, of Cor, in the winter of 1848, when demolishing the foundation of the little fort of Liss Cor, where he also found *seven* squared and perfectly plain lumps of silver, like large dice, about an inch on each face, which were unfortunately sold afterwards, in the summer of 1849, to a pedlar. Mr. Bold suggests that those pieces of silver may have been used in a game which even in the present day is practised by *girls*, in various localities, by holding small pebbles in the palm, and then throwing up and catching on the back of the hand and fingers extended. This game is played by the girls in the Isle of Wight, using *nine* or *seven* knuckle joint bones from a leg of mutton; and as Cæsar tells us that the Isle of Wight was inhabited by the Nervii, it is probable that it is originally a Celtic, if not an Eastern, game. In the county of Waterford, and about Youghal, the girls play it with *seven* pebbles, where it is called *jack stones*. In the Isle of Wight it is called *nine bones*, no matter what is the number used. The parties playing invariably sit on the ground; and when one misses, the other tries. *It is always played by girls*. The finding of this triangular stone with the pieces of silver would suggest some connexion between them. However, the pieces of silver may also have been used for money in the remote age from which the fort of Liss Cor dates its erection.

No. 2. A dun-coloured stone celt (imperfect); dimensions, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $1\frac{2}{10}$ inches broad; found this spring by Shamus Dunlavy, on the Dhingle bank at the mouth of the Gweebarrow River, opposite the mouth of the ford, and about 350 yards below the fort of Liss Cor.

No. 3. Large broken-pointed white flint celt or spear head, 3 inches long by 1 inch broad; found this spring by Dominick M'Swine, of Cor, when tilling the ground, within the fine large triple-ditched fort of Dun Brennan, which commands Liss Cor, equidistant between this and the River Gweebarrow. Liss Cor again commands the north side of the ford of A'churry, crossing the mouth of Gweebarrow from Mauss, now a ferry, but still passable for man and beast during ebb water and spring tides.

The places of these finds are all situate in the townland of Cor, barony of Boyleagh, and county of Donegal.

Mr. 'Geoghagan, in connexion with Mr. Bold's paper, begged to furnish an extract from Mr. St. John's work on the "Manners and

¹ See a similar stone described, vol. iii., new series, p. 219.

Customs of Ancient Greece," which proved that the game was a classical one, and was called by the ancients "Pentalitha":—

"Some of the sports were peculiar to the female sex, as the *pentalitha*, which is still played by girls in some remote provinces of our island, and is called *danilies*. The whole apparatus of the game consists in five *astragals*,—knuckle bones, pebbles, or little balls,—which, gathered up rapidly, were thrown into the air, and attempted to be caught in falling on the back of the hand, or between the slightly spread fingers. If any fell, it was allowable to pick them up, provided this were done with the fingers of the same hand on which the other astragals rested. The girls of France, according to Bulenger, still amuse themselves with the *pentalitha*, playing with five little glass balls.

"The *Himantiliginos*, 'pricking the garter,' in Ireland 'pricking the loop,' was really an ingenious amusement. It consisted in doubling a thong, and twisting it into numerous labyrinthine folds, which done, the other party put the end of a peg into the midst in search of the point of duplication. If he missed the mark, the thong unwound without entangling the peg; but if he dropped it into the right ring, his peg was caught and the game won. Hemestertius *supposes the Gordian knot to have been nothing but a variety of the Himantiliginos!*"—"Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece," by J. A. St. John, vol. i., p. 160.

Mr. Graves laid on the table a number of beautiful photographs, exhibiting various views and details of the Abbey of Jerpoint; the Priory of Kells; and the old church, round tower, and cross of Kilree, which were executed, and presented to the Society by Mr. Charles Budds, Thomastown.

Mr. Prim exhibited two very interesting photographs, most admirably executed by Mr. St. George Geary, Patrick-street, for the Society. They represented St. Patrick's Gate, the last remaining of the old mural "ports" of Kilkenny; and a view of the Cathedral and Round Tower of St. Canice, with the main street of Irishtown, as seen from Watergate-bridge.

The Very Rev. President exhibited a small ivory hand, mounted on a cane, familiarly known in former times as a "scratch back." The President stated that he remembered, when a young lad, having seen it used, in the best society, in Portarlington.

The Rev. John O'Hanlon sent the following, in continuation of his former valuable papers on the same subject:—

"In proceeding with a description of MS. materials connected with the province of Munster, found in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, the following are the heads of subjects, as taken from the Catalogue of the Topographical Collection for Tipperary:—I. Inquisitions, four volumes; index to ditto, one volume.¹ II. Names from Down Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution.—(See Munster, Volume iii.) III. Extracts, three volumes;² rough Index of Places to Irish part, not arranged. IV. Let-

¹ These volumes are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

² These volumes are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. The rough

ters, three volumes.¹ V. Orthography Letters, one volume, included in Memorandums. VI. Name Books, 234. VII. Barony and Parish Book, one volume. VIII. Memorandums, including Orthography Letters, two volumes. IX. County Index to names on Ordnance Maps, two volumes. X. Memoir Papers. (See detailed list annexed.) XI. Sketches of antiquities, 199.²

"I. With regard to the four volumes of Inquisitions³ and their index, I may refer the reader to the (note 2, p. 102) vol. ii., new series, 1858, of this Society's Transactions, where the contents of these volumes are already described, when classed with the Common Place Books. The five detached volumes are now strongly bound in three volumes, and in the uniform style of the Ordnance Survey MSS., preserved at the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. viii. of the note is now marked vol. 1; vol. ix. of the note is now marked vol. 2; vols. x., xi., and the index to all, are now bound in one volume.

"II. This is a bound folio volume, transcribed from the Records, preserved at the Custom House, Dublin. Its table of contents shows that it contains the names of townlands, parishes, and baronies, taken from the Down Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution, relating to Limerick, pp. 1 to 175; to Tipperary, pp. 183 to 575; and to Waterford, pp. 583 to 696. Several pages are blank, and all the rest are loosely written. A few columns of neatly written index precede the more detailed matter, regarding each county. Reference to the Survey Maps occurs throughout, with occasional notes, describing church lands, bog, gardens, abbey lands, commons, &c. These denominations are not, however, complete; for, in certain places, we have pictured marginal mutilations, described as "burned off," such being the case in the originals, from which this volume was copied. Further description of this MS. is unnecessary, because it closely resembles other books of the same class, copied from the unpublished Ulster and Leinster, and to which frequent allusions have been already made.

"III. The three quarto volumes of Extracts comprise excerpts from the 'Book of Lismore;' Smith's 'Collections for Tipperary,' a MS. in the Royal Irish Academy; 'Leabhar Breac;' 'Book of Lecan;' 'Félire Aenguis;' 'Book of Glendalough;' Abstracts of Grants of Lands and other Hereditaments, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, A. D. 1666-1684; Abstracts of the Conveyances from the Trustees of the Forfeited Estates and Interests in Ireland, in 1688; Harris' 'Ware's Bishops;' 'Liber Regalis Visitationis;' Gough's 'Camden;' Mason's 'Parochial

index of places to Irish part includes 144 loose foolscap folio leaves, written only on one side, and tied up in blue wrapping paper. They remain in the Ordnance Survey Office. It may be remarked, that this, with all corresponding matter, has been carefully transcribed into the indices. These latter facilitate reference to their respective volumes of Extracts, and are also to be seen in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Irish words, in the Irish character, with their Anglicised equiva-

lents, and numerical references, constitute the contents.

¹ Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

² At present preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

³ It must be observed here, that the Commissioners of Public Records have only printed the Irish Inquisitions relating to Ulster and Leinster. Those for the other two Irish provinces yet remain in MS., and it is much to be desired that they should, also, be printed.

Survey; Archdall's 'Monasticon; Mac Firbis' 'Pedigrees; Keating; 'Four Masters; Lanigan; O'Sullivan Beare; Colgan; O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia; Eugene O'Curry's MSS.; Chronicon Sanctorum; Irish MSS., T.C.D.; Irish Calendar of Saints; Book of Kilkenny, Marsh's Library. The foregoing extracts are in Irish, Latin, and English. The first volume contains 698 numbered pages, closely written; the second volume, 606 numbered pages, loosely written; the third volume, 657 numbered pages, for the most part loosely written. Each of these volumes has a short index of places and authorities preceding; all are bound in the uniform style of Ordnance Survey MSS., preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

"IV. The first volume of Antiquarian Letters contains communications written by John O'Donovan, and dated as follows:—1840, August 28, Sept. 4th, 5th, 5th, 5th, 6th; Clonmel, 6th, do. 6th, 6th; Clonmel, 6th, do. 7th, 9th, 9th, 10th, 10th, 10th, 10th (another, Clonmel, without date), Clonmel, 10th; Cashel 15th, do. 16th, do. 16th, do. 16th, do. 16th, do. 16th, do. 16th, do. 17th, do. 17th, do. 17th, do. 18th, do. 18th, do. 20th, do. 21st, do. 21st, do. 21st, do. 21st, do. 21st, do. 22nd, do. 22nd; Thurles, 27th, do. 27th; Nenagh, October 3rd, do. 18th, Oct. 4th do. 4th, do. 4th, do. 4th, do. 5th, do. 5th, do. 5th, do. 5th, do. 5th, do. 5th, do. 6th, do. 7th, Conoc Unmúman, 7th; Nenagh, 8th, do. 8th, do. 8th, do. 8th, do. 8th, do. 8th, do. 8th, do. 9th. Thus, the first volume contains sixty-three short letters, all of them written by Mr. O'Donovan; and many of them, as he states, from notes furnished by Mr. A. Curry. They are interspersed with various extracts, by different hands, and illustrated with very neat ink sketches of antiquities. The volume contains 631 closely written pages, besides several pages of a neatly and accurately compiled index. The second volume of Antiquarian Letters also contains the following letters, by Mr. O'Donovan, with places and dates of writing:—Nenagh, Oct. 9th, do. 10th, do. 12th, do. 13th, do. 13th, do. 13th, (another, no date or place); Nenagh, Oct. 13th, do. 14th, do. 14th, do. 14th, do. 14th, do. 19th, do. 19th, do. 19th, do. 19th; Roscrea, Oct. 26th, do. 22nd, do. 22nd, do. 22nd, do. 22nd, do. 24th, do. 24th, do. 24th, do. 24th, do. 24th, do. 24th. Next follows a long communication by Thomas O'Connor, dated Nenagh, Oct. 4th, and another by the same writer, but without date or locality expressed. There are 558 numbered and written pages in this volume, with several extracts by different hands, as also sketches of antiquities. It is preceded by a neatly and correctly written index, consisting of several pages. The third volume contains the following letters, written by Thomas O'Connor:—Nenagh, Oct. 10th; Roscrea, Oct. 21st, 24th, with note by Mr. O'Donovan appended, Oct. 27th. Next we find letters of P. O'Keefe, dated Tipperary, August 26th, do. 27th, do. 29th. A note of Mr. O'Donovan follows. P. O'Keefe, Clonmel, September 5th; Cashel, 15th, do. 18th; do. Thurles, 30th, do. 30th, do. 30th, do.; Nenagh, Oct. 3rd, do. 5th, do. 6th, do. 9th do. 17th; Roscrea, do. 21st, do. 22nd, do. 22nd, do. 25th. A note of Mr. O'Donovan follows; it is dated Roscrea, Oct. 27th. The same writer has many remarks appended to the foregoing letters. This volume is interspersed with various extracts, ink sketches, and map traces. It has a neatly and correctly written index preceding, and it comprises 451 written and numbered pages.

"V. The Orthography letters, as already remarked, are included in

the Memorandums, to which they closely correspond, both in matter and purport. These Memorandums claim a short description, a little lower down, as they occur in the index order.

“VI. The Name Books are exactly 234 in number, as stated in the Catalogue, and differ not in shape and matter from those of the same denomination already described, when referring to the provinces of Leinster and Ulster.

“VII. The Barony and Parish Book is a bound quarto volume of 220 numbered leaves—these representing double that quantity of written pages. This MS. is preceded by a list of thirty-two different authorities for the orthography of local denominations. It has also eleven columns of an index prefixed. Across the pages we find writing, under the respective headings—Received Name, Orthography, Authorities, Situation, and Remarks. On every one of these pages, Mr. O'Donovan has settled the Irish and English orthography, as in the following specimen, taken from the first denomination, Abbey, or Innislounagh:—Under Orthography, we find ‘Inir leathnabba, *island of the new milk*’—Keating is quoted as authority; and under the heading Remarks, Mr. O'Donovan writes, ‘Inishlounaght, J. O'D. The final *t* should not be dropped. J. O'D.’

“VIII. The Memorandums, which include the Orthography Letters, to which allusion has been already made, are found in two strongly bound quarto MS. volumes; the first contains 713 numbered pages, and an index of seventeen columns; the second 417 numbered pages, with an index of twenty columns. Both these volumes are mainly composed of correspondence, in the shape of letters, notes, queries, and replies, on different scraps of paper, pasted or bound into the volumes. They include many valuable notes of Mr. O'Donovan, and are chiefly of use for the exact topographer and antiquarian.

“IX. The County Index to Names on the Ordnance Maps is contained in two large folio volumes. The first volume is lettered on the back A to J, and the second J to Z. They are also dated 1842. The first volume contains 101 leaves, and the second, ninety-six. These leaves are written on both sides, and covered with pasted slips, containing townlands, barony and parish names, followed by arithmetical figures, in some instances. They are quite similar to the volumes of this denomination hitherto described.

“X. The memoir portion, relating to Tipperary, and already alluded to, is altogether insignificant.

“XI. The Sketches of Antiquities are contained in four oblong well-bound volumes, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. The following is a regular list of these sketches:—1. Ardfinnan Castle; 2. Castle of Ardmayle; 3. Old tower attached to the modern church of Ardmayle; 4. Stone cross from the grave-yard of Ardmayle; 5. Castlemoyle old castle; 6. Nodstown Castle; 7. Ballybacon old church; 8. St. Mary's Abbey, or Lady's Abbey; 9. Interior of, looking E.; 10. Ballinahinch old castle; 11. Another view; 12. Ballinahinch old church; 13. Bawn of Ballygriffin; 14. Old church of Ballygriffin; 15. Ballykelly old church; 16. Old church of Ballytarsna; 17. Ballytarsna old castle; 18. Castle of Synone; 19. Arms and epitaph of Nicholas White, from the old church of Patrick's Well, near Clonmel; 20. Caher Abbey, looking N. W.; 20.

Do. S. W. ; 21. East window of ; 22. Window in ; 23. Ground plan of ; 24. Castle of, from the E. ; 25. S. W. ; 26. West view of the keep of ; 27. Window in the N. tower of ; 28. Rest for the top of the chimney-piece in the N. tower ; 29. Old church of Caher ; 30. Ground plan of old parish church ; 31. Rest for arch in the old parish church ; 32. The castles of Loughlougher ; 33. One of the castles of Loughlougher ; 34. Old church of Loughlougher ; 35. East window in Loughlougher old church ; 36. Old church of Clogher ; 37. Castle of Cloneyharp ; 38. Castle of Milltown ; 39. Cappa Uniack Castle ; 40. Do. looking west ; 41. Do. part of round tower ; 42. Old church of Clonbulloge ; 43. Castle of Balleggh ; 44. Ballindouey Castle ; 45. Do., interior of window in ; 46. Old church of Derrygarth ; 47. Nicholastown Castle ; 48. Donaghmore ; Moy Femen, ancient church of ; 49. Capitals of the pillars of the choir arch ; 50. Window of the choir of the old church ; 51. Interior of doorway of old church ; 52. Window from the old church ; 53. Doorway of old church ; 54. Round Castle of Ballysheeda ; 55. Old church of Kilnamanagh ; 56. Bridge and church of Fethard, from Kiltinan and Grove ; 57. Bridge and gateway of Fethard ; 58. Old castle of Gale, the residence of — Plunkett, Esq. ; 59. Old church of Gale ; 60. The Hoar Abbey ; 61. Moonstown Castle, from the east ; 62. From the west ; 63. Keep of ; 64. Entrance to ; 65. Interior of St. Patrick's Well old church ; 66. Castle of Kilconnell ; 67. The keep of Kilconnell Castle ; 68. Grants-town Castle ; 69. Kilmoyler Castle ; 70. Doorway of Killardriff old church ; 71. Old church of Peecaun ; 72. Old church, style of masonry of ; 73. Ancient stones from ; 74. Do. ; 75. Do. ; 76. Do. ; 77. Stone from ; 78. The altar at ; 79. Stone Crosses from ; 80. Shaft and pedestal of small cross at ; 81. The well of St. Peecaun ; 82. Fragment of the old church at Kilmore ; 83. Old church of Kilpatrick ; 84. Cloghabreda Castle ; 85. Godfrey's dwelling house, and Knockgraffan Castle, sometimes called Castle Farn Shonag ; 86. Another view ; 87. Plan of ; 88. Knockgraffan moat, church, and castle of ; 89. Old church, with the moat in the distance ; 90. Plan of ; 91. Transept and S. window ; 92. Exterior of east window in old church ; 93. Tomb in the interior of ; 94. Moat of ; 95. Ground plan of Knockgraffan Castle ; 96. Plan of the foundation of the old castle, close to the moat of ; also plan of the moat ; 97. Fireplace in Knockgraffan Castle ; 98. Old church of Loughkent ; 99. Abbey of Moylougha ; 100. Castle Blake old castle ; 101. Castle-coyne old castle ; 102. Keddra Castle ; 103. Old church of Mottlestown ; 104. Remains of Short Castle ; 105. Moycarky Castle ; 106. Small loophole from ; 107. Figure of Cathleen Owen from ; 108. Shanbally Castle ; 109. Old church of Neddans ; 110. The round castle of Curraghcloney ; 111. Old church of Newcastle ; 112. Newcastle old castle ; 113. The round castle of Newcastle ; 114. Castle of Killanure or Coolanure ; 115. Outeragh old church ; 116. Old church of Ballyclough ; 117. Railstown old church ; 118. Ballynaclough Castle ; 119. Athassel Abbey, on the Suir ; 120. Ground plan of ; 121. Entrance to ; 122. Archway under the central tower in ; 123. Capitals of pillars from the archway under the central tower ; 124. Capitals of pillars of arch ; 125. Do. ; 126. Niche over the great arch in ; 127. Arch from ; 128. Stone, with inscription ; 129. Effigy of Earl Rua from ; 130. Castle of Castle Park ; 131.

Round castle of Golden, looking W. ; 132. Do. looking E. ; 133. Suir Castle ; 134. Remains of old castle, near Cashel ; 135. Clonmel Friary Chapel, tomb of the Butler family in the yard of ; 136. Inscription on the tomb ; 137. House in which Laurence Sterne was born ; 138. Old town wall of Clonmel ; 139. St. Mary's Abbey, Clonmel ; 140. Portions of archway ; 141. Old church on the Suir, near Oaklands ; 142. Black Castle, or Ballydoyle ; 143. Entrance to ; 144. Camus Castle ; 145. View of Cashel Cathedral ; 146. Monumental stone, with inscription, from ; 147. Do. ; 148. Do. ; 149. Monumental stones ; 150. Do. ; 151. Do. ; 152. Do. ; 153. Effigy of Milo Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel ; 154. Sides of stone coffins built up in the graveyard wall ; 155. Stone cross in the graveyard of Cashel Cathedral ; 156. Stone figure in Palace garden ; 157. Capitals of pillars from Cormac's Chapel ; 158. Castle of Gortmakellis ; 159. Thurlesbeg Castle ; 160. Old church and castle of Shanbally Cloheen ; 161. Old church of Shaurahan ; 162. Clough-na-tierna ; 163. Old church of Templetenny ; 164. Rooska Castle, looking S. W. ; 165. Do. looking N. ; 166. Old chapel of Tubberid ; 167. Tullaghmelan old church ; 168. Do. doorway of ; 169. Castle Grace ; 170. Do. from the W. ; 171. Tullaghortan old church ; 172. Old church of Rosegreen ; 173. Tullamain old church ; 174. Monumental stone from ; 175. Do. ; 176. Old church of Whitechurch. The foregoing sketches are all we find in the bound volumes ; but, it is probable, the remainder of the 199, mentioned in the catalogue, will be found with the Antiquarian Letters for this county. All the foregoing are, for the most, pencil sketches, with George Du Noyer's name affixed. They do not appear to be altogether finished, yet they are elegant outline drawings.

"The Catalogue of the Topographical Collection, relating to Waterford county, thus distributes its matter, under the following heads :—I. Inquisitions, 4 vols., including poems ; also, see Clare, Index to Inquisitions, one volume.¹ II. Names from Down Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution, (see Munster, vol. iii.) III. Extracts, 3 vols.² Rough Index to Irish part, not arranged. IV. Letters, one volume.³ V. Name Books, 113. VI. Barony and Parish Names, 1 vol. VII. Memorandums, 1 vol. VIII. County Index to Names on Ordnance Maps, 1 vol. IX. County Papers, six sheets. X. Sketches of Antiquities, 2.⁴

"I. The reader is referred to (note 2, p. 103) vol. ii., new series, 1858, of this Society's Transactions, where the contents of these volumes have been already described. They are now bound in 3 vols., in uniform style. Vol. xiv. of the note is now marked vol. i. ; vol. xv. of the note, with 86 additional pages, since bound with it, is now marked vols. ii. and iii. ; vol. xvii. of the note, with the detached Index to Waterford Inquisitions, is now marked vol. iv., as preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

¹ All of these are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

² The Extracts are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. The rough Index, consisting of 67 loose foolscap folio leaves, written only on one side, is at present in the Ordnance Survey Office. The description already given, in reference to

the matter relating to the county of Tipperary, will also apply to them. The leaves are tied up together in blue wrapping paper.

³ Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

⁴ At present in the Royal Irish Academy.

"II. The Volume III., Munster, already described under the heading of Tipperary, contains the names from Down Survey, and Book of Survey and Distribution, referring to the county of Waterford.

"III. The three volumes of extracts are in quarto, uniformly bound. vol. I. contains 957 numbered and written pages, with some additional pages of special index prefixed; vol. ii. contains 1043 written and numbered pages, with six pages of special index prefixed; vol. iii. contains 144 written and numbered pages, with forty-seven pages of special index prefixed. These extracts are in Irish, Latin, and English. They contain ancient lives of Irish saints, and especially matters referring to St. Mochuda, or St. Carthacus, and his miracles; St. Declan; St. Bearchan of Hy-Luchain in Decies; saints of Decies from *Leabhar Breac*; from Colgan's '*Acta Sanctorum*;' M'Firbis; Smith's '*Waterford*;' Lodge's *Peerage*; *Visitation Book*; *Book of Lecan*; *Inquisitions*; '*Annals of the Four Masters*;' Crofton Croker's '*Researches*;' '*Dublin Penny Journal*;' Archdall; Lanigan; '*Irish Calendar of Saints*;' Gough's '*Camden*;' '*Annals of Innisfallen*;' '*Chronicon Sanctorum*;' De Burgo's '*Hibernia Dominicana*;' Harris's '*Ware*;' Mason's '*Parochial Survey*;' *Abstract of Grants of Land and other Hereditaments, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, A. D. 1666-1684*; *Abstracts of the Conveyances from the Trustees of the Forfeited Estates and Interests in Ireland, in 1688*.

"IV. The Antiquarian Letters for Waterford, comprised in one volume, quarto, 244 numbered pages, all of which are not written on, contain the following communications of John O'Donovan, written in 1841:— Their dates are, May 4th, June 4th, 4th, 4th, 4th, 4th, 4th, 5th, 5th, 5th, 5th; at Kilmacthomas, 5th, 5th, 5th, 5th, 5th, 9th, 9th, 9th, 9th, 9th; at Kilmacthomas, 9th; at Kilmacthomas, *Fop bpu maćan*, 10th, 10th, 10th, 10th, 10th, 10th, 11th, 11th; Kilmacthomas, 12th; at Dungarvan, 15th; do. 15th, do. 15th, do. 15th, 19th, 21st, 21st, 21st, 21st, 21st; Lismore, 22nd, 22nd; *allior mór*, *Fop bpu Cbañ moípe*, 22nd, do. 23rd, do. 23rd, do. 24th, do. 23rd, 28th; *U n-Boćailb*, 29th, do. 29th, do. 29th, do. 29th, do. 30th, July 1st, 1st, 1st, 1st; No. 21, Great Charles-street, April 8th, 1841; Waterford, May 25th, 1841; Kilmacthomas, June 11th; Dungarvan, June 13th; Clonmel, June 17th; Lismore, June 23rd. As may be conjectured, all of those letters are short, and many of them were written by Mr. O'Donovan on the same day, as can be judged from the dates. Afterwards, follow several different map traces. In the letters, it is often remarked, that Mr. A. Curry examined and measured the antiquities of the different parishes. An elaborate and elegantly written index of ten pages precedes this collection of letters. The volume is bound in the uniform style of Royal Irish Academy O. S. MSS.

"V. The Name Books, similar to those already described, are 109 as counted, although catalogued 113. But, I have no doubt, in a few instances, two of those Name Books are bound together under one cover.

"VI. The Barony and Parish Names are included in a thin quarto volume, bound, of ninety-nine leaves, these being written on, at both sides. A sheet of thirty-three different authorities precedes, and an index of six columns. The description already given of a book, bearing a similar denomination, under Tipperary heading, will also apply in this instance. John O'Donovan's settlement of orthography (Irish and English) occurs on each leaf, and almost on every page.

"VII. The Memorandums, in one bound quarto volume of 340 numbered pages, are preceded by fifteen columnar indices. Letters, notes, scraps, and traces constitute the fragmentary contents.

"VIII. A folio bound volume of ninety-six leaves is the County Index to Names on the Ordnance Maps. It is similar in plan and contents to the Tipperary volume, bearing a like title; but the arithmetical figures are omitted in the Waterford County Index.

"IX. The six sheets of County Papers are of very little value, and were used solely as authorities, to determine the orthography of townlands. They are papers, printed by order of the county grand jury, in reference to presentments, with the rent values of various townlands, at the date of their issue. A few written notices are interspersed. They are tied together, without a wrapper.

"X. Although there is mention made of two antiquarian sketches for this county, yet on referring to the oblong volume in the Royal Irish Academy's Library, I only find one sketch of the chapel at Ballyhane, in Affane or White Church parish. The other sketch mentioned, I am sure, is a beautiful ink one, by Mr. Wakeman, representing the antiquities at Ardmore. It is pasted on a leaf in the volume of Antiquarian Letters for this county."

Mr. George V. Du Noyer sent the following reply to Mr. Hodder Westropp's observations on the analogy between the Irish Round Towers and Fanaux de Cemetiere:—

"Without the least desire for controversy, or intention to offend in the slightest, I wish to make a few annotations on Mr. Hodder Westropp's last communication to the Society.

"In the first place, it is perfectly manifest to any one who has had an opportunity of examining most of our ecclesiastical Round Towers, that these structures were capable of being inhabited, and used as places of refuge and defence. In the more ancient towers the doorways are always placed high above the ground, and the doors most securely fastened from within, as is remarkably evident in the Round Tower at Roscrea, county of Tipperary.

"2nd. No surprise should be experienced at the record of many of these Round Towers having been burned, when we recollect that it was not the tower itself—its wall—which was thus destroyed, but its wooden floors and ladders of communication; and the chronicler is quite correct and sufficiently lucid in describing such a very possible event by saying that 'the Round Tower was destroyed by fire.'

"3rd. At page 19, the writer says, 'the Round Tower could not be easily burned.' I do not see how the tower proper, formed of stone and mortar, could have been burned *at all*.

"4th. It is not at all probable that the ancient ecclesiastical architects would have constructed their 'Cloitheachs,' or Bell Towers, of wood, if they were intended at the same time to answer the purpose of places of refuge or defence in time of trouble; while the churches or 'Duirtheachs,' which, on account of their greater sanctity, would probably be left untouched by the destroyer, might occasionally have been constructed of

timber; though here, again, I must incline to the belief that the burning of such edifices referred merely to the destruction of their internal fittings, floors, seats, altars, galleries, and shingle roof.

"5th. The Round Tower with the hexagonal base is at Kinneigh, near Dunmanway, in the county of Cork. The writer spells the place *Kineith*, without naming the county.

"6th. The Round Tower attached to the church of St. Edan, or Mogue, at Ferns, in the county of Wexford, is square at its base to the height of about thirty feet, when it becomes round. Its basement forms a portion of the original design of the church, and on the plan would be represented by a square projection from the west gable. The lower square portion of the tower encloses a winding stair, access to which is by two doors—one from the nave on a level with the ground, the other above it in the west wall, at the height of twelve or fourteen feet. At the termination of the square base and circular stairs, the tower becomes round, and is then divided into two apartments, the upper one lighted by four narrow, flat-headed windows. The date of the chancel of this building is about the twelfth century, but the nave and tower may be much more modern.

"7th. At Munget old church, in the county of Limerick, there is a slender square tower of about forty feet in height, attached to the north side wall of the building, and which has been constructed to answer all the purposes of one of the ancient Round Towers. It is divided into floors, and has four apertures at the top; access to this tower is from the parapet wall of the church. I believe the date of this building to be about the fourteenth century.

"8th. I cannot see how the materials at hand to build a Round Tower could have influenced its form, as the reviewer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' supposes. The difficulty of *squaring* a stone for a quoin would be much less than cutting the surface of one into the exact and diminishing curve requisite to give us so exquisite a form of tower as we see at Devenish Island, Timahoe, Roscrea, Donaghmore, Antrim, and at Clonmacnoise. The curve is something more than that of a mere cylinder; it must be a portion of an exceedingly elongated *cone*, and the architect no mean mathematician to design it for the mason, and the latter a skilful artisan to carry out the idea into such perfect execution as is presented to us in the examples I have adduced.

"9th. The smaller tower at Clonmacnoise, attached to St. Finghin's church, the writer says, 'has but *one window*!' in point of fact, it has the remarkably unusual number of *seven*, viz., one lighting each of the five floors from the basement, and *two* lighting the upper chamber beneath the conical roof.

"10th. Many of the Irish saints travelled to and settled on the Continent, in France, Germany, and Italy. The church erected by St. Columbanus at Bobbio, in Italy, has attached to it a slender Round Tower, presenting all the outward appearance of its Irish original. Internally, however, it is merely a winding stairs. It is most reasonable to suppose that those Irish ecclesiastics brought with them the knowledge and reverence appertaining to the most marked peculiarities of their native church discipline and architecture; and therefore I see no reason to reject the idea expressed by the Rev. Mr. Barnwell, that the French Fanaux

are much more likely to have been traditional copies of the Irish Round Tower than the reverse. Doubtless all knowledge of Christian practices must have reached Ireland through the European Continent from the East; but this does not prevent the possibility of certain religious uses and styles of ecclesiastical architecture being subsequently conceived in Ireland, and from thence disseminated over the Continent; it is merely the reflux of the tide, and not 'the stream flowing to its source,' as Mr. Westropp would have it.

"11th. St. Kevin's Church, vulgarly called 'Kitchen,' at Glendalough, with its pepper-box turret erected on the west gable and a portion of the adjoining stone roof, is *not a sepulchral chapel* at all, and the said turret is a perfect miniature of a Round Tower. This building was the church and residence of the successors of the saint whose name it bears; and its door was suspended from a perforated stone lintel on the outer surface of the doorway, which pierces the west gable wall, after the manner of those swinging doors illustrated in my paper on the peculiarities of Irish church architecture, published in this volume of the 'Journal,' pp. 30, 31. The room the priest occupied is formed between the semicircular arch over the body of the church and the high pitched roof, access to which is by a square opening in the crown of the arch, near the west gable; and from this 'croft' a small door leads to the circular turret on the west gable, which would answer equally well for the purposes of a belfry as for a 'fanal' or beacon.

"12th. I know of no instance of an Irish Round Tower having been erected on, or over, a sepulchral vault or arched crypt. Many of these towers have been built in ancient graveyards, as was the case with that attached to St. Finghin's church at Clonmacnoise, under which two mutilated skeletons were found, *but no attempt at the construction of a sepulchral chamber has ever been discovered beneath any of our Round Towers.*

"In conclusion, I would advise that simple fact should be in the first place enunciated when dealing with the study of antiquities: let pure facts be first collected, and sound theory will be sure to follow."

Mr. Edward Benn, Clough, Belfast, sent the following paper:—

"A short time ago a man in the townland of Bellsallagh, parish of Skerry, and county of Antrim, on removing a dunghill discovered an urn. This singular finding is another proof of urns being profusely scattered through this district without any external indication. The place where this one was found had been used for more than twenty years as the receptacle for the manure of a farm. It would seem that each year, on the removal of the manure, a portion of the soil was carried off with it, and in this way by degrees the urn came to be exposed. As usual, it had been placed with the bottom upwards, but unfortunately the bottom was knocked off by the finder before he was aware. In other respects it is as perfect as the day it was made. It is of the middle size—about 9 inches deep, 5 inches across the bottom, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width at top. It is graceful in form, but without ornament, except some bands raised on the surface. It is very neatly made, seemingly on a wheel, is very smooth on the surface, and is of a brown colour, as if painted or glazed. This urn was not enclosed in a stone chamber, as is usual; the burning appears to have been

done on the spot, as about it was a quantity of fine earth mixed with ashes. It contained the burned bones of a large-sized person; no bones of the skull were found, from which it might be inferred that the head had been otherwise disposed of."

Professor George Stephens, F. S. A., contributed the following rejoinder to Mr. Alexander Nesbitt's observations on the Brunswick Coffin:—

"In reply to the strictures on my paper by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt, in the 'Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archæological Society,' January, 1864, which has just reached me, I beg to remark—

"1. As to Mr. Kemble's copy. This is now before me, and I gave my authority. Mr. Kemble was for many years living and travelling in Germany, and may have been a dozen times in Brunswick. I never knew that Mr. Nesbitt had given him a transcript from his electrotypes. How should I? Whether Mr. Kemble's copy is from the *original*, before Mr. Nesbitt took his gutta-percha impression, or a mere copy from the transcript given him by Mr. Nesbitt, no one can tell, nor is it of any earthly consequence. That this copy in Mr. Kemble's own hand, whence-ever taken, is, as I said, 'far from correct,' is sure enough. I shall be happy to convince Mr. Nesbitt of this fact, if he will honour me with a call. Mr. Kemble may have made more copies than one, and may have wavered in his opinion as to the runes being 'in the Irish language.'

"2. As to the runes, Mr. Nesbitt says there are sixty-two characters, 'not reckoning as such some strokes at the left hand corner at the top, and the right hand corner at the bottom. . . . Neither Mr. Kemble nor Mr. Stephens consider these to be characters, nor are they any recognised runes.' I beg pardon. I *have* considered them as characters, and *they are* recognised runes. There are therefore sixty-four, not sixty-two, characters, or thirty-two in each repeated carving.

"Mr. Nesbitt adds: 'It will be seen that the inscription is divided into four groups by the recurrence in the middle of each side of the rune "hagl" (H) in the Norse alphabet; "ior" (IO) in the Anglo-Saxon.' This division is quite arbitrary and accidental. The rune in question is no mark of division, but G, as I took it to be. Mr. Kemble himself, whose reading I had never seen till I beheld it in Mr. Nesbitt's own pages, *also makes it G*. It occurs as G in several Old-English manuscript-alphabets, and on the Dover Runic Slab, whose sole inscription is the name of the deceased, the man's-name

GISLHeARD,

a common Old-English name. The first rune is here *, exactly as on our Casket. The same rune occasionally stands for G also in Scandinavian runic carvings.—But it is also found in some Old-English manuscripts as IO, from the tendency which the guttural has in some dialects to pass over into a vowel. In half Scandinavian and in numerous German dialects the G is popularly pronounced as Y, particularly before "soft" vowels, in some cases before all vowels. So in English our GE- prefix became YE-, Y-, until at last it fell away. Thus, the Old-English GE-CNAWEN, the

Middle-English Y- or I-KNOWEN, the Modern English KNOWN. But I have not met with this sign as IO on any monument, only in some Old-Engl. MS. alphabets.

"Mr. Nesbitt says my reading is:—

SIGHORÆLIINMUNGPÆGÆLIAURITNETHII;

yet a few lines lower down he says it is:—

SIGHORÆLIINMUNGPÆLYOGÆLIAURITNETHII.

"Here are strange differences! We have LIIN and LIIN, PÆGÆLIA and PÆLYOGÆLIA. So inaccurately does Mr. Nesbitt copy what was plainly before him as

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20,
S, I, G, H, yO, R, Æ, L, I, I, N, M, U, NG, P, Æ, L, yO, G, Æ.

21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.

L, I, eA, U, R, I, T, N, E, þ, I, I.

"But I began with URIT, just as the Coffin itself does, and read:
U, R, I, T, N, E, þ, I, I, S, I, G, H, yO, R, Æ, L, I, I, N, M, U, NG, P,
Æ, L, yO, G, Æ, L, I, eA.

"And I divided this without changing or doctoring a single letter, as

URIT NE^h II

SIGH^yOR ÆLI,

IN MUNGPÆLyO GÆLIeA.

WROTE (carved-this) NETHII

for-the-SIG-HERRA (victory-lord, most-noble) ÆLI,

IN MUNGPÆLyO (Montpellier) of-GAUL.

"We here see that I have written yO, not YO, and eA, not EA, to show that the vowel-sound here is *one rune*, diphthonged, not two separate runes. So on the Ruthwell Runic Cross this last vowel is represented by this same rune, which stands for eA or EA, but on the Bewcastle Runic Cross we have always the rune for E and the rune for A, put together, instead of this rune for EA. This rune for eA or EA has not yet been found anywhere save in England and in English manuscript alphabets, except on one solitary Golden Runic Bracteate found in Denmark.

"Mr. Nesbitt continues—that I have 'simply assumed the existence of the letters LYO at the end of *Mungypælyo*' (but, excuse me, I printed *Mungpælyo*!). This is a very grave charge, and quite unwarranted. The runes which stand for LyO are plain enough to be seen at each end-side. That the first rune here is L, no one will deny. That the other is the compound vowel yO is self-evident. This character stands as such (sometimes given as EO, which is the same thing, the E being often used in Old-English to represent the sound Y before another vowel) in seventeen Old-English manuscript alphabets, and, what is better, on a dozen carved monuments.

"Again, Mr. N. says that the rune which he gives as K, I have taken as 'once R, and twice U, though there is no perceptible difference in the form.' I again beg pardon. There is a perceptible difference in

the form. The Runic R is continually carved so as to approach the Runic U, and U so as to approach R, just as when we write rapidly *c* or *a*, *t* or *l*, *u* or *n*, &c., the difference is often scarcely perceptible. But there usually is a sufficient difference, even without the context to help us. And here the difference is plain; no one can doubt that, on the plate, the second rune in URIT is clearly R, as in the last stave in SIGHyOR. Compare these two letters with the second letter in MUNGPAELYO, and see whether it is not evidently U, as it is in URIT, and this equally plain on *both* the duplicate sides.

"Once more: 'The 14th he reads N; it is a form which I cannot find in any alphabet to which I have access. Kemble reads it F, as it very nearly corresponds with the Anglo-Saxon "feoh" reversed. N twice occurs in a well-known form (Nos. 11 and 27), which adds to the improbability that No. 14 should be so read.' This is too bad. I have *not* made the '14th' (the 23rd on the plate itself), N at all, but NG. It is therefore a double rune, as all the world knows it to be, that nasal G which has been so often exprest in all dialects by NG or GG, NK or KK, or by an independent sign as in the Old Runes. It consists of two angles < >. These angles may be and are variously placed. On English monuments, and in English manuscript-alphabets, they are usually laid on each other, thus X. In Scandinavian they are usually arranged ^, or 7, or 3, or V, or ^, &c. But on one English stone it is given as X. Here, as we see, it is ^

"Lastly: 'No. 16 is the well-known form of L in all the Runic alphabets; and it is hard to guess why Mr. Stephens should read it as P.'—The rune here spoken of is the 24th on the plate (between the NG and the Æ, the first on the right hand upper corner of the one side-end, and the lowest or first on the left hand lower corner of the other side-end). Its form is plain H. No letter has a greater variety of forms than this, both on the monuments and in the alphabets, where it is always P. Three Old-English manuscript-alphabets give it *exactly* as here on this Casket, and many more in a nearly allied form.

"I have not said that the Casket is *either* of ivory or of the tusk of the narwhal; but that it is 'made up of thin plates of the ivory or tusk of the Walrus.' This is the opinion of the Senator Culemann, a most distinguished antiquary, who has handled it scores and scores of times. We may rely on his authority so much the more, as the walrus or narwhal is—or used to be—a 'cetaceous animal.'

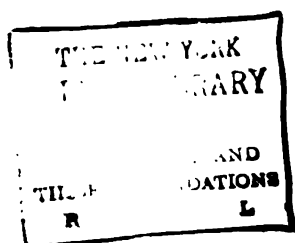
"I again add, that our estimate of the date *must* be partly modified by the existence of the Old-English runes, which *would not* have been carved on so costly a piece, intended for some member of the highest and most 'educated' (Romanized, Latin-taught) class, *later* than the 8th or 9th century. *Latin* letters would have been employed.

"So far, then, I have seen or heard nothing which at all shakes the simplicity and accuracy of my reading, which, if correct, will undoubtedly make this precious Anglo-Irish chest a piece of the seventh century. But I shall be sincerely thankful for any public or private information or hint, or fair, even if not friendly criticism. I deprecate, however, *most earnestly* that slashing style of thoughtless writing which has a tendency not



Owen Roel

SIGNET AND AUTOGRAPH OF OWEN ROE ONEILL.



to allow its author time *even to read or copy correctly*, and hence the less to understand, what he condemns with such off-hand haste!"

The following communication was received from Mr. George Morant, Jun., Carrickmacross, illustrated by a drawing of the rapier described therein:—

"Through the kindness of a brother Member of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, Mr. Durnan, I have lately become possessed of a curious relic of the army of my ancestor by the mother's side, Robert Earl of Essex; and as I think it may interest some of the readers of the 'Kilkenny Archæological Journal,' I send you a sketch and short account of the find.

"Mr. Durnan, of Nicholastown, county of Louth, had been levelling a piece of ground close to the right bank of the River Glyde, and on ploughing this newly levelled ground, the ploughshare caught in the handle of a sword, which was carefully extracted from its clayey bed. It is a rapier; the blade is quadrilateral, about thirty-two and a half inches in length. The guard and pommel appear to be of iron, and are very much corroded, as is the blade also. When found, there were rings on the handle of some whitish substance, as described to me by the finder, but which fell away after the sword was exposed to the air. The spot where it was found was a short distance only from the shallow, now much deepened by drainage under the Board of Works, which tradition points out as the spot where, on the march from Dublin towards Farney, the army of Lord Essex crossed the river, and which is still termed Essex-ford, about a mile from the mill of Louth.

"In Shirley's 'History of Farney,' p. 109, the account sent to the Queen by Essex is given from the Cotton MS.:—'The next day [the 4th Sept., 1599], the L. Lieutenant marched through the playne country to the mill of Louthe, and incamped beyond the river towards Ferny; and Tirone marched through the woodes, and lodged in the next wood to us, keeping his skowtes of horsse in sight of oure quarter.' By this account it does not appear that there was any fighting beyond 'a skirmish,' 'amongst the light horsse, in which a French gentleman of the Earl of Southampton's was all that were hurt of oure side.' Possibly this sword was the weapon of the wounded Frenchman. It, at all events, goes far to prove the truth of the tradition as to the precise spot where Essex's forces crossed and recrossed the river on that expedition, which Queen Elizabeth very rightly called, in her answer to Essex's despatch, 'a slowe proceedinge.'"

The Society is indebted to Mr. Albert Way for a transcript of the following interesting document, which Mr. Way thus introduces:—

"The following letter, addressed to William Marshall the great Earl of Pembroke, about A. D. 1216, by the Archbishops of Tuam and Dublin, has been found preserved in a miscellaneous collection of documents relating to Reading Abbey, Berkshire, and to the cells or minor conventual establishments at Leominster and in Scotland connected with that house.

"The letter required the Earl of Pembroke, who had received from King John a grant of the province of Leinster, and was Lord Deputy of Ireland in the reign of that sovereign (A. D. 1209), to restore the possessions of the bishopric of Ferns, under threat of excommunication, in pursuance of a brief of Pope Innocent III. dated in the nineteenth year of his pontificate (A. D. 1216), and recited in the Archbishop's letter.

"It has been stated that the Earl had taken possession of two manors belonging to the Bishop of Ferns, and that, on his refusal to make restitution, he was actually excommunicated; and that at the time of his decease in 1219 he was under the ban of the Pope's interdict. There are certain particulars on record in regard to this transaction, to which also reference may perhaps be found in the letters of Pope Innocent III., published by Baluz. Leland, in his 'History of Ireland,' mentions a letter from the Pope to John (before his accession as king), complaining of the outrage of his Deputy in despoiling the church of Leighlin (Ferns?) of its temporalities. This was in the time when Hamo de Valois was Deputy of Ireland.

"These particulars are, doubtless, familiar to the Irish antiquary conversant with the historical details and materials of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. I have not had the time or opportunity of pursuing the inquiry concerning them, having only casually met with the following letter; I have hoped that it might prove acceptable to the Members of the Kilkenney Archæological Society, which has done so much to throw light on the history and antiquities of Ireland at all periods. I am at a loss to explain how this letter, of which I send a copy, should have been preserved amongst the evidences of the monastery of Reading, to which, however, William Marshall was a benefactor; on his death at Caversham, at a short distance from Reading, his corpse was brought with solemn obsequies into the conventual church of that Abbey, and subsequently conveyed to Westminster.

"*Letter from the Archbishops of Tuam and Dublin to William Marshall Earl of Pembroke, requiring him to restore the possessions of the bishopric of Ferns, under threat of excommunication, in pursuance of a brief of Pope Innocent III. dated in the 19th year of his pontificate (A. D. 1216).*

"*Felix Dei gracia Tuamensis et Henricus eadem gracia Dublinensis Archiepiscopi Willelmo nobili comiti Penbrocensi sic transire per bona temporalia ut non ammittatis eterna. Mandatum domini Pape in hec verba suscepimus. Innocencius Episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabilibus fratribus Tuamensi et Dublinensi Archiepiscopis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Venerabilis frater noster Fernensis Episcopus proposuit coram nobis quod tu frater Tuamensis et Armachanus¹ Archiepiscopus terras nobilis viri Willelmi Marescali et complicum ejus quas habuit in Hybernie partibus olim auctoritate nostra supposuistis sentencie interdicti, pro eo quod possessiones et alia bona Fernensis ecclesie detinent occupatas, mandantes eidem Episcopo tunc in partibus Anglie commoranti ut in eundem nobilem atque ejus complices, qui et ipsi tunc omnes² in*

¹ The first two syllables of this word are almost effaced, but I think I read

the A and the m in their proper places.

² The parchment here much damaged.

Anglia morabantur, excommunicacionis sententiam promulcaret, unde idem Episcopus, tam mandati nostri quam indulgentie felicitis memorie Urbani pape predecessoris nostri, qua indulsit¹ prelati Hybernie hujusmodi maleficos excommunicacionis vinculo innodare, necnon constitutionis bone memorie Johannis tituli Sancti Stephani in monte Celio presbiteri Cardinalis tunc apostolice sedis Legati, qua tales excommunicari mandavit, auctoritate suffultus in detentores predictos excommunicacionis sententiam rationabiliter promulgavit, quam apostolico peciit munimine roborari; Nos igitur ejusdem Episcopi laboribus et pressuris debito compacientes affectu fraternitati vestre per Apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus quatinus ex parte nostra moneatis nobilem memoratum et alios ut possessiones ipsas et alia cum fructibus inde perceptis Ecclesie restituant antedictę; Quod si facere non curaverint infra terminum competentem,² quem sibi duxeritis assignandum, vos hujusmodi sententias candelis accensis et pulsatis campanis sollempniter publicetis et faciatis usque ad satisfactionem condignam per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione remota inviolabiliter observari. Datum Perusii, iij. Kal. Junii,³ Pontificatus nostri anno nonodecimo. Hujus igitur auctoritate mandati monemus vos ut possessiones ipsas et alia cum fructibus inde perceptis ecclesie restituatis antedictę, consulentes in domino nobilitati vestre ut jura illius ecclesie quę mente cauteriata usurpastis, vel huc usque injuste detinuistis, restituatis, ut necessitatem preveniat meritoria oblatio; Scituri nos nec posse nec velle a plenissima executione mandati domini Pape desistere, et super hoc responsum vestrum litteratorie nobis significetis.

"Three narrow slips were partially cut from the bottom of the parchment; to two of these were affixed impressions of seals (doubtless of the two archbishops), now entirely lost; the third slip being intended apparently to tie up the little document when folded."

The following papers were submitted to the meeting:—

AN ANCIENT RECORD RELATING TO THE FAMILIES INTO WHICH WERE MARRIED THE CO-HEIRESSSES OF THOMAS FITZ ANTHONY, SENESCHAL OF LEINSTER.

EDITED BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE writ and inquisition in the years 1278 and 1280, respectively, the 6th and 8th of the reign of Edward I., to be found at the end of this paper, concern three families of the earliest English settlers in Ireland, viz., Thomas Fitz Anthony; John Fitz Thomas, ancestor of the Earls of Desmond; and Jeffry de Prendergast, great-grandson of that Maurice who came with Strongbow's vanguard under Robert Fitz Stephen to the aid of Dermot M'Murragh against his revolted subjects.

¹ Here also the parchment is injured, but the remains of the letters suggest the word *indulsit*.

² *Sic* in orig.

³ May 30. Innocent III. was elected in January, 1198, and died July 16 or 17, 1216.

Of Thomas Fitz Anthony,—a man once of great power and mark in Ireland,—we shall probably never know much more than this record and one or two others can afford us, as he died in the reign of Henry III., and all the public records previous to King John's reign in England as well as Ireland have been lost. All, therefore, that we know of him is, that in the seventeenth year of King John's reign he was the King's Seneschal of Leinster (Charter Rolls, Tower of London, 17 John), with the custody of the county of Waterford, and all the king's castles and demesnes there, and half the prisage of wines in the city of Waterford. It was he who built Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny, calling it after himself; but (strange to say) the Irish still preserve his father's name, and call it *Bally-mac-Andaun*, or Fitz Anthony's town. He died in the year 1229, without male heir, and thus the family name of Fitz Anthony perishes from the records.¹ This writ and inquisition, however, of a date fifty years after his death (the inquisition is dated A.D. 1280), supply us with the further knowledge that he was lord of Desies and Desmond, and had five daughters, co-heiresses, one of whom died without heir, so that their father's large inheritance was finally divided between the other four. One daughter married Gerald Roche; another, Jeffry of Norragh; another, Stephen Archdekne; and the other, whose name was Margery, married John Fitz Thomas. The Charter Rolls of King John give us a clue to the origin of this marriage. John Fitz Thomas's father, Thomas Fitz Maurice, died in or before the year 1215; and as he held *in capite* of the king, his heir became the king's ward. Thereupon his mother tendered King John one thousand marcs for his wardship and marriage, of which sum she paid five hundred marcs to the king in Normandy; but in the seventeenth year of the same reign the wardship and marriage of the same son and heir were granted (perhaps on his mother's death), for six hundred marcs, by King John to Thomas Fitz Anthony; and while he was in ward he was married to his guardian's daughter, Margaret.

The husbands of the three other daughters, as we learn from this inquisition, were against the king in the "Fight at Kildare," for which they forfeited their several shares, while John Fitz Thomas took the king's side. This "Fight at Kildare" is related in Roger of Wendover's Annals (long known under the name of Mathew Paris), and was of this kind.

In the year 1233, an insurrection of the nobility in England was caused by indignation at the large body of French nobles, his friends and companions, brought over by Henry III. from Poitou, to supplant the English in all the offices of the state. At the head of this

¹ "A View of the Legal Institutions, Hereditary Offices, and Feudal Baronies established in Ireland during the reign

of Henry II. By W. Lynch, Esq., F. S. A.:" London, 1830. Family of Desmond, p. 231.

insurrection was Richard, Earl Marshal, first of the nobility of England, and representative of Strongbow in Ireland, through the intermarriage of his father with his heir general. The Bishop of Winchester and his son, Peter de Rivaulx, false Poitevin counsellors of the king, seeing (writes Roger de Wendover) the countless numbers of the Poitevins slain by the Earl Marshal and the English nobles under his leading in Wales, got the king to write to Maurice Fitzgerald, the Justiciary of Ireland, Walter and Hugh de Lacy, Richard de Burgh, Geoffry de Marisco, and others, the Earl Marshal's sworn allies, to inform them that he had confiscated all his lands in England; and saying that if they would seize him, in case he should happen to go to Ireland, and bring him dead or alive to the king, all his castles and lands in Ireland should be theirs.

They immediately set about pillaging the Earl Marshal's lands; and when he came over to defend them, not knowing that they had been promised to Geoffry de Marisco and others, he was trepanned by Geoffry to a meeting with them at Kildare, under pretence of a treaty, where their band was greatly superior in number to his, and where his small forces were defeated, and he wounded, and carried prisoner to Kilkenny. This battle was fought on Saturday, the 1st of April, 1234; and on the 16th, his wounds being swollen and very painful, he obtained from Maurice Fitzgerald, the Justiciary, a physician, who, however, was sent to kill him, and not to cure. With a long, heated instrument he probed and laid open his wounds, and brought on such a fever from the agony he caused him, that on the next day he died, and was buried in the Abbey of Friars Minors at Kilkenny, where, while living, he had built himself a beautiful tomb. "He departed this life (says Roger of Wendover) on Palm Sunday, to receive from the Lord in heaven a palm for his reward."

The English nobility, however, getting the upper hand, the king saw reason to remove his Poitevin allies. The Bishop of Winchester and his son fled to sanctuary; and Gilbert, the Earl Marshal's brother and next heir, was restored to all his inheritance in England as well as in Ireland; and on Whit Sunday, in the same year, the king received his homage, and conferred on him the knight's belt, and delivered to him the wand of the marshal of his court, to be held with all the honours which had been paid to his ancestors.¹ In the "Fight at Kildare," therefore, we must suppose that John Fitz Thomas was on the Earl Marshal's side, and that his three brothers-in-law had joined with Geoffry de Marisco and the other Anglo-Irish lords, to destroy the Earl Marshal. It appears

¹ "Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History: being the History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to the Year 1235; formerly ascribed to Ma-

thew Paris. Translated by J. A. Giles, D. C. L." 2 vols., 12mo: Bohn, London, 1849. Vol. ii., p. 592. Published by the English Historical Society.

from this inquisition that John Fitz Thomas made pressing suit, even to two or three voyages over sea, to Prince Edward, on whom his father, King Henry III., had conferred the Lordship of Ireland, for the other three-fourths of Desies and Desmond, which had been forfeited by his three brothers-in-law. These he obtained by a grant in the year 1260, by which the Lord Edward granted him for his services Desies and Desmond, with the castle of Dungarvan, and the offices, rents, sheriffs &c., there, of which Thomas Fitz Anthony, father of his wife Margery, died seized by virtue of the grant of King John, to hold as fully as Thomas Fitz Anthony held them, excepting only the advowson of the church of Dungarvan, rendering yearly 500 marcs to the king : Provided that if war should be waged in Ireland, or should any well grounded cause of suspicion arise against the said John or his heirs, the castle should be given up to the king until the war was over, or the king's suspicion removed : Provided also, if the lands should descend to an heir female the king should hold the castle until an heir male succeeded, or the heir female should marry.¹

By this inquisition we find that he got from the Lord Edward separate charters of Desmond and Desies, and several letters patent, and hastened over to Ireland, to obtain from Stephen Longsword, then Justiciary of Ireland, writs to put him in seisin of his new estate ; but the Justiciary told him he should have no writs from him until he had consulted the Lord Edward's council, for he had plainly deceived the Lord Edward in obtaining it, probably at so low an annual rent as 500 marcs, though that was double what Thomas Fitz Anthony paid. John Fitz Thomas was not the man to stand this, even from the Justiciary ; so he answered him, as we learn from the inquisition, that it would not be long before he took possession for himself, which he accordingly did, summoning all the freeholders and other tenants before him, and exhibiting the Lord Edward's grants and letters of credence. After this he used always regularly to tender his rent at the appointed days to the Barons of the Exchequer, at Dublin, but they as regularly refused to receive it, or to recognise him as tenant, because he had not got possession under the regular writ, and, finally, Richard de la Rockell, a subsequent Justiciary, seized the territories on this ground into the king's hand.

In the twentieth year of his reign, however, King Edward I. restored to Thomas Fitz Maurice, John Fitz Thomas's grandson, and Margaret, daughter of Walter de Burgo, the king's cousin, his wife, the territories of Desies and Desmond, which had been seized into the king's hand because obtained when the king was under age.—("Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery," p. 2, pl.

¹ "Lynch's View of the Legal Institutions, &c.," as above, p. 233.

17.) These he and his heirs continued to hold until forfeited by his descendant, Thomas, the great Earl of Desmond, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when they were set out among companies of undertakers from Devonshire and Dorsetshire, Lancashire and Cheshire.

The territory of Desies, as understood in the grant to John Fitz Thomas, comprised probably the entire western half of the county of Waterford as far as the River Blackwater. Ardneshallagh, which gave rise to the proceedings in this inquisition was perhaps the lands now known as Ardsallagh, in the parish of Clashmore, on the left bank of the Blackwater in the county of Waterford, just opposite Youghal.

Jeffry de Prendergast, who sued out this writ and inquisition, was great-grandson of Maurice de Prendergast, who for his services received from Strongbow the territory of Fernegenal in Wexford, a district lying opposite to the town of Wexford on the north, and separated from it only by the Slaney. It is mentioned by Giraldus, in his Topography of Ireland, as a place worthy of note as being free from rats, in consequence of their being cursed and banished by Bishop Ithar for their gnawing his books, since which time none were known there, and if any were carried there they died.¹ Maurice de Prendergast had come over with the vanguard of Strongbow under Fitz Stephen from Pembrokeshire, where he was settled at Haverfordwest, part of which town is still called Prendergast after him. He was probably of Flemish descent, as that part of South Wales was conquered by Flemings in the time of William the Conqueror; and the termination "Gast" is found in the names of Windogast, Salogast, Bodogast, the supposed Frankish founders of the Salic Law, and is retained to this day in Holland, where the name Brontegeest is perhaps the name of Prendergast in Dutch. "Gast" signifies lord, or owner. A branch of the family bearing similar Christian names was settled among the Flemish colonists in Pembrokeshire, and is named in the records from 1236 to 1400. It may seem strange, but to this day there are memorials of his character and actions, and those of his son Philip, which bring them bodily to view. Giraldus Cambrensis, not fond of praising, styles him *vir probus et strenuus*, which Stanihurst, in Holinshed, translates "a brave and worthy knight." Giraldus gives him his due share in the history of the campaign under M'Murrough; but he plays a subordinate part in his history compared with the eminence he has in the metrical account of the conquest of Ire-

¹ "De ratis per St. Ivorum a Fernigenan expulsis. Est in Lageniâ provincia quædam quæ Fernigenan dicitur quam a Gwesfordiâ solûm Slanensis aqua determinat. Unde mures majores qui vulgariter Rati vocantur, per imprecationem Sancti Ivori Episcopi (cujus forte

libros corroserant) prorsus expulsi nec ibi postea nosci nec vivere possunt inveci. Topographia Hiberniæ Silvestro Giraldo autore. Anglica, Hibernica, Normannica a veteribus scripta, Gulielmi Camdeni Folio. Francofurt, A. D. 1602, c. 82."

land in the Romance language, taken down from the mouth of Morice Regan, Secretary to King Dermot M'Murrough. One would think some follower of his had been the author, so particular is the account of his actions. In the first battle, where M'Donehid [now Dunphy], King of Ossory, is defeated by M'Murrough through the aid of the English, the success is due to an ambuscade of forty English archers placed by Maurice de Prendergast under charge of Robert Smiche (or Smith), with orders to fall on the flanks of the men of Ossory when they should attack Maurice de Prendergast's small band, led on by him to tempt them. Turning round to his men, and giving the rein to his white charger, Blanchard, he leads them on to the charge to his war cry, "Saint David!"¹

The next feat is a march to Glindelath (Glendaloch), whence they brought a large prey to Fernes, M'Murrough's residence, without a stroke given or taken.² He leads another expedition against the King of Ossory at Achadur [Freshford], in the county of Kilkenny, forces his entrenchments, and after a three days' battle disperses the men of Ossory, when they fly to the neighbourhood of Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary.³

M'Murrough, being brought to great pride through these successes, attempts to oppose the return of Maurice de Prendergast and his soldiers to Pembrokehire, who wished to get back to visit their wives; and when they arrive at Wexford, they find that M'Murrough has forbid the shipmasters there to give them passage. He now resolves in revenge to offer his services to the King of Ossory. When M'Donehid heard it, he jumped for joy:—

"Des nouvelles estoit enjoué
Et de joie sautoit à pieds."

De la novele esteit heister
E de joie saili à pes.—P. 53.

Dermot M'Murrough soon found the effect of M'Donehid's new allies; and, on the other hand, the men of Ossory grew so attached to Maurice de Prendergast, that they wished to make him one of their chiefs; for such must have been the meaning of their desire to confer on him the title of Maurice of Ossory—an honour, however, that he refused. The language of the poem, with a very slight change, reads as follows in modern French:—

Mac Donehid jour et nuit
La terre de Dermot a destruit:—
Par Morice et sa meyné
Là terre du roi a donc gâté;
Là refusa le baron
De Morice Osseriath le nom:
Car toujours l'appeloient ainsi
Les Irrois de ce pays.

"Mac Donehid jor et nuit
La tere Dermot destruit:
Par Morice e par sa meiné
Le tere al rei ad dunc gasté.
Illoc refut le barun
De Morice Osseriath le nun:
Si l'apelouent tut dis
Les Yrrois de cel pais."—P. 55.

¹ See this very interesting "Anglo-Norman Poem of the Conquest of Ireland by Henry II. From a Manuscript in the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth Palace. Edited by Francisque

Michel. With an Introductory Essay by Thomas Wright." 12mo: London, William Pickering, 1836, p. 36.

² Id., p. 44.

³ Id., p. 50.

Though he declined this name of "Maurice of Ossory," yet throughout the poem he is afterwards so called, affording as it did a ready way to distinguish him from the other Maurice (Fitzgerald), his fellow-warrior.

The men of Ossory are reluctant to part with their new allies, and waylay them on their departure; but through Maurice's skill, to whom his officers and men left the entire conduct in this difficulty, they escape their treacherous plot, and return to Wales.¹

Maurice de Prendergast returned to Ireland with Earl Richard, as Strongbow is always called throughout this poem; and on one occasion is sent to bring his friend, the King of Ossory, under safe conduct to Earl Richard's camp, to treat of peace. O'Brien of Munster, brother-in-law of M'Murrough, with his troops, formed part of Strongbow's force, and persuaded Strongbow to imprison the King of Ossory now they had him in their power. Maurice, however, calls upon his men to mount, unfurls his banner, and swears by his sword, in the face of Earl Richard and the whole camp, that there is no vassal so audacious, if he dare raise a hand against the King of Ossory to dishonour him, in jest or earnest, but he shall pay for it with his head. At length, with Earl Richard's consent, he leads him safe home.² On Maurice's return next day there is a murmuring against him in the camp for his rescuing their greatest enemy, whereupon he flings down his gauntlet, and challenges his accusers to meet him in the Earl's court, if they wish to maintain their impeachment.

When Dublin was besieged by O'Connor and his forces, and the English were reduced to treat with him, the two Commissioners sent by the English to his camp were Lawrence O'Tool, Archbishop of Dublin, and Maurice de Prendergast, whose character for strict faith was, no doubt, well known to all the Irish, through his conduct to the King of Ossory, and earned him this office.

His son Philip married Maude, daughter and sole heir of Robert de Quençi, Earl Richard's standard bearer and hereditary Constable of Leinster, who was killed in a battle with the O'Dempseys and the Irish of Offailey, a few months after his wedding.

Quand ce Robert estoit occis
Son corps ils ont bien enseveli.
Une seule fille Robert avoit,
Robert qui si gentil estoit,
Qui puis estoit donné à un baron
Philip de Prendergast avoit nom
Le fiz Moriz Ossriath,
Qui puis vecut en OKençelath.

"Quant cil Robert esteit occis
Le cors unt ben ensevelis
Une fille pur vers avoit
Robert, qui tant gentils esteit,
Que pus iert doné à un barun
Phelip de Prendergast out nun,
Le fiz Moriz Ossriath
Ki pus vesquist OKençelath."³

During her minority Earl Richard gave the constableness and the custody of the standard and banner of Leinster to Raymond, to

¹ "Anglo-Norman Poem, &c.," pp. 63,
65.

² Id., p. 101.

³ Id., p. 134.

whom he had also given his sister in marriage at Wexford ; and on Maude de Quençi's marriage, Philip obtained it, and became constable of Leinster, and long held the office in her right.

In the description of Philip's personal peculiarities we have evidence of the rhymers having lived at the same time with him, or very soon afterwards. He tells of his being surly before he got his breakfast, but after eating it there was no man under heaven more gay. Until he had got on his gown, which was evidently not put on till after breakfast, he was quickly angered : from that hour he was frank and kind, courteous and open-handed to all, and of all beloved. He was of high courage, and had a great following or vassalage.

The Romance language, slightly altered, runs into the following doggerel French, and may give some idea of the nature of this too little known, very ancient poem :—

Le Comte gentil de grand valeur
Y mēna alors sa chere sœur :
Sa sœur y a le Comte mēné ;
Au gros Reymond il l'a donné,
Et l' Enseigne et la bannière
De tout le pays de Leynistere,
Jusqu'à ce que l'enfant soit de l' age
Que tenir peut son heritage ;
La fille de Robert de Quençi
Dont vous avez avant ouï.
Mais puis la prit un vassal
Philip un baron naturel ;
De Prendergast étoit nommé
Un baron vassal distingué.
Ce fut celui, sachez tous,
Qui au matin fut mal gracieux }
Après manger franc et doux }
Courtois et liberal à tous. }
Jusqu'à sa cape avoit affublé,
De colère étoit toujours enflé
Quand au matin fut diné¹
Sous ciel n'y avoit homme plus gai.
Celui tint plus longuement
Le conestablie selon la gent ;
Beaucoup il étoit estimé
De tous gents étoit aimé :
Assez étoit de fière courage
Et de très grand vassalage.

" Li Quens gentis de grant valor
Iloeo menad lores sa sorur.
Sa sor i ad li quens mené ;
Al gros Reymund l' ad dunc doné :
E le seigne e la banere
De trestut Leynistere,
Desque l' enfant seit del age
Que tenir peut son heritage ;
La fille Robert de Quençi
Dunt avez avant oi.
Mēs pus la prist un vassal
Phelip un barun naturel :
De Prendergast esteit clamé
Un barun vassal alosé. .
Co fut celui, sachez tuz
K'al matin iert greins et nus
Après manger frans et dux
Curteis, largis as trestus ;
Tant cum la cape out sublé
Deire esteit tut dis enflé ;
Quant al matin fust digné
Sus cel n'ut home plus heité.
Icil tint plus longement
Le conestablie solum la gent ;
Mult estoit icil preisé
De tute gens esteit amé.
Asez esteit de fer corage
E de mult grant vassalage."²

In the distribution of lands to his followers, Strongbow gave Fernegenal, says the Norman rhymers, to Maurice de Prendergast ; but he takes notice that afterwards these lands got into the possession of Robert Fitz Godobert, " he knows not how." He also men-

¹ That "dinner" meant our breakfast, and "supper," our dinner, in early times, is plain from the ancient French proverb:—"Lever à cinq, diner a neuf, Souper a cinq, coucher à neuf, Font

vivre a quatre vingt dix neuf." To rise at five, to dine at nine, to sup at five, to go to bed at nine, make a man live to ninety-nine.

² Id., p. 144, 5.

tions that Philip, at the time of his marriage, lived in O'Kinshelagh. This district was probably part of the parishes of Carnew and Crosspatrick, extending into the county of Wicklow, and other lands lying to the north of Ferns. In the inquisitions of James I., dividing the Irish part of the county of Wexford into baronies, the barony of Scarawalsh (of which Ferns may be called the centre), is said to include the Duffry, and to be bounded on the north by Kinshela's and M'Vado's Country. Now, the Duffry was held by the heirs of John Rochfort, who represented Philip de Prendergast through the female line, in 1411. And it further appears that Philip had the parish of Crosspatrick, lying still further north, contiguous to the parish of Carnew. By a deed between Gerald, son and heir of Philip de Prendergast, and the bishop and chapter of Ferns, made in the year 1227 (11th Henry III.), Gerald confirms the act of his father and mother, Maude, whereby they surrendered certain ploughlands claimed by the bishop as belonging to the see of Ferns, and amongst them one ploughland near the church of Crosspatrick, and gave six ploughlands for ever in exchange for the town of Enniscorthy, which the bishop and chapter conveyed to them as a lay fee.¹ Enniscorthy thus came into the possession of Philip

¹Memorandum.—That the 4th of November, 1595, Sir Henry Wallop, Knight, desired the following indented deed to be enrolled, viz. [Translation]:—Be it known to all to whom this present writing shall come: That, whereas John, Bishop of Ferns, and his Chapter of Ferns, brought a suit against Philip de Prendergast and Matilda de Quency, his wife, and their tenants in freehold, for various lands in various places as belonging of right to his church of Ferns, the said Philip and Matilda, his wife, at length, in pursuance of decree of the Ecclesiastical Court, and compelled by the authority of the Apostolic See, resigned into the hands of the said Bishop, for peace' sake, for themselves and their heirs, and for their tenants in freehold, and their heirs, sixteen carucates of land at Senebothe and Killalethan; and twelve carucates of land at Clon, close to Ferns and Lishothe, according as the same were measured and perambulated by the assent of both parties; also one carucate of land near the church of Kilanegy as a sanctuary [*in sanctuarium*] of the said church; also, one carucate of land near the church of Crosspatrick as a sanctuary of the said church; and for themselves and their heirs have quit claimed the same to the said Bishop and his successors for ever;

while the Bishop and his Chapter of Ferns, in the name of the peace aforesaid, have quit claimed for ever for themselves and their successors whatsoever right they alleged they had in all the rest of the lands of the said Philip and Maud, his wife, and of their tenants in freehold, that is to say, in all the tenelements they held from the said Philip and Maud and their heirs. Furthermore, in respect of the town of Enniscorthy [Inscordy], on the Saint Senanus' side, it was agreed between them as follows:—That the aforesaid Philip and Maud de Quency, his wife, have given to the aforesaid Bishop and his Chapter six carucates of land for ever in exchange for the aforesaid town of Enniscorthy, that is to say, five carucates of land in Ballyregan, and one carucate of land which Fitz Hernicus held near Clon, in consideration that the said Philip and Maud, his wife, and their heirs, shall hold the said town of Enniscorthy as a lay fee in future for ever to them and their heirs. And the said Bishop and his successors shall hold the six carucates of land aforesaid as a pure and perpetual sanctuary of his church of Ferns, quit of the aforesaid Philip and Maud, his wife, and their heirs. In witness and for security whereof this written instrument was

de Prendergast, who, it is believed, built or commenced the castle. Maurice de Rochfort, his representative, held it as late as the year 1324. Philip also had large grants of lands in the barony of Kerricurrihy, in the county of Cork, from King John. (Charter Rolls of King John, 8th November, 1207, p. 171 b.) By Maude de Quençi he had, with other issue, two sons, Gerald and William. Gerald had issue only two daughters, coheiresses, Mary and Matilda. Matilda married Maurice de Rochfort; and Mary, John Lord Cogan. On a partition the Wexford estates were taken by Maurice de Rochfort, and the Cork estates by John, Lord Cogan. William de Prendergast, Gerald's second son, was father of Jeffry, who sued out the inquisition, 6 Ed. I., for Ardneshillagh.

William seems to have carved out a fine fortune for himself, having obtained the manor of Newcastle, in the barony of Iffa and Offa, in the county of Tipperary, before the year 1244. These lands lie on the Suir, where it divides the counties of Tipperary and Waterford. The castle is at the foot of the pass through the Knockmell-down hills to Lismore, which it probably was meant to guard. Thence the family spread as far north along the Suir as Ardnashinnan, near Cahir, and south along the Blackwater towards Youghal. And in these quarters they continued till the year 1653, when, under Cromwell, a new swarm from the old hive drove them and their English and Irish vassals to Connaught, Spain, and elsewhere. Their territory also extended along the Knockmell-down mountains westwards to Mitchelstown and Doneraile; but these lands appear to have passed to the White Knight about the year 1350. William de Prendergast, in the reign of King Henry III., must have got a grant of Ardneshillagh from John Fitz Thomas. On William's

made in the form of a chirograph between the said Bishop and his Chapter of Ferns, of the one part, and Gerald de Prendergast, son and heir of the said Philip and Maud, his wife, of the other part, approving and confirming the said compromise after the death of his said father and mother; one part of which [said instrument] remains in the hands of the said Bishop, sealed with the seal of the said Gerald de Prendergast; and the other part in the hands of the said Gerald de Prendergast, sealed with the seal of the said Bishop and his Chapter of Ferns. The said agreement was made in the 11th year of the reign of King Henry the Third, and confirmed by the said Gerald de Prendergast, in the 15th year of the same king; these being witnesses:—

"William de Prendergast; Milo de Cogan; Richard de Marisco; Ralph de

Sumery; Robert Wolf; Peter de Stanton; Richard de St. Leodogar; R., Archdeacon of Ferns; Master W. Forest, Official of Ferns at the time; Stephen, Rector of the church of Ballysuthenan; Henry Sutwell; William Lindsey; Nicholas le Ardenays; Master Lawrence, of Bikelswood; and many others."—Patent Rolls of Chancery, 37th Elizabeth.

Clon, in the deed abovementioned, is evidently the parish of Clone, immediately to the south of the parish of Ferns. From the circumstance of Maud de Quençi being a party to the deed, it may be inferred that Philip de Prendergast was seized of these lands in her right.

Sir Henry Wallop got a grant of Enniscorthy from Queen Elizabeth, and hence his interest in enrolling this piece of ancient evidence.

death these lands passed to John, his eldest son and heir; and on his death without issue, to Jeffry de Prendergast, as his brother and next heir. It is evident from this Inquisition that Thomas de la Rokell, the Justiciary of Ireland, treated John Fitz Thomas's grant of Ardnesillagh as void, on the ground, no doubt, that he had taken possession without a king's writ issued by the Justiciary, and could convey no estate to another on account of this illegality. But the king by the endorsement ordered him to be restored.

Among the Records in the custody of the Master of the Rolls of England, deposited in the Public Record Office, in London, to wit, Inquisitions 6 Edward I., No. 41., it is thus contained:—

“Edwardus Dei grā Rex Angl Dñs Hibn t̄ Dux Aquit' dñco t̄ fideli suo Robto de Ufford Justic suo Hibn Saltm. Ex pte Galfridi de Prendergaste nobis est ostensum qd cum Johes de Prendergaste fra' suus cujus heres ipe est fuisset seisit in dñico suo ut de feodo de quibusdam terris t̄ ten in Ardenescillach die quo obiit t̄ idem Galfrs statim post mortem ipius Johis fris sui lras t̄ tenem̄ta illa ingressus fuit t̄ diutina seisinam eor̄dem pacifice habuit scdm legem t̄ consuetudinem lre Hibn Ricus de la Rokel tunc Justic n̄r Hibn ipm Galfr̄m p voluntate sua t̄ absq' causa r̄conabili de p'dcis lris t̄ ten ejecit t̄ ea in manū nram seisivit p quod p'fatus Galfr̄s ext' seisinam suam lra t̄ tenem̄toz eor̄dem hactenus detinetur minus juste in ipius dispendiū g'vissimū t̄ exheredacōem manifestam. Nos igit' sup p'missis plenius cerciorari t̄ p'fato Galfro justiciam fieri volentes vobis mandamus sicut alias mandavim' qd p sacramētum pboz t̄ leg hominū de balliva v̄ra p quos rei veritas melius sciri potit diligen' inquiratis sup p'missis plenius veritatem t̄ eciam utrū lre t̄ ten illa ad p'dcm Galfr̄m tanq' ad frem t̄ heredem ppinquiorē p'dci Johis de jure debeant p̄tin'e scdm legem t̄ consuetudinē lre p'dce nec ne, et eciam q' de causa p'dcus Ricus lras t̄ ten illa in manū nram seisivit, et utrū nos ad easdem lras t̄ ten jus habeamus, nec ne, et si jus habemus q'lib' t̄ qua r̄cōne. Et inquisicōem illam distincte t̄ apte fcam nob sub sigillo v̄ro t̄ sigill eoz p quos fca fuit sine dilacōne mittatis t̄ hoc bre. Ita qd eam habemus a Die S̄ci Michis in unū mensem ubicuq' tunc fūim' in Angl sine dilacōne ul'iori. Et hoc nullatenus omittatis. . . ipo apud Wyndeš. xiiij die Jul' anno r̄. n̄. sexto.

“Inquis' capt' apd Dubln die Suñ px' ante Fest' S̄ci Grigoř Pape Anno. r̄. r̄. E. octavo. quod cū Galfr̄ de p'ndergast ostendissit Dño Rēg qd cū Johes de p'ndergast fra' suus cuj' her ipe est fuisset seis in Domicō suo ut de feodo de quibusdā lris t̄ ten in Ardnesylach die quo obiit. Et si id Galfr̄ statim p't mortē ipi' Johis fris sui lras t̄ ten illa ingressus fuit t̄ diutinā seis'm eor̄dem pacifice habuerat scdm legē t̄ c'suetud lre Hibn. Et si Ricus de la Rokel tūc Justic Hibn ipm Galfr̄ p voluntate sua t̄ absq' causa r̄onabili de p'dcis lris t̄ ten ejecit t̄ ea in manū Dñi Rēg seisivit. Et et' si lre t̄ ten illa ad p'dcm Galfr̄ tanq' ad frem t̄ hered ppinq'ore p'dci Johis de jure debeāt p'tinere scdm legē t̄ c'suetudiēm lre p'dce nec ne. Et qua de causa p'dcus Ricus lras t̄ ten illa in manū Dñi Reg' seisivit. Et si Dñs Rex jus ad lras t̄ ten illa hat nec ne. Et si jus hat q'lib' & qua rōne p subsc'ptos.

"Johem le Bret Johem de Penrys Griffin Crystofre Math le Broit Galf'r le Bret Wal'm de Valle Wil'm de Carreu Maur' le Port Wil'm fis Reym' Ad de Cantyntoñ Rō fil Jacobi Joh de Midg'm Riēm Coytyf Ge'r de Stantoñ P'm Edward.

"Qui Jur' dicit qd Johes de p'ndegast fra'l Galf'r de p'ndegast fuit seis in domyico suo ut de feodo de p'dcis I'ris t' teñ in Ardnesylach die quo obiit de dono Dñi Johis fil Thom. Et Galf'r p'dcs fra'l t' he'r p'dci Johis statim p't mortē ip'i' I'ras t' teñ illa ingressus fuit t' bonam seis'm ex'dē habuit. Et dñt qd Riēs de la Rokel tūc Justiē Hiñn p'dcm Galf'rū de p'dcis I'ris t' teñ ejecit t' ea in manu Dñi Rēg seisivit t' h'c de causa quia Dñs Johes Rex Angl' dedit Dño Thom fil Anthoñ t' hered' suis ad f'mam feodi I'ras suas de Dessia t' Dessimonie p' col. marē p' annū t' obiit seisit' de oibus p'dcis I'ris. Et huit q'nq' filias set q'nta filia moriebat' sine herede t' descendeabat pars p'dce filie aliis q'tuor sororibz suis De q'bz Ge'r de Ru' huit unam in ux'm. Galf'r de Norrach huit aliā Steph de Archedekne huit t'ciā et Johes fil Thom huit q'rta in ux'm. Et dñt qd p'dci Ge'r Galf'r t' Steplis mariti p'dcaz t'um filiaz fuert in Bello de Kyldare contr' Dñm Regē p' quo g'ram a Dño Rēg habere nō potuer' de I'ris suis p'dcis. Set Johes fil Thom marit' q'rte filie fuit cū Dño Rēg tūc t'pis. Et huit p' pte sua p'dcaz I'raz de S'oca' Dubñn q'ndā porcōm p' annū setignorāt q'ntū. P'tea venit p'dcs Johes t' t'nsfretavit bis vī ter ad Dñm Edward petēs oīes I'ras p'dcas Dessie t' Dessimonie p' v. p' annū. Et ita Dñs Edward ipm de p'dcis I'ris p' p'dco redditu seofavit. Et huit de p'dco seofamto duplices cartas t' duplices I'ras pat'. Et huit bre Dñi Edwardi de seis' dir'tū Dño Stepho de Lungespeye tūc Justiē Hiñn qui ei respondit t' dix' qd nñam seis'm de p'dcis I'ris s' daret nec h're facēt p' eo qd dcs dñs Edward apte p' ipm et suū c'siliū decept' fuit nec aliq' seis'm ei inde facēt quousq' colloquiū cū c'silio Dñi Edward & cetis magnatibz Hiñn haberet. Et dcs Johes fil Th dix' qd nñam morā facēt q'n plenariā seis'm de I'ris t' teñ p'dcis capet t' p' hoc responsū a Dño Justiē recessit. Et p'tea p'dcs Johes p' totā pat'am prexit p'cipiens subs'vientibz pat'e qd suū facēt oīes libetenent' t' alios teñ pat'e qd essēt corā eo qui veneūt corā eo t' ipe ostendit eis cartā suā t' I'ram patent' Dñi Edward qd essēt ei intendent' t' respondent' tanq'm Dño suo t' ei fidelitate fecert. Et ita pp'ia autoritate sua sine Justiē vī vīc vī capit' s'vient in seis'm p'dcaz raz int'vit. Et sic obiit seisit' de p'dcis I'ris t' tenemtis. Et dñt qd p'dcs Johes solebat redd' suū p' p'dcis I'ris Baroñ S'oca' Dubñn quolibet t'mio offerre qui dcm redditū ab eo receipe noluer' p' eo qd ipe nūq'm seis'm p' dcm Justiē nec alios Balliōs Dñi Edwardi in Hiñn huit t' qd dcs Dñs Edward' deceptus fuit. Nec sciūt aliqd aliud jus qd Dñs Edward in p'dcis I'ris hat nisi ut p'us dcm est. Et dñt qd ea rōne Riēs de Rupello tūc Justiē Hiñn oīes p'das I'ras t' teñ de Ardnesylach una cū oīibus aliis I'ris t' teñ Dessie t' Dessimonie in manu Dñi Edwardi cepit. Et dñt p' sac' suū qd p'dcs Galf'r de p'ndegast tanq'm fra'l t' he'r pp'nq'or p'dcti Johis tale jus ad p'dcas I'ras t' teñ de Ardsylach h't t' hac rōne seofamti dci Johis fil Thom."

[Indorsed].—"Videtur qd iste debeat restitui, salvo jure R. t' cui'libet t' Rex p'seq'tur c'a ipm ut iste possit h're' recuperare suū vs' seofatorē suū Et respondeat restitut' sine essoñ ect."

"I hereby certify the above to be a true and authentic copy of the original Record, having been examined therewith, and being sealed with the Seal of the Public Record Office, pursuant to Statute 1 & 2 Victoria, c. 94.

"H. J. SHARPE,

"Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

"13 March, 1862."

TRANSLATION.

"EDWARD, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to his beloved and faithful Robert de Ufford, his Justiciary of Ireland, greeting. On the part of Jeffry de Prendergaste, it has been shown to us, that, whereas John de Prendergaste, his brother, whose heir he is, was seized in his demesne as of fee of certain lands and tenements in Ardneskillach on the day when he died, and the said Jeffry immediately after the death of the said John his brother entered into the said lands and tenements, and had long and peaceable possession thereof, according to the law and custom of the land of Ireland, until Richard de Rokel, our then Justiciary of Ireland, of his mere will and without reasonable cause ejected the said Jeffry from the aforesaid lands and tenements, and seized them into our hand, whereby the aforesaid Jeffry is hitherto unjustly kept out of his seisin of the said lands and tenements to his very great loss and manifest disinherittance : We therefore, wishing to be better informed of the premises, and that justice should be done to the aforesaid Jeffry, command you, as We have once before commanded you, that you do diligently inquire more fully the truth of the premises by the oath of good and lawful men of your bailiwick, by whom the truth of the matter may be better known ; and, also, whether the said lands and tenements ought of right to belong to the aforesaid Jeffry, as brother and next heir of the aforesaid John, according to the law and custom of the land aforesaid, or not ; and, also, for what cause the aforesaid Richard seized the said lands and tenements into our hand, and whether We have any right thereto, or not ; and if We have a right, how, and of what kind it is ? And that you send us, without delay, the said inquisition distinctly and plainly made under your seal and the seals of those by whom it may have been made, and this writ, so that We may have it in one month of Michaelmas Day, wherever We shall then be in England, without further delay ; and this omit not. Witness Ourself at Windsor, 13th July, in the sixth year of our reign.

"Inquisition taken at Dublin on the Monday next after the Feast of Saint Gregory, Pope, and the eighth year of our reign. That, whereas Jeffry de Prendergast showed our Lord the King, that whereas John de Prendergast his brother, whose heir he is, was seized in his demesne as of fee of certain lands and tenements in Ardnesyllach on the day when he died. And if the said Jeffry, immediately after the death of the said John his brother, entered into the said lands and tenements, and had long and peaceable possession thereof, according to the law and custom of the land of Ireland. And if Richard de la Rokel, then Justiciary of Ireland, of his mere will and without reasonable cause, ejected the said Jeffry from the

aforesaid lands and tenements, and seized them into the hands of our Lord the King. And, also, if the said lands and tenements ought of right to belong to the aforesaid Jeffry, according to the law and custom of the land aforesaid, as brother and next heir of the said John, or not. And for what cause the aforesaid Richard seized the said lands into the king's hand. And if the said king has right to the said lands and tenements, or not; and if he has right, how, and of what kind. By the undersigned

"John le Bret, John de Penrys, Griffin Christopher, Matthew le Brois, Jeffry le Bret, Walter de Valle, William de Carrew, Maurice le Porter, William fitz Raymond, Adam de Cantyntoun, Roger fitz James, John of Meath, Richard Coytiff, Gerald de Stanton, Philip Edward.

"Who, being sworn, say that John de Prendergast, brother of Jeffry de Prendergast, was seized in his demesne as of fee of the aforesaid lands and tenements in Ardnesylach, on the day when he died, as of the gift of John fitz Thomas; and Jeffry aforesaid, brother and heir of John aforesaid, immediately after his death entered into the said lands and tenements, and had good seisin of the same. And they say that Richard de la Rokel, then Justiciary of Ireland, ejected the said Jeffry from the said lands and tenements, and seized them into the king's hand, and for this reason—because the Lord John, King of England, gave his lands of Desies and Desmond to Thomas fitz Anthony and his heirs in fee-farm for 250 marcs per year, and he died seized of all the aforesaid lands and tenements; and he had five daughters, but the fifth daughter died without heir, and the share of the aforesaid daughter descended to the other four, her sisters, of whom Gerald de Roche had one to wife, Jeffry de Norragh had another, Stephen de Archdekne had the third, and John Fitz Thomas had the fourth to wife. And they say that the aforesaid Gerald, Jeffry, and Stephen, the husbands of the aforesaid three daughters, were in the Fight of Kildare against our Lord the King, for which they could not obtain the pardon of our Lord the King for their lands aforesaid, but John fitz Thomas, the husband of the fourth daughter was at that time on the king's side. And he had a certain portion of the lands aforesaid from the Exchequer of Dublin, for his share, but how much per annum they know not. Afterwards came the aforesaid John, and made two or three voyages across the sea to the Lord Edward himself, seeking all the lands and tenements aforesaid of Desies and Desmond for 500 [marcs] per annum. And so the Lord Edward enfeofed him of the lands and tenements aforesaid at the rent aforesaid. And he had double Charters, and double Letters Patent. And he had a Writ of Seisin of the Lord Edward directed to the Lord Stephen Longsword, then Justiciary of Ireland, who answered him, and said this: he would neither give him, nor let him have seisin of the lands aforesaid, because the said Lord Edward had plainly been deceived by him and his representations. Nor would he make him any seisin thereof until he had had some conference with the council of the Lord Edward and the other great men of Ireland. And the said John fitz Thomas declared that he would make no delay, but take full possession of the lands and tenements aforesaid; and with this answer he left the presence of the Lord Justiciary. And afterwards the aforesaid John went through the whole country, ordering the under serjeants of the country to sum-

mon all the freeholders and the other tenants of the country to appear before him ; and they came before him, and he showed them his Charter, and the Letter Patent of the Lord Edward commanding them to be obedient and answerable to his orders, and to do him fealty as their Lord. And thus, by his own authority, without Justiciary, or Sheriff, or Chief Serjeant, he entered into seisin of the aforesaid lands ; and so died seized of the aforesaid land and tenements. And they say that the said John used to offer his rent of the lands aforesaid every term to the Barons of the Exchequer at Dublin, who would not receive the said rent from him because he had never had seisin from the said Justiciary or other bailiffs of the Lord Edward in Ireland, and because the said Lord Edward was deceived. And they do not know any other right that the Lord Edward had in the aforesaid lands than is aforesaid. And they say that, for that reason, Richard de Rokel, then Justiciary of Ireland, seized all the aforesaid lands and tenements of Ardneshlach, together with all the other lands and tenements of Desies and Desmond, into the hand of the Lord Edward. And they say upon their oath that the aforesaid Jeffry de Prendergast has such right to the aforesaid lands and tenements of Ardneshlach, as brother and next heir of John aforesaid, and this by reason of the feoffment of the said John fitz Thomas.

“[Endorsement].—It seems that this man ought to be restored, saving the right of the king and every one else, and let the king proceed against him, that he may have his recovery against his feoffor ; and when restored, let him answer without essoin, &c.”

A NOTICE OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF LONDONDERRY BY THE ENGLISH, &c.

BY ARTHUR GERALD 'GEOGHEGAN.

(Continued from page 404).

INNISOWEN lies in the north-eastern side of the county of Donegal. It is almost insulated, being bounded on the east, west, and north by Lough Foyle, Lough Swilly, and the Atlantic. Its present name dates from the fifth century, when Nial of the Nine Hostages, Monarch of Ireland, assigned this tract of country to his son Eogain, or Owen, hence *Inir Eógain*, Innisowen, or the Island of Owen. Its more ancient appellations of *Peopann Neib*, or the land of Neid, and *Tip Gúig*, or the Country of Aileach, date from a remoter age, and are derived from names of princes of that mysterious people, the Tuatha de Danaan, who at an early period landed and settled here. That Innisowen at that period, and even in the fifth century, was in reality an island, is probable: a glance at the unchanging sweep of bog and marsh which separate it on the southern side from Loughs Foyle and Swilly, a distance of little more than three

miles, will satisfy on this point even a careless observer. It is now, however, a large promontory, containing 197,860 acres of mountain, arable, and waste land, bounded on its edges and intersected with lofty and barren hills, whose crests are constantly wet with the clouds and mists of the Atlantic. The highest of this range, Slieve Snaght (the Hill of Snow), has an altitude of 2019 feet.¹ Yet, strange to say, there are neither lakes nor rivers of any extent in Innisowen. Loch Lappan and Loch Fad are little more than mountain tarns, and throughout the barony there is no stream of depth or constant flow. Their courses from the central watershed of Slieve Snaght tend east, west, and north, but are invariably shallow. A thousand rills, it is true, rush down on every side from the hills, and are swollen at times by the constant rains into impetuous torrents and waterfalls; but in summer they shrink into mere threads, or disappear altogether from their dried-up beds. The climate is moist, and not severe: at Moville, a watering place, it is especially mild; the soil generally sterile, the interior of the sea coast wild and barren, affording in some places scanty pasturing to the mountain cattle, and in others but shallow depth for cereal crops. Barley, oats, flax, and of course potatoes, are grown in detached localities, and in favoured spots green crops of turnip and mangel wortzel are to be met with. Scattered through the district are evidences of minerals, and the coasts swarm with fish. The scenery along the sea line is bold and precipitous, the headlands steep and rocky; while the noble expanse of Lough Foyle and its twin sister Lough Swilly, with the varied outline of its hills, give to Innisowen a romantic aspect. The mountain pass of the Gap of Mamore is fine; and the long sweep and gloomy hollows of Glen Togher and Glen Ailey are marked with a desolate character, while the northern seaboard that stretches from Dunaff to Malin Head, and thence by Culdaff to Moville, worn into striking and picturesque shapes, forms a fitting rampart against the ceaseless dashings of the Atlantic.

Up to a recent period the name of Innisowen was identified with a kind of illicit whiskey, made in large quantities in its secret glens and hiding places; but the opening of new roads through the barony, enabling the peasant to bring the produce of his mountain patch of land to market, the increased communication by steamers from Derry to Liverpool and Glasgow, where there are always ready sales for cattle, fish, poultry, and eggs, the exertions of the constabulary, and the influences of education through the National Schools on the rising generation, have all tended to lessen this demoralizing occupation, and to afford a healthier and more

¹ *Mons Nivorum*, as it called by Colgan, who was born at its foot.

profitable investment for the labours and the harvest produce of the farmers of Innisowen—agencies which will be doubtless increased by the fact, that at this moment one railroad runs through part of Innisowen, and the certainty that in a few months another will be opened through it. In connexion with this latter railway, the Derry and Lough Swilly line, we may be permitted to observe that its course along the eastern shore of Lough Swilly to Buncrana may challenge any line in the kingdom to exhibit a more striking panorama of lake and mountain scenery.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, Innisowen had been the patrimony of the O'Doherties, a branch of the Kinel Connell, or O'Donnells. Previous to this it was in the possession of the great rival house of Kinel Owen, or O'Neill. The claims of these two dynasties to the suzerainship of Innisowen frequently placed the chieftains of the O'Doherties in awkward positions—at one time paying tribute to the princes of Tyrconnell, and at another to the princes of Tyrone, as the star of either was in the ascendant. So far back as A. D. 1586, in a state paper written by Marshal Bagenall, for the information of Lord Burleigh, then prime minister of England, we find that Innisowen is described thus:—

“O'Doyherties Country is a promontory almost environed with the sea, namely, with Lough Swylie to the south side, and Lough Foyle to the north[1] It is governed by a Capten called O'Doyhertie, who beinge not of power to defend himsilfe, is forced to contribute to both O'Neyle and O'Donell, and (*alterius vicibus*) to serve them both. His country, being open to the sea, and open to the Isles of Ila and Jura in Scotland, is almost yearlie invaded by the Scots, who take the spoil, whereby O'Dohertie is forced always to be at their devociions ! He is able of his own nation and other followers to make 60 horsemen and 300 footemen. Buildings in his counterie are at *The Derry*, which is defaced, and Greencastle, and [another place which is illegible, probably Buncrana] which is wardable.”

In the valuable notice of this state paper, by Mr. Herbert F. Hore, in “The Ulster Journal of Archæology” for the year 1854, Mr. Hore remarks that “the Four Masters state that it was in this new castle of Innisowen (Greencastle), that Walter Bourke was imprisoned by the young Earl of Ulster, in Anno 1332, and where he afterwards died of hunger.” Dissenting from this, Mr. Hore places the prison of the unfortunate De Burgo further south than Innisowen. Yet we are inclined to think that the opinion of the Annalists is correct; and that some indistinct tradition of this event gave rise to the ghastly figure on the Derry coat of arms, as well as to the statement that Sir Cahir O'Doherty perished by a similar doom at the castle of Buncrana. It is evident that there was floating through the barony for a length of time a tradition of some person of rank perishing by this cruel

death, when a prisoner in a dungeon within its limits. The Annalists, natives of the same county, and residing therein, were well acquainted with its localities and traditions, and therefore in recording this statement afford a strong evidence of its credibility. The attitude, moreover, of the skeleton on the Derry shield, resting its head on its hand, with the elbow of the arm on the knee, is evidently intended to pourtray weariness and suffering, and, seen in connexion with the tower in the back ground, is almost painfully suggestive of the truth of the tradition. It is somewhat remarkable, that on the square tower of Buncrana, yet standing, where an arm of the sea forces its way through a narrow rocky glen, on the stone lintel of its doorway leading to the lowest part of the building there are traces of a rude representation of a Spanish hat and upright plume, which the peasantry assert are intended to mark the stature of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, who was the tallest man of his tribe, as well as to point out the very dungeon in which he was imprisoned, and where he perished of hunger.

From the year 1413, when the O'Doherty was first called *Lord of Innisowen*, to the year 1588, when Sir John O'Doherty was head of the sept, there is little variety in the history of its chiefs. They lived the lives of Celtic potentates in their castles of Inch, Elagh, Burt, Buncrana, and Greencastle, hunted the red deer through the woods of Coshquin and Glentogher, speared the salmon in the Fahan and the Foyle, battled with their kinsmen, plundered the cattle of their neighbours, and were plundered in turn by them and the pirates of the Hebrides, and died more frequently with swords in their hands than in their beds.

In the last-mentioned year, a portion of the Spanish Armada was driven by stress of weather to the shores of Ireland; and seventeen ships, containing 5394 men, were wrecked in various places on the coasts of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster. Numbers of their shipwrecked soldiers and mariners were taken prisoners. In Munster some, according to Smith, in his "History of Kerry," were forthwith hanged and beheaded, by order of the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam; but it is satisfactory to find, on the other hand, that in Ulster many more had their lives spared, and were treated as prisoners of war. In the Harleian Tracts we have an account of a ship of the Armada wrecked on the shores of Lough Foyle, with a crew of 1100 men, who were made prisoners by Captains Richard and Henry Hovenden, at the castle of Elagh, in O'Doherty's Country, and who were conveyed, with "the aid of O'Donill," to Dungannon. The English officers, with a humanity that does them credit, wrote from thence to Dublin "for assistance and the levying of horses and garrons to convey the prisoners, who were weak and sicklie," to head-quarters. The original letter, dated xiiij of September, 1588, is preserved in the State Paper Office.

In other places on the coast the shipwrecked sailors and soldiers were hospitably received, and kindly treated by the Irish chieftains. The Spanish ships contained large quantities of treasure in specie, and some portion of it was stated to have fallen into the hands of the native clans. Exaggerated accounts of this circumstance reached the ears of the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, in Dublin; and, according to Cox, who occasionally blurts out some strange truths, Sir William, "*wishing to have a finger in the pie,*" went to Ulster to look after it, raising an army at a heavy expense for the purpose. He was unsuccessful in getting the treasure that he expected—

"Whereupon [adds Cox, in his "*Hibernia Anglicana*"], he grew so enraged, that he imprisoned Sir Owen O'Toole and Doyherty of Donegal, *both of whom were well affected to the State*: the former he kept imprisoned during his time, and the other he detained two years, until he was forced to purchase his discharge."

The character of Sir William Fitzwilliam, during the seven years he filled the office of Lord Deputy in Ireland, is stamped with an unenviable notoriety. Accepting the appointment, as Cox distinctly states, "*to make his profit of it,*" he carried out the intention with a consistency that was as shameless as it was reprehensible. Lowering the dignity of his high office, he received bribes alike from English adventurers and from Irish chieftains. In his hands the sacred vessels of the ark of the British constitution were applied to the meanest uses, until at last that noblest of human institutions, trial by jury, which the poorest peasant on English soil looks on as a protector and a friend, became, through the vile practices of Sir William Fitzwilliam, so hateful to the unfortunate natives of Ireland, as to be regarded by them with mingled feelings of dread and aversion. The conduct of the Lord Deputy towards Hugh Roe Mac Mahon, chieftain of Monaghan, in this respect was so infamous, that Cox and Moryson, neither of them afflicted with a very tender conscience in such matters, are so ashamed of it, that they do not attempt by an apology to palliate its atrocity.

It can be readily surmised that the individual who could be guilty of such conduct would have but little hesitation in imprisoning on a frivolous pretence an innocent man, if by doing so he could put one rose noble the more into his capacious pouch. It is admitted on all sides that Sir John O'Doherty was well affected towards the State, yet he was for two years confined in the Tower of Dublin, and obtained his release from thence at the expiration of that period only by payment of a heavy fine. That previous to his incarceration the Irish chieftain was a loyal subject, has never been denied; and we have further collateral proof, that even after he

regained his liberty he refrained from joining his countrymen in arms against the English Government, in the fact mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters," that in the year 1592, when the various branches of the Kinel Connell were summoned to Kilmacrennan, to the inauguration on the Rock of Doon of young Hugh Roe as The O'Donnell, among the Tirconnellans who refused to obey the call, the learned O'Clerys, with a tone of pique notice, by his Irish appellation, Sir John O'Doherty. Not only did he not attend himself the gathering of the tribes on that occasion, but also a number of the Mac Sweeneys, dwelling on the banks of the Foyle, and of the O'Gallaghers (a junior branch of the O'Doherties), influenced by his example, stopped away likewise; nor until the latter end of the same year, when O'Donnell met the Deputy at Dundalk, and made peace with him, did Sir John O'Doherty acknowledge Hugh Roe as the head of his house.

"Then [somewhat exultingly write the Four Masters], when those Tirconnellans who were in opposition to O'Donnell heard of his having made peace with the Lord Justice, they all came in peace and friendship to him. The most eminent of them were Hugh the son of Hugh Duv, Niall Garv the son of Con, and his brethren; and O'Doherty, namely, John Oge, the son of John, the son of Felim, the son of Connor Carragh, after he had been taken prisoner by him."

At what period after this meeting Sir John O'Doherty became the ally of O'Donnell, we have no exact record. We incidentally learn from a remarkable combat between Phelim Reagh, chief of the Mac Davitts, a branch of the O'Doherties, and Captain Martin, nephew of Sir George Bingham, at Sligo, in the year 1595, in which the English officer was slain, that the mountaineers of Innisowen were enrolled in the army which Hugh Roe O'Donnell led, along with 600 Scottish mercenaries, under MacLeod of Arran, into Connaught, in that year. From 1595 to 1599 we find no mention of the O'Doherties in any of the engagements which took place between the English and Irish forces. In the year 1600 we have seen that Sir John O'Doherty, on the landing of the English at Culmore, after partially dismantling his castle of Elagh, withdrew from Innisowen, causing his people to drive their cattle before them for safety into the wilds of Donegal. In the September of 1600 the same chieftain was with Neal Garv, in command of the army of observation left by Hugh O'Donnell to watch the English garrisons on the Foyle. Unlike the kinsman of O'Donnell, Sir John O'Doherty was true to his trust, and died fighting against the clan Derry. From the narrative of Sir Henry Docwra, it would appear that the chieftain of Innisowen, despite the harsh treatment he had received from the English, was suspected by the

Irish leaders of being "well disposed" towards the foreigners, and that in consequence Hugh Roe O'Donnell had previously caused Sir John's only son, Cahir, a mere boy, to be placed in his hands as a pledge for his father's fidelity.

On Sir John's death, his son still remained with O'Donnell; and that chieftain named Phelim Oge, brother to the slain knight, and uncle to the lad, as head of the sept, and declared him The O'Doherty. We do not see, under the circumstances, how the Irish commander could have acted otherwise. The clans of Innisowen were in arms against the English, and required a leader of experience to head them in the field. It was manifest that a lad of some thirteen years was unequal to the position. In passing him, therefore, over, and naming his next of kin as chieftain of Innisowen, the Prince of Tyrconnell had acted as every wise and prudent general would have acted, and had made a selection, it might be supposed, that no reasonable man in the Triohead Cead of the O'Doherties could with justice object to. But the orphan lad had been nursed and reared by the clan Mac Davitt; and the leading men of the tribe, Hugh Boye and Phelim Reagh, were his foster brothers. To them the nomination of Phelim Oge as The O'Doherty was a grievous injury, as depriving their young foster relative of his hereditary rights. All reasons of policy, all arguments that common sense and sound judgment pointed out for the selection, were disregarded; and the sole idea that possessed their minds was that by it a wrong had been done to him whose interests and welfare were dearer to them than their own lives, or the lives of all their clan.

Of the intense affection which fosterage created among the ancient Irish we have in modern times no adequate conception. With them the tie was sacred, uniting the child of the chief with the child of the vassal by a link that no difference in their social positions in after life could loosen. Beyond the Pale it was confined to no one class of society, and was restricted by no distinction of rank or blood. From the Ard-Riagh to the wood-Kerne, from the earl to the horseboy, it influenced alike the passionate Celtic and the proud Anglo-Hibernian race. Compared with it, strange to say, the natural affection of a mother for her own offspring grew weak; the foster child became first in her love, and in the moment of danger it was the foster child that she clasped closest to her breast. Stronger than the voice of religion, it made fierce foes become true friends, and, above all oaths and covenants, was a guarantee for fidelity and good faith. Brothers by birth might part in anger, and foul words and evil deeds spring up to widen the breach between them, until they would grow up worse than strangers to each other, live in bitterness, and go down to separate graves, disunited and unforgiving; but the affection that bound foster brothers to each other

had seldom such an unworthy element within it. Its love no coldness could affect, no change could alter; through misfortune, through peril, through poverty, through sorrow and through sickness, it remained until death unchanging and undiminished, wonderful alike in its existence, its endurance, and its devotion. There are many instances of this glorious old Irish feeling scattered through the pages of our country's history. Of those not the least remarkable is supplied in the very narrative to which we have referred so often. To us this particular instance appears the more striking, from the plain and unaffected language in which it is told by the English knight. After describing a plot on the part of the Irish to obtain possession of the fort of Culmore, and a counterplot on the part of the English to baffle them,—in which transaction we find that Yorkshire shrewdness was more than a match for native craft,—Sir Henry Docwra goes on, after alluding to the death of Sir John O'Doherty, thus—

"It is true O'Donnell had at our first coming ceazed his sonne, afterwards called Sir Cahir O'Doghertie, into his hands, and kepte him as a pledge upon him, which might justly serve for some colour of excuse, that he (Sir John) was not at libertie to use the freedom of his own will. *Being now deade O'Donnell set up in his place one Phelim Oge, a brother of his, neglecting the sonne who had been bred and fostred by the said Hugh Boye and Phelim Reaugh. These men tooke it as the highest injury that could be done to them that their foster-child should be deprived of that which they thought was his cleere and undoubtful right, & thereupon seriously addressed themselves unto mee, and made offer, that in case I would maintaine the sonne against the uncle, & procure he might hold the countrey, according to the same lettres his father had it before him, they would worke the meanes to free him out of O'Donnell's hands, to bring home the people and cattle that were fled, and with them, together with themselves, yeald obedience & service to the state.*"

After many meetings and messages, the Governor of Derry entered into the compact proposed by the foster brothers of the young O'Dohertie. He granted all they required, and distinctly engaged to have the territory which had belonged to Sir John O'Dohertie restored to his son. This agreement he had further "*confirmed by my Lord Deputie and Council.*" This is an important fact, and one that it is necessary to keep clearly in view, as having a powerful influence on the subsequent events.

According to the agreement, the young O'Dohertie, having obtained his liberty from O'Donnell, came with his faithful foster-brothers, Hugh Boy, Phelim Reagh, Edward Groome (Grumach), and Shane Cron, as a body guard, and attended by the clans Ailin and Davitt, down from the Innisowen hills, and was placed under the protection of the English governor. A strange meeting this in the great hall of the castle of Derry, in the close of the autumn of the year of grace 1600. We can imagine the stone-roofed apart-

ment, with its massive oaken and iron-clenched door, its narrow casements affording glimpses of the smooth-flowing Foyle, and the birch woods on the opposite slopes in the O'Cahan's Country, and giving ingress to the glints of sunlight that fall on the group within. In the foreground the fosterers, tall in stature, and men of tried courage, with the free bearing of mountaineers, their cloaks of frieze of that peculiar blue tint which, even unto the present day, is worn in Donegal, contrasting well with their saffron-coloured tunics. In their centre, dressed in the sable garb, which tells of his recent loss, the young chieftain of Innisowen. Tall for his age, with his fair hair falling in curls on his shoulders, holding in one hand a favourite deerhound by the leash, while the other, with a gesture half proud and half shy, is extended towards the English governor. We can imagine the glance of anxious affection with which the faithful and noble-looking Phelim Reagh¹ takes the outstretched hand of the lad, and places it in the extended hand of the stalwart knight, whose stern features are softened with a feeling of pity towards the orphan thus placed under his care. At the doorway, a cluster of the kerns of the clans Ailin and Davitt, noting with eyes flashing through their long locks every motion of the guard of soldiers of the clan Derry, who, clad in buff coats and breastplates, stand at the opposite end of the room, their figures half in shadow and half revealed to the light reflected on their armour. Surely such a scene as this is worthy of the attention of an Irish artist.

It is satisfactory to find that both by the true-hearted fosterers and by Sir Henry Docwra their mutual agreement was strictly kept; while on the one hand the clans of Innisowen took their leave of O'Donnell, and

"Declared themselves for our side, and from that day forward wee had many faithfull and singular good services from them, their churles & garrans assisting us with carriages, their cattle, with plenty of fishe meate, and Hugh Boye and Phelim Reagh with many intelligence & other helps; without all which, I must freely confess a truth, it had been utterlie impossible wee could have made that sure and speedie progress in the warres that wee afterwards did—"

on the other hand, Sir Henry, as far as was in his power, and as long as he had the power, performed his part in a faithful and honourable manner. He at once proclaimed the young chief the Queen's O'Dohertie, and by his exertions had his patrimony restored to him, under the great seal of England, "with the exception of the quarter of Ballyarnett, the half-quarter of Laharden, on which the said castle of Coolmore is built, together with three hundred acres of land, to the said castle allotted and apperteyninge, only excepted." This was necessary for the security of the fort at

¹ O'Sullivan describes Phelim Reagh as "Elegans staturâ facieque pulcher."

Coolmore¹, which commanded the passage of the River Foyle, and was in reality the watergate of Derry. He also took the lad under his personal protection in Derry, and appears to have had him educated there in a manner suitable to his rank.

In the "Ulster Journal of Archæology" for the year 1854 there is a series of autographs of remarkable men connected with Ireland, copied from the State Papers. Among those signatures we find the name of "*Cahir O'Dogherty*," fairly and boldly written, with an amount of flourishing after the final letter that proves him to have been (for the period) an accomplished penman. There are allusions throughout the narrative, which we will notice hereafter, respecting both Sir Cahir and the fosterers, which show how highly Sir Henry esteemed them; in fact, the knight, stern as he was, appears to have felt a warm affection for the gallant and high-spirited boy committed so frankly to his care, and to whom he stood in the light of a parent and a protector. In a political point of view, it was also clearly the duty of the Governor of Derry to befriend the young chieftain. Their common foe was the same. By identifying the interests of the heir of Innisowen with those of the English Government, the commander of the army of the Foyle would not only deprive the Irish enemy of a powerful ally, but would likewise remove from the gates of Derry a host of fierce and vigilant adversaries. No longer would its ramparts be watched outside day and night by the keen eyes of the Innisowen clans, awaiting but an unguarded moment for an assault. Of the constant dread the English forces were kept in of this an idea may be formed by the admission of Sir Henry Docwra himself, "that there was not a night wherein myself and captains did not sit up expecting such attempt." But this state of things was now at an end: the castle was the home of the O'Dohertie, and the Governor his guardian and friend. The garrison might henceforth rest in safety; provisions would be brought freely to its gates; and no attack could be made on its walls without timely notice being given of the approach of the danger by the faithful followers who watched around the dwelling, beneath the shadow of whose roof the young head of their chief rested; every reason, therefore, of his sagacious mind, and all the better feelings of his honest though stern nature, combined to make Sir Henry Docwra treat his ward with kindness.

That he did so, there are many proofs; not the least significant

¹ The fort of Culmore and the 300 acres attached remained in the possession of the Government from the year 1600 to the year 1861. During the whole of this period the Crown never ceased to maintain the office of Governor of Culmore Fort; and for a long series of

years the appointment was conferred on military men, as a reward for distinguished services. The last governor was Lord Strafford. The office was abolished on his death in 1861, and the Honourable the *Irish* (?) Society obtained possession of the fort and lands.

of them was the jealousy of Nial Garv towards the young stranger. An attempt made by this boisterous chief to quarter some of his kernes on the O'Doherties' Country was promptly resisted by the foster brothers. To admit the right of Nial Garv to cress his men on Innisowen would be to acknowledge him the supreme chieftain of it. Both parties appealed to Sir Henry; and in the interview his calm good sense and sound judgment stand out in strong relief to the overbearing insolence and passionate language of the Celtic chieftain. Dissatisfied with the decision of the Governor against his unreasonable demands, Nial Garv appealed to the Lord Deputy and Council in Dublin; they confirmed the judgment of Sir Henry, at the same time holding out a promise that at some future day Nial Garv's claims might be taken into consideration, but that at present "O Doughertye must and should be exempted from him: which hee [Nial Garv] took with a great deal more indignation and furie than became a man that was to raise his fortune onelie by the favour of another."

Being thus relieved from all dread of attack from the clans in his immediate neighbourhood, and the spring now coming on, Sir Henry Docwra made a foray from Derry; or, to use his own words, "drew forth, and made *a journey* upon Mac Swyne of Fanaght, whose countrie lyes divided from O'Doghertie's by a bay of the sea." This bay of the sea was Lough Swilly, and to reach it the English force had to pass through Innisowen, which they dare not have attempted to do but for the friendly aid of the O'Doherties, a strong party of whom, headed by the young chief and Phelim Reagh, accompanied the expedition. On reaching Inch, where there was a castle of Sir Cahir's, they embarked in boats, and, crossing over Lough Swilly to Rathmullin, dashed at once into the Fannit glens. They took the unfortunate Mac Sweeneys by surprise, and seized about 1000 head of cattle before they could remove them. Thunderstruck by this onslaught, Mac Sweeney came himself to Sir Henry, and offered to make his submission to the Queen, and used the mediation of O'Doherty and Phelim Reagh that the cattle might be restored to his people—whereupon,

"After much entreatie and importunitie, and thinking with myselfe it might be a good example to such others as I should afterwards have occasion to deal with *that I sought not their goods but their obedience* (reserving a part onelie for reward of the souldiers labor), I was entreated, and gave back the rest."

A wise and generous resolve on the part of the English commander, to which it is not improbable that the difficulty of swimming a thousand head of cattle, across some three miles of a salt-water lake may have added a strong inducement. However,

be that as it may, Sir Henry received Mac Sweeney into submission, and taking his oath for future fidelity, and six hostages (one of them the chief's son) as a further guarantee, returned to Derry, leaving Captain Ralph Bingley, with his company of 150 men, as a garrison in the abbey of Rathmullen, to guard the landing-place there in case of a future raid into the north-west of Donegal.

Unfortunately for himself, the chief of the Mac Sweeneys proved false of faith, and broke his oath. Not long after,

"Without compulsion [as Sir Henry sternly writes], he made his reconciliation with O'Donnell, and underhand promised to betray the garrison that lay upon him, and secretlie wrought to gett his pledges out of my hand; but fayling in both, and yet resolved to go on his course, drove away all his cattle, and declared himself an enemy against us."

Whereupon Sir Henry, with all the unbending severity of a Draco, hung up the hostages, and made another "*journey*" into Fannit in the September following, burnt and destroyed the houses and corn there, until the crushed and unfortunate chieftain came in and again submitted, and gave once more six hostages; and, taught by the terrible lesson he had learned, "from that forward continued in good subjection."

In the month of April, 1601, the indefatigable Governor made another "*journey*" in an opposite direction from the last. On this occasion, accompanied by Nial Garv, he made a foray on the people of Sleughart, in the county of Tyrone, and by the assistance of his Irish ally had the strong fortress of Castledearg (the ruins of which still remain) delivered into his hands. Leaving there Captain Dutton in garrison, with his company of 100 men, Sir Henry returns to Derry, and makes the following significant entry in his narrative:—"And then wee rested at home, in expectation of a supplie of men from England against summer; *for nowe were those wee had exceedingly wasted and decayed.*"

Apparently, O'Donnell was as well aware as Sir Henry himself of the weakened condition of the English garrison, and had determined to avail himself of it, for the purpose of making an incursion into Innisowen to punish the O'Doherties for their desertion from the Irish cause, as well as to retaliate the burnings and the plunderings that they had inflicted, in conjunction with the clan Derry, on the unfortunate natives of Fannit. Of this intention, however, a timely notice was brought to the Governor of the castle on the Foyle; and while O'Donnell was making his preparations for attacking Innisowen, the English commander was as busy arranging matters for its defence. The manner in which he effected this proves Sir Henry Docwra to have been thoroughly skilled in military strategy. After examining a map of the country, he found it so utterly worthless that he flung it aside, and trusted to his own

personal observations for suiting the defence according to the nature of the locality. He found that the southern border of Innisowen stretched between Lough Swilly and the River Foyle in distance about six miles; that this tract was in a manner all bog, with a river passing through from one side to the other, and was totally impassable for horse, and only at some five or six narrow fords passable for small parties of foot. The position was evidently a strong one, and he took his measures accordingly. Placing in Coelmac-katren Castle, at one end of this tract of bog and swamp, where it touched Lough Swilly, Captain Thomas Badly with his company, and at the other extremity, where it met the River Foyle, Captain Edmond Leigh, with his company, in an old fort called Cargan (Carrigan), he erected small forts (not unlikely *crannoges*, or *wooden ones*), at each of the fords, and placed in them small garrisons of twenty men. Having thus secured his line of defence, he caused the hostages he had in pledge, and all the cattle of the country, about 3000 in number, and "goodes of the people," to be removed to a remote part of Innisowen (called by Abbé M'Geoghegan—Binnin), wherein Hugh Boye, and Phelim Reagh, and the O'Doherties, assisted by 200 of the English force under Captain Humphrey Willis, had engaged to defend them.

All things being thus prepared, Sir Henry awaited the attack. When O'Donnell, with his army, came and encamped within a mile of Carragans, the Irish leader saw the position was too strong to be forced by ordinary means. He remained therefore at Carragans a week, reconnoitering the passes, during which time he caused a number of strong wicker hurdles to be made, and in the night time had them conveyed to a place out of reach of the forts; and on the morning of the 7th May, 1601, passed with all his horse and foot over the swamps, by means of those hurdles, to the great joy of the Irish, and chagrin of the English forces.

Those feelings were soon relatively changed. As the Creaghadors of the Kinel Connell advanced further into Innisowen, they found it a wilderness—its villages and fields deserted, its homesteads, glens, and hill sides, destitute of any trace of human or animal life; it was only when they reached the "extremity of the country" that they saw signs of either. Here they found the united force of the English and Irish drawn up in a strong position, with their herds of cattle feeding behind them. Sir Henry describes the locality as at the further end of Innisowen towards Scotland, where a piece of ground was environed with sea, able to support the cattle for some days, the entrance to it narrow, with an old fort standing on it guarding the approach. Making an allowance for a slight error in Sir Henry's topography those local marks can be found in the Isle of Doagh, in the parish of Clonmany, in the vicinity of the small village of Gaddyduff, in the northern part of Innisowen.

Standing there, even at the present day, the tourist will see at a glance that a few hundred resolute men might hold the pass against a far superior force. On reaching the spot, O'Donnell halted and encamped, made an assault and was repulsed ; on the next day made another attack and was again beaten back, with a loss of forty men ; and then, in the words of the narrative,

“ O'Donnill, out of hope that he could doe good, trussed up baggage and, not one cove the ritcher, made his retreat back again. Going out he passed by the castle of Ard Coel Mac Katran upon the strands, at a dead low water, where our men had a little skirmish with him under succor of the castle, and where I stood with some few horse and foot to see what countenance he had in his departure. Being cleane past, I saw his men draw into battaile, and I think that no man that saw them, as well as I, but will confess they were not fewer than 1500. *Phelim Reagh in this assault behaved himselfe bravely with his own hands; Hugh Boy honestlie acquitted himself in all this occasion; and both of them gave sufficient testimoneye their hearts were at that time faithfull and zealous to the Queene's service.*”

A great day this for the united forces of clan Derry and clan Innisowen, and great rejoicing, in the strong castle on the Foyle, at the discomfiture of the Kinel Connell—rejoicings which were much increased by the following news:—“The very same day they [the Irish army] past away by Coelmackatren, the shippes were discovered at the mouth of Lough Foile, that brought us a new supply of 800 men.”

This (although not admitted by the English commander) at once explains the retreat of O'Donnell. In truth the Irish leader had a narrow escape. Had not his scouts brought him word of the approach of the English fleet, and had he therefore, in ignorance, delayed but two days longer at Binnin, his whole army must have been taken prisoners ; for, with the victorious O'Doherties and the English force under Captain Willis on his flank, and Sir Henry Docwra with the garrison of Derry reinforced by 800 men posted behind the belt of bog and swamp in his front, with Lough Swilly on his right, and Lough Foyle on his left, there was no outlet for him to escape by ; and when, in addition to these circumstances, the impossibility of obtaining food for his troops in Innisowen is added, the situation from which Hugh Roe O'Donnell extricated himself by a prompt retreat, will be at once admitted was one of absolute danger, and involving almost certain destruction to the force under his command.

From the foregoing passage of arms, and other events detailed in the narrative, it is evident that Hugh Roe O'Donnell was the great opponent with whom Sir Henry Docwra had to contend. Yet the struggle between these two master spirits was not an equal one, so far as regards their antecedents, their individual experience in military affairs, and the resources, troops, and munitions of war, each

had to aid him in the contest. It must not be forgotten that Sir Henry Docwra was an experienced captain, trained in Continental wars, a bearded man with harness on his back, while O'Donnell was yet a child; nor can it be overlooked that the young chieftain of Tyrconnell at the age of fifteen years was vilely kidnapped, and conveyed to the tower in Dublin, where for upwards of four years he was kept a prisoner—during the last twelve months of the period a fettered one. At such an age, and under such treatment, except bitter and enduring hostility towards the English race, what could he learn? That during those weary years the young captive deeply reflected on his own wrongs and on those of his country, and that there in the silence of his cell he arranged his plans for avenging both, is more than probable. His after career fully proves the supposition. For, when at last he effected his escape, and after reaching Donegal was elected head of the Kinel Connell at the early age of nineteen, so soon as the free air of his native hills had restored to his wasted frame health and vigour, he allied himself with Hugh Earl of Tyrone, and in a short time became the ablest and most sagacious leader the Irish ever had. During nine years he kept the whole force of England at bay, baffling or beating back every general she sent to oppose him, and subduing or winning over to the national cause every Irish chief with whom he came in contact,—accomplishing this, moreover, with the scanty aids a broken and impoverished race could supply,—thus earning, as Moore appropriately remarks, a name which not only graces his country's history, but still lives freshly in the popular tales of her romance.

On the other hand, Sir Henry Docwra was bred to arms. In 1585 he served with Sir Richard Bingham in the west; and from that date to 1594, when for his distinguished conduct he was made Constable of Dungarvan, he appears to have been constantly and actively employed in the Irish wars. He served with the Earl of Essex in Spain and the Netherlands, where he commanded a regiment, and likewise in Ireland; and was so highly esteemed by him, that when that gallant and unfortunate nobleman made his impetuous return to England in 1599, Sir Henry Docwra was one of the few faithful friends who accompanied him. It will thus be seen that he was a veteran soldier, and that both abroad and at home, in fort and field, in camp and foray, he had acquired that consummate skill and judgment in military affairs which made him conspicuous among those able officers who, during the reign of Elizabeth, commanded the English forces in Ireland.

Not the least of the praise which is honestly due to the young Irish leader arises from the skill with which he cooped up so able a veteran as Sir Henry Docwra, with 4000 trained soldiers at his back, on the shores of the Foyle,—accompanying this, moreover, with inadequate means and undisciplined troops, yet with a system

of tactics so sound in theory and so efficient in practice, that but for the treachery of Nial Garv, and the desertion of the other Irish chiefs, the English expedition, wasted by famine and weakened by sickness and by warfare, must inevitably a second time have deserted the ramparts of Derry.

But this was not to be. With the seaboard of the Foyle open to Sir Henry, through which he received supplies of troops and provisions from England—with Sir Tirlogh Lynogh, the Queen's O'Neill, and his followers, affording information about the forests and passes in Tyrowen, with Nial Garv and his party guiding the English forces through the hills and glens of Donegal, and rendering good service against their own kindred, with a body of light armed troops skilled in the warfare of the country, and with the clans of Innisowen in alliance with the garrison of Derry; the English commander must, to a certainty, win the prize for which he was playing with so much caution and so much boldness. It remains only to note the skill with which he proceeded to con over his game, and to arrange his men—how he himself never made a false move, nor allowed a weak one of his adversaries to escape—how one by one he broke up the strong points of his opponent, without endangering his own, until at last, by a series of masterly combinations, he arose a victor from the contest.

The two great objects of the English general, differing in detail, in principle were identical. His first was to plant a military settlement in Derry; his second, another similar at Ballyshannon. The first he had accomplished. For the second there were three modes of action:—To embark a sufficient force by sea—but for this he had now neither men, transports, nor ships. To send an army by land was equally impracticable, the nature of the district to be traversed swarming with enemies, and the difficulty of obtaining food on the march, were serious, almost insurmountable obstacles. The pass of Barnsmore, through which the English force must of necessity advance, would alone deter any prudent general from the attempt. A third plan, slow in detail, but certain in result, remained; and this, although subsequent events rendered its complete carrying out unnecessary, Sir Henry tacitly adopted, namely, to connect Lough Foyle with Lough Erne by a chain of forts, and, on reaching Enniskillen, to embark a force on the lake, proceed by water to its lower extremity, and, landing at Belleek, march from thence to Ballyshannon, a distance of only three miles.

Bearing this plan in view, it will explain the proceedings of the English general, almost from the moment when he laid the foundations of the walls of Derry. His first step was to erect a fort at Dunnalong, on the Foyle, five miles from Derry; his next, to secure the castle at Lifford, also on the river Foyle, ten miles higher up. Following the river line of the Mourne, which joins the Foyle

at Lifford, he then in May, 1601, got possession of the castle of Newtown (Newtownstewart), and placed in it Captain Roger Atkinson, with a garrison of 100 men.

"And because the uses wee intended these garrisons was to make suddaine inroades upon the countrey, to spoyle and pray them of their cattle, *and that impossible to be done without intelligence and guidance of some of the natives*, I left to assist him in that kinde one Tirlough Moynylson, a man that came in with Sir Arthur O'Neale, that had often guided our men before in like services, and had gayned a great deale of love and reputation among us, and had now the command of 100 Irish by my Lord Deputie's allowance."

Notwithstanding the "love and reputation" that the said Tirlough had gained, Sir Henry with due caution gave "special charge he should be lodged cleane outside the bawn, and a wary and circumspect eye should be carried upon him"!—a provident precaution on the part of the shrewd northern knight, which subsequent events proved was necessary in regard of the Celtic centurion. Sir Henry had now a chain of forts extending twenty-six miles, almost in a direct line, along the valley of the Foyle, towards Enniskillen, in the very heart of the enemy's country.

On the 20th June, 1601, he battered with the "Demy cannon" the castle of Aniogh, within two miles of Derry. This castle lies altogether in another direction from Newtown, and was situated in a loch in the O'Cahan's Country, nearly opposite Derry. While engaged in taking it, Sir Henry received letters from the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, "propounding by way of discourse two mayne services to spend the summer," namely, either to take Ballyshannon, or to meet the Deputy at the Blackwater. Sir Henry decided on the latter, and, fearing that a great deal of powder had been spent in taking the castles we have named,

"I first called," he writes, "the clarke of the munition to mee, and asked him *how he was stoored of powder?* He tould mee hee had 60 barrells. I was fully satisfied in my minde. I enquired noe further, but returned my answer [to Lord Mountjoy], in any part of Tyrone I should be readie to meet him, wheresoever he pleased."

Now occurs a serio-comic episode, which proves that spareness of speech and sturdy independence were as characteristic of the Englishman of the seventeenth as of the nineteenth century. Our Yorkshire friends will, we dare say, recognise the phonetic propriety of the colloquy on the occasion.

On the 19th of July Sir Henry had received two letters from Dublin, which, although dated 9th and 14th July, reached him on the same day. In the first he was requested to prepare to meet the Deputy at the Blackwater; in the second he was desired to march at once, as his Lordship was waiting for him—whereupon,

"I presentlie gave order the companies should draw to Lifford, and come furnished with munition. Word was brought mee *that they could get no match!* I called for the clarke, and asked him the reason. *Hee tould mee hee had it not!* Noe (says I) *did yow not tell mee the other day yow had 60 barrells?* I tould yow (saide hee) *that I had 60 barrells of powder, and soe I had, but of match you asked mee nothing.* I demanded if a barrell of match were not always sent as a due proportion to a barrell of powder; hee confest it was, and ought to be so; but much of that came (he saide) was rotten, and much had been wasted, soe as now hee had it not. *I asked him why he tould me not so much when I spake of it the other day; hee said, because my question was of powder onelis, and nothing of match."*

This was undoubtedly true, and clearly gave the stout clerk of the munition the best of the argument. Yet, although critically correct, the dilemma in which he placed the Governor by the scant information of his previous reply was an awkward one. When we recollect that, forty-nine years afterwards, in the year of grace 1650, the Scotch army under General Lesley, amounting to 23,000 men, was beaten, or, as Carlyle has it, "shivered to ruin," at Dunbar by 12,000 men, wasted with sickness, under Cromwell; that 3000 of the Scotch troops were slain; that their whole baggage and train, all their artillery great and small, 30 guns, and 200 colours, taken, and 10,000 soldiers (in number actually nearly equal to their victors) made prisoners, and that this tremendous defeat was accounted for by the fact that Cromwell, keeping not only his "*powder dry*," but likewise his "*matches lit*," had attacked Lesley early in the morning of a wet and windy September day, when the matches of the Scottish foot (all but two to each company) were extinguished; and that, in despite of a gallant resistance made by their horse, who charged desperately, and drove back the English across the rivulet, the foot, "poor stiffened men," roused from their sleep, "*with their matches out*," never rallied, or for a moment stood before the fiery charge of Cromwell, we can form some idea of the unpleasant position in which Sir Henry now found himself placed.

He acted with his usual prudence. Having made Captain Humphrey Covert, who was going to England, a witness to his conversation with the clerk of munition, in order that he might be able to report the matter truly on the other side, he directed the clerk to send to the neighbouring garrisons for any match they could spare. When this was done, six barrels only were collected. Sir Henry then called a council of war of his "ancientest of the captaines" and laid the matter before them; they unanimously gave it as their opinion in writing, signed with their hands, that this supply was too little to go forth with—

"For they knew O'Donnell and all the countrey thereabouts were alreadie assembled to attend us, and by all likelihood would provoke us to skirmish by the way; and it was better to incur any censure of the world

whatsoever than to expose soe many men to be a butt onelie for their Enymyes to shoot at."

Fortified by this resolution, the Governor sent Lieutenant Gordon to the Lord Deputy with letters explanatory of this untoward circumstance, desiring suspension of judgment, and offering to meet his Lordship at any place he might at another time appoint. The answer of Lord Mountjoy was characteristically short, sharp, and decisive, and, taking into account the bitter enmity he bore to Sir Henry Docwra a fair one:—

"Your wants thus [wrote his Lordship], are small in shewe, in substance great; how this will be taken in England, that you made them not known before the instant when it was impossible to supply them it beoves you to looke unto; for me, I must confess you have much deceived my expectation, but I will not advise you to doe any thinge with the Queen's army that is not warrantable by good reason, neither trust upon mee to help you here, for I am not able; but, if you cane, take some other opportunitie of service to make amends withall."

A sharp censure, but we must admit a deserved one. Assuredly, if the clerk of the munition slept soundly on the night of the day it was received by the Governor, it may be doubted whether his slumbers can be justly attributed to the prayers that were then offered up in the castle of Derry for his repose.

In the mean time, O'Donnell, with the O'Cahans and the O'Neills, had drawn together near Newtown, with the intention of attacking Sir Henry Docwra on his march to join the Lord Deputy. But while awaiting the English forces at the fords of the Mourne, the Irish chieftains had left the country behind them, and especially the Pass of Barnsmore, unguarded,—an oversight the keen eye of the veteran commander on the Foyle at once detected. Consulting with Nial Garv, who had a thorough knowledge of the paths, and having ascertained that the abbey of Donegal was held only by a few friars, he sent the Irish chieftain with his troops and 500 English soldiers to take possession of it. This important service was safely and promptly executed by Nial Garv on the 2nd of August, 1601. Thus the blunder of the clerk of munition, through the able management of the English general, in place of a mishap, became an element of success. On hearing this, O'Donnell, who had in the mean time crossed the Curlew Mountains into Sligo, to keep the Earl of Clanricard with his army in check, hurried back, and at once laid siege to the abbey, and for thirty days the place was hotly assaulted, and as stoutly defended. On the night of the 19th September the abbey took fire, and was burned, all to one corner. But even then, with unflinching tenacity, Nial Garv and the garrison held out. In the middle of the burning cloisters, and

actually through the flames they removed their stores of provisions and barrels of powder; and while one part of the force was employed in this perilous duty, the other repelled the attacks of the Irish, who with loud shouts advanced to the assault. Used as he was to the horrors of war, Sir Henry Docwra appears to have regarded with feelings of admiration the gallant conduct of the garrison during that fearful night, in which it is recorded that they lost 300 men. On the next day O'Donnell summoned the defenders of the Abbey to surrender; but, having first dispatched a light-footed kern to tell Sir Henry of their hazardous condition, they climbed the smoking walls, and "valentlie repelled" the envoy of the Irish chieftain. Fickle and false as he was, there was no braver man than Nial Garv. To this Sir Henry Docwra, with the honest candour of his nature, bears witness in the following:—

"Here againe, I must confess, Neale Garvy behaved himselfe deserv-
inglie; for though I had at that time many informations against him that
could not but breed some jealousies of his fidelitie, yet wee sawe he con-
tinued to the last, tooke such part as our men did, had many of his men
slaine at this seige, and amongst the rest a brother of his own."

Misfortunes never come single: along with the tidings of the hazardous position of the English force in the abbey of Donegal came the news that the fort at Newtown was betrayed by Tirlogh Magnylson, the Irish ally whom, we have already mentioned, Sir Henry had directed to be lodged with his men "cleane outside the bawne." Neglecting the warning of his superior officer, Captain Atkinson was enticed "to walk forth upon the greene before the house purposelie as far as he could" by the faithless Tirlogh, who had that day dined with the English officer. On a signal, Captain Atkinson was made prisoner, and by a sudden rush at the castle door the Irish gained possession, and put every man of the garrison to the sword—a foul deed, for which, shortly after, Tirlogh Magnylson met a suitable punishment.

But, as if these disasters were not sufficient, in like manner, and on the same day, Captain Dutton was betrayed at Castledearg, but with this exception, that the lives of the English garrison were spared.

"For those losses [Sir Henry calmly observes] there were no remedy for the present: for Dunnegal, I had before sent them provisions by sea, which came to them in a reasinable time, and had supplied most of their wants; for the rest, I could doe nothing but encourage them to hould it, and assured them to come to their aide, soe soone as they should stand in neede of it.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October 5th, 1864.

The VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Sir Edward Coursey, Bart., Arbourfield, Reading, Berks ; and Francis A. Leigh, Esq., J.P., Rosegarland, Foulksmills, county of Wexford : proposed by Herbert F. Hore, Esq.

Robert Staples, Esq., J.P., Dunmore, Durrow, Queen's County : proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory.

Laurence Waldron, Esq., M. P., 28, Rutland-square, West, Dublin ; Robert Ryan, Esq., J. P., Templemungret, Limerick ; Rev. Patrick Power, R. C. C., Carrick-on-Suir ; and John Thomas Mac Sheehy, Esq., Shannon Lawn, Limerick : proposed by Maurice Lenihan, Esq.

Edward de la Poer, Esq., Gurteen, Kilsheelan, Clonmel : proposed by Thomas Lalor, Esq., D. L.

Bernard E. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Lisduff, Errill, Templemore ; Thomas Elliott, Esq., J. P., Rathcurby, Kilmacow, Waterford ; and the Rev. P. R. Young, R. C. C., Clonmacnoise, Athlone : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Rev. Arthur Eden, Ticehurst, Hurst Green, Sussex : proposed by the Rev. John Lymberry.

William Hague, Esq., Architect, 175, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin : proposed by David Fielding Jones, Esq.

Henry Brewster, Esq., C. E., County Surveyor, Castlebar : proposed by Peter Burtchaell, Esq.

Robert Cochrane, Esq., C. E. Banbridge : proposed by R. Linn, Esq.

Robert Pape, Esq., Litchfield : proposed by A. G. 'Geoghegan, Esq.

Rev. P. V. Skelly, O. P., the Black Abbey, Kilkenny: proposed by J. G. A. Prim, Esq.

Mr. Michael Brophy, Parliament-street, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. J. Hogan.

The Rev. James Graves reported that the Memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, praying that they would cause the Records of Ireland to be collected into a safe repository and placed under the care of competent officers, which had been adopted at the January meeting, being duly signed by the President and Committee, was presented by Colonel Dunne, M. P. He (Mr. Graves) had since received a letter from Colonel Dunne, stating that Mr. G. A. Hamilton had communicated to him the reply of their Lordships, to the effect that "any suggestion from the Kilkenny Archæological Society was sure to receive the consideration of the Treasury."

Mr. Graves said, that although the injury done to the sculptures at Clonmacnoise had been most lamentable, yet that the steps taken by the Society to enforce the statute passed for the preservation of public monuments had been productive of most beneficial results. Not only had it been made publicly known that such vandalism could not be committed with impunity, but the attention of the Irish Government having been called to the subject, the following most important order has been issued to the Constabulary Force throughout the country:—

"INJURY TO PUBLIC MONUMENTS.

"The practice of injuring and defacing public monuments having been brought under the notice of the Government, it is most desirable that the attention of the Force shall be called to the provisions of the 24th and 25th Vict., cap. 97, and section 39. It is to be understood, therefore, that it is the duty of the Constabulary to interfere for the protection of all such monuments, and to use their best endeavours to bring to justice the parties guilty of such misdemeanor.

"H. J. BROWNRIGG.

"*Constabulary Office, Dublin,
7th September, 1864.*"

It now remained for the public to aid the officials in carrying out this law, by reporting to the police every case of wanton injury to any sculptured monument, ancient or modern, whether in the old churchyards or elsewhere exposed to public view, in order that the law might be put in force. The members of the Society, Mr. Graves added, were all aware of the most praiseworthy exertions of their fellow-member, Mr. T. L. Cooke, Sessional Crown Prosecutor for the King's County, in the matter of the Clonmacnoise outrage. Without his valuable aid the good results already obtained would never have been realized. He (Mr. Graves) therefore thought all would agree

with him that some special mark of the Society's appreciation of Mr. Cooke's services ought to be bestowed. He would therefore propose that that gentleman be elected an Honorary Member, and that the thanks of the Society be presented to him.

Mr. Prim had the greatest pleasure in seconding the resolution. The proposition passed unanimously.

A letter from the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, Rector of Clonmacnoise, was read, stating that the trial of the person charged with the wanton injury of sculptures at Clonmacnoise had resulted in a disagreement of the jury. The Crown had prosecuted. The following are portions of the charges of the presiding judge to the grand jury and petty jury, and a speech of counsel:—

“KING'S COUNTY SUMMER ASSIZES, 1864.

“*Before the Lord Chief Justice.*

“Crown Court, Monday, July 11.—His Lordship delivered his charge to the Grand Jury, as follows:—

“‘Mr. Foreman, and Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, . . . One other matter, Gentlemen, just comes under my notice, involving the application of a law which must be new to you, for even I have no experience of its having been hitherto put in force; I mean the destruction within the limits of this county of some ancient monuments of great interest—interest not only to the natives of the place, but of the whole country. It appeared that some ancient monuments, or works of art, which were erected in a churchyard, were wantonly injured. It is charged that some monuments erected at the memorable Seven Churches have been defaced. Such monuments were of national importance in various respects. They were sometimes evidence as to the times of death, names, and ownership of land, and also as to titles of honour found upon these ancient monuments. It is also impossible to over-estimate their importance as showing the character of the nation in those early times. These monuments show the high degree of civilization attained by the people of this country at the time. The more ancient those monuments, the more interesting. The law provides for the preservation of all works of art, and particularly all works of art, monuments, or stones deposited in sacred places. These monuments, as I have said, attest the antiquity and civilization of the country, and they could not be defaced without the interposition of the law. It was a lapse—a going back again to barbarity on the part of the nation, if they were to be defaced. But it would be found that the laws were armed with powers for such an occasion. Bills will be sent up for your consideration against a party charged with the wilful destruction of those monuments or works of art; and it will be your duty, Gentlemen, if the facts be proved, to find true bills; and not to enter into any discussion as to whether the monuments defaced were within the words of the act, as that will be a matter for the court to decide; but if any legal points arise, I shall be happy to render assistance.’

“When the evidence for the defence had been concluded, Mr. Ball, Q. C., the counsel especially retained by the Kilkenny and South-East of

Ireland Archæological Society to watch the trial and aid the Crown prosecutors, replied—

“‘ This is a case, Gentlemen, demanding your most serious consideration. I shall call to your minds but a few matters in connexion with the subject, and those are matters which are beyond all manner of doubt. It is unquestioned that an injury has been done to those memorable ruins. The evidence to prove that has been amply sufficient. The next established fact is, that the injuries complained of were done on the day a large party went from Birr to this place. It has been proved by the police constable that the injury was not done on the morning of the day the party from Birr were there. He gives also a circumstantial reason for knowing it was not done, as the round tower was pointed out to him by the Rev. Mr. Vignoles as about to be repaired by the Kilkenny Archæological Society, under the direction of the Rev. James Graves. That was in the early part of the day. The injury was done to a part over two feet from the ground, and therefore likely to attract the notice of anybody. This was at half-past two o'clock, as deposed to by the policeman. Now, it has been also proved that this injury had been done at half-past four o'clock. The caretaker has sworn to its being done at that time. I have thus, Gentlemen, brought this one particular count of the indictment within the space between half-past two and a quarter to four o'clock. All this has been matter of proof. And that it was on the 22nd of May, the day on which the offence is alleged to have been committed. In fact, this has not been denied in the defence. It is more than probable that the other injuries deposed to were done at the same time and by the same stone which left its mark on this arch, but I shall not trouble you to inquire. It is not necessary. It has been proved that this particular injury was done on this particular day, and within this particular time. This has been established by testimony not to be shaken. The next important fact, which is also a fact beyond question, is that the two children were there that day. There has been nothing urged to lead you to believe that they were not there. It was a likely place for them to be. There is no denial that they were there. It has been insinuated that the father of the boy could prove that he was not there, but he was not produced. We are told that his father has turned against him, but he is not produced. He will not appear. As I have said, it has been proved to demonstration that this act must have been done on that day. There were a number of persons there that day. The prisoner was never seen by either of the witnesses before. Why, then, Gentlemen, was this man accused? I shall tell you. The little boy gives a description of the person he saw committing the damage. The description was so accurate that the police, seventeen miles away, laid their hands on the man, and had him summoned on the mere description given by this child. If he had not seen the prisoner doing this damage, would he have so accurately described him—would he have given similar testimony? No: it was because his attention was drawn to the man by the acts which he saw him doing, which fixed the man in his mind, which enabled him to identify him fully and clearly on every occasion. And now, Gentlemen, give me leave to ask, how are we to reconcile that fact with the prisoner's innocence—the witness once seeing a man and describing him, and then com-

ing seventeen miles and identifying him? It is perfectly impossible, I do not care how it may be sought to be controverted. By what miracle did that boy so describe that man? That is the question for the jury. But there was a second person who saw the man, and she also described him, but did not know his name. Neither of them ever saw the man before that day; and I ask again, by what miracle are they able to identify the man? What plan between them would account for it? None, Gentlemen; for they separately identified the prisoner—a fact which seals and confirms their previous testimony. There are limits, Gentlemen, to human abilities, and I say that it is not in the power of any one much older than the witnesses to manufacture such a case. It is perfectly impossible. By what powers could they describe a man seventeen miles away, and afterwards identify him?

“ You are told, Gentlemen, that the members of this Young Men’s Society were there on this day when this act was done. So much appears from the evidence. The children were there that day. It was done at a time when it is proved that the party from Birr were in the churchyard. It was done between half-past two and a quarter past four. If it was not done by the prisoner, who did it? If it was done by another of the party, would it not be proved as easily? If it was a falsehood on the part of those two witnesses, why was not Moran or Quigley¹ accused or arrested, from the description which had been given? The evidence given by the witnesses for the defence was such as might have been calculated upon. It has been urged in this case the veneration in which those ancient monuments are held, that the party of which the prisoner at the bar was one were Roman Catholics, that there was nobody there that day but Roman Catholics. That has been made a great argument. It has been pressed that it could not be done by the prisoner, who is a Roman Catholic; that it was impossible. But in the face of that they must consider that it was done while they were there. That is extraordinary; and I shall leave you, Gentlemen, to reconcile the two circumstances. Whether it was want of thought, want of feeling at the time, it is not for you to consider. The injuries were done to this building at this time, that is, between half-past two and a quarter to four o’clock. It is most circumstantially proved to have been done with a red stone, which was found near the place, and the marks of which appeared on the monuments. If you had to deal with a question of larceny, or of honesty between parties, evidence of character might have been of value. As for the interest felt in the monuments, that, as well as the propriety of the conduct of the party, is beside the question you have to try. It is not urged, Gentlemen, that a bad character would travel seventeen miles to destroy these stones. But it is curious that they remained unmolested for so many years by the natives of that particular place; that the people of Clonmacnoise should select a day when a party from a town seventeen miles away went there, to deface those monuments. What, Gentlemen, is the history of the case? On the 22nd of May the party from Birr were at Clonmacnoise, and on the 2nd of July the witnesses

¹ “ Persons who were of the party, and gave evidence for the defence.

proved their previous description by identifying the prisoner at petty sessions when for the first time after the outrage they had seen him. I ask you, Gentlemen, to let that testimony be impressed upon your minds. It will weigh against any general impression that he could not have done it. If there be any error in the case, it is not too much to expect that the defence would have been able to sweep away that error. It is sought to make you believe, Gentlemen, that during the four hours of that day the prisoner at the bar was in the sight of several of those who were there, that he never left their sides. That is the case. I do not, Gentlemen, impugn the *bona fides* of those witnesses. But it is beyond the capacity of the human mind to think that without any foregone conclusion they would watch the prisoner, or that they could give a tangible, feasible account of him for the whole of that day—such an account as the law would demand. But, in truth, the admirable evidence of the two children compels one to yield assent to every word of their evidence. It is impossible that they could have described the matter as they have done without having seen the injuries done. It is useless for me to call your attention to the minuteness and clearness with which every incident of the transaction is detailed. The slight disagreement between the boy and girl in the matter of the stile rather goes to prove the truthfulness of their story than to cast any doubt upon it; for we often find truthful narratives, when given by different parties, to contain some discrepancy, thereby showing clearly that there was no collusion between them. I shall, in conclusion, again draw your attention to the fact of the description given by the witnesses, and their subsequent recognition of the prisoner. Nothing short of a miracle could account for their statements being false, and their actions and conduct at petty sessions and in this court.

“The Lord Chief Justice charged the petty jury as follows:—

“There are few cases that can be said to be more particularly and unexceptionably jury cases than the present. It is a question in which the evidence given must be tried by the test of a jury, whose duty it will be on their consciences and oaths to testify as to the guilt of the prisoner, or otherwise. That is the duty that now, Gentlemen, remains with you to discharge. I have no doubt, from the careful attention you have given to the case, it will have fair and full consideration. I shall call your attention to two great principles of law laid down for the protection of the subjects of the Crown. The first great principle of the law is one on which your verdict must rest; in fact, you could not give a verdict without a consideration of this principle; and I wish you to have it in your mind in considering what I am about to say to you. The first great principle of the law, then, is that every man is considered innocent till it has been proved to the satisfaction of a jury that he is guilty. Unless his guilt is proved by satisfactory evidence, the prisoner in the dock is reckoned quite innocent, although he has stood there. He is as free from the operation of the law as if he stood on the table. To the other principle of law I shall now call your attention. The next principle, gentlemen, is the binding character of testimony upon oath. You are bound to believe sworn testimony. Unless there be some reason for attributing corruption or mistake, an oath is binding on you to believe. You cannot

doubt such testimony upon mere assumption. The evidence upon oath must stand. If you are of opinion that the witnesses who were first called were guilty of corruptly, or falsely, or through mistake giving their evidence, it is a matter for your attention. But you have sworn testimony, which affords you a standing-ground. There is no doubt that injury has been done, and you can find on any one of the counts of the indictment. It is not necessary that you shall find upon every one. There is no doubt that a particular injury was done the day the party was there (at Clonmacnoise) from Birr. There is no question about its having been then done. You may rest upon that fact. It is also an all-important fact that the boy was there that day. It was also deposed that the boy saw the person who did the injuries. It was not enough to say that he saw it done by some one, but he said he saw it done by a person from Birr. It will be for you to say whether he could forge the evidence of that story, and describe the party who did it so distinctly. Unless you believe that this evidence was given falsely, you are bound to yield your confidence to it. The evidence, too, is not attended by any ground for suspicion, only, it may be alleged, mistake. There is no evidence imputing corruption. Two witnesses were examined, a boy and a girl—and I shall say a word as to their manner of giving their testimony. The boy gave his evidence with admirable firmness and decision, and with great distinctness, which the learned counsel on the opposite side was not able to shake. The little girl's evidence was not so decided, not so firm, not so distinct, but still her evidence was unshaken. But when you come to consider two witnesses, of whom no motive has been suggested that they could speak other than the truth, you will consider both these young persons without any apparent motive describing the prisoner at the bar so that the policeman was able to identify him. They first describe him, and afterwards identify him. If they had made any mistake in the first description, they had an opportunity of rectifying it when called on to identify him in the court at petty sessions. If, again, there had been any mistake there, they had an opportunity now of counteracting it. But now, with all the solemnity attending the administration of justice, both in the most positive manner identify the prisoner as the man who committed the injuries. As to the contradiction between the two witnesses, it will be for you to say whether you find any difficulty in that. If they were framing a story, then there was no reason why they should not have pitched upon a man who was not there at all, and whose innocence could be most clearly proved; and then what was the motive for describing and identifying the prisoner? Such a course suggested a most unimaginable conspiracy. This will be matter for your consideration, for your own consciences, for your own judgment. You are bound, if you feel a doubt—a reasonable doubt—to give the prisoner the benefit of it. Such is the principle of the law, such the protection afforded to every man. I will now leave the case in your hands.' "

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Author: "The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors:

from 1057 to 1773," 2nd Edition, with "Addenda," 2 vols. By the Marquis of Kildare.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 40.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: their "Report and Communications," No. 14, completing Second Volume.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal" for September, 1863.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for May, June, July, August, September and October, 1864.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1105-1130, inclusive.

By R. Malcomson, Esq. Hon. Local Secretary, Carlow: a large and valuable collection of coins and antiquities, comprising the following articles:—Seven bronze celts, of which four were plain, two with stop-ridge and side-flanges, and one socketed, and with side-loop, all of which he had purchased from dealers in old metal in that county—several of these objects were of rare type; two flint arrow-heads, from the Antrim coast—a curious bronze boat-shaped vessel, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, with a bronze spoon, five inches in length—the former being for the purpose of holding incense, the accompanying spoon being used to place the necessary portion on the thurible, both the "navicula" and spoon were devoid of ornament, but the former was very classical in shape—they were probably of foreign make, and of considerable antiquity, and they were purchased by a watchmaker from a man who stated that he found them in the Queen's County, not far from Carlow, but would give no further information about them; an unpublished token, struck in 1667, by William Joy, of Waterford, of which city that person was sheriff in 1670; a silver groat of Edward IV., found at Staples-town, county of Carlow; another groat of the same type; one also of Henry VIII., half face; and a rudely-struck Spanish dollar.

By Mr. Malcomson, on behalf of Mr. Alexander John Humfrey, Ardristan: a finely-polished stone celt; and of Harman H. Cooper, Esq.: four silver coins, found at Shrute Castle, consisting of a penny of one of the early Edwards, a groat of Philip and Mary, and two groats of Elizabeth.

By the Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory, on the part of the Dean and Chapter of St. Canice, the following antiquities, recently found in St. Canice's Cathedral, in the course of removing the modern fittings of the choir, and opening the arches: three iron keys, one 8 inches long, the second $4\frac{1}{2}$, and the third $4\frac{1}{2}$, the bows of all formed alike, but the wards of various patterns; a very small clay tobacco pipe, about the age of Charles II.; an iron stamp, bearing the figure 1, and a number of encaustic flooring-tiles, one of which had the pattern inlaid in white clay.

Mr. Graves observed that the largest of the keys at all events

was as old as the fourteenth century, as it was found near the bottom of a wall which had been erected about the year 1360, across the arch in the north wall of the choir.

By J. G. Robertson, Esq.: a token struck by Anthony Hall, in Carrickfergus, bearing for a device a town gate, and on the obverse 1d., with the letters A. H. Mr. Robertson also exhibited four flint arrow-heads, and a curious French jetton.

By Mrs. Wade, St. Canice's Cottage, through the Dean of Ossory: a penny of one of the early Edwards; Mrs. Wade also exhibited a number of Mexican coins.

By E. B. Taylor, Esq., Gowran: a shilling of Queen Anne.

By Mr. John Dunne, Garryricken: a brass Dutch tobacco box, intrusted to him for the purpose by Mr. Peter Creagh, late of the Killamory Constabulary, but who has since emigrated to Australia, in the possession of whose wife's family the box had long been, but was originally brought from the East Indies. It is curious that it is exactly of the same type as the Dutch tobacco-boxes carried into this country by the troopers of William III., many of which have been brought under the notice of the Society. Mr. Dunne also presented, on the part of Mr. Joseph Lawrence, of Poulacapple, a horn, discovered last summer in a turbary in the Marquis of Ormonde's bog, at Poulacapple, at a depth of fourteen feet below the surface. The length of the horn now presented was six inches.

The Rev. James Graves said that the finding of the actual horn, if it belonged to the extinct short-horn breed of Ireland, was curious; the skull and core of the horns often occur.

By Mr. Richard Preston, of Kilkenny: a carved stone, found in the walls of a cabin which was undergoing rebuilding, near the Black Abbey. It represented the Virgin and infant Saviour, and had evidently formed part of the side support of an altar tomb of the sixteenth century.

By Mr. H. O'Coulohan, Piltown: a large unfinished distaff-weight, the central orifice marked out for boring, but left unfinished. It was found by a man earthing potatoes in a field adjoining a moat, at Rogerstown, not far from Piltown.

Dr. Long, Arthurstown, sent for exhibition, through the Rev. James Graves, a brass Dutch tobacco box, obtained by him from a poor woman, who said her father or grandfather had been a sailor, and brought it from abroad. The box was covered with emblematic carvings, amongst which seemed to be a representation of the Good Samaritan. The ornamentations are more elaborate than usual on the Dutch boxes which have come under the notice of the Society.

Mr. Graves, with reference to the kitchen midden at Clare Island, Bannow, county of Wexford, the discovery of which by the Rev. John Lymbery had been brought before the last meeting, reported the results of an investigation since made by Mr. Lymbery

and the Rev. Mr. Eden. A trench had been cut through the heap, and a large mass of bones examined, but no implements or ornaments of iron or bronze had been discovered. The fragments of a coarse earthen vessel were found amongst the bones of which principally the deposit was formed. Dr. Boxwell, of Wexford, to whom some of the latter were shown, declared them to be principally the bones of deer, with some of oxen and swine. A horn core of the *Bos longifrons* was amongst the specimens forwarded by Mr. Lymbery, who also sent the fragments of the fictile vessel. It was intimated that a large portion of the refuse heap still remained unexamined.

Mr. Prim laid before the meeting a letter from Mr. F. Spong, Carlow, with reference to the Ardnahue kitchen midden, the particulars of the discovery made in which were brought under notice at the July meeting by Mr. Malcomson. Mr. Spong stated, that with regard to the iron implements and comb exhibited along with the stone implements found at Ardnahue, he did not consider they were antiques. The upper surface of the field in which the deposits were found had been, some sixteen or eighteen years since, formed of earth brought thither by the former tenant of the land, Mr. Henry Fitzmaurice, to level it; and Mr. Fitzmaurice had carted out a large quantity of manure from the Carlow shambles, containing blood, offal, &c. The iron hook and the comb, having been found near the surface were, no doubt, (Mr. Spong considered) brought there in this manure, and therefore had no connexion with the other implements found; nor could they form any criterion as to the age of the kitchen midden. Mr. Prim said that he gave this statement of Mr. Spong's, as it was right that every doubtful point should be elucidated; but he should say from himself that the comb, wherever it had come from, was a veritable antique, and belonged to the primæval period. As Mr. Malcomson was now present, he could, perhaps, afford them further information.

Mr. Malcomson observed that Mr. Shaw, the proprietor of the land, had handed him both the comb and iron hook to lay before the Society, giving him to understand that they had been turned up in connexion with the other antiques, concerning which no question was raised. As to the comb, as Mr. Prim had stated, its antiquity was undoubted, and it could not well have come from the Carlow shambles. The iron hook, Mr. Shaw told him, had been passed through a forge fire by the labourer who turned it up, before it came into his possession, so that, of course, it was not now possible to judge of its original appearance. So far as this hook was concerned, Mr. Spong might be right.

The Rev. John Lymbery reported that the wall which surrounds the ancient church and burial-ground of Bannow having fallen a good deal, it became necessary to put it into thorough re-

pair. Some excavations having been made outside the burial-ground, in a south-westerly direction, not only were the thick slate slabs used in roofing discovered, but also the walls of solid, substantial houses. He saw the squared granite stones, forming the entrance to a house, in process of being removed; and a few yards to the west of the churchyard wall, was discovered a stone, a portion of which had been broken off and lost, but what remained showed a fragmentary inscription as follows:—

. . . . mes. coll. f3
 . . . ence . builded . this
 howse . in . the yeere . of
 owre . lord . 1598 . and
 marion . sinot . his . wife

which may be read: “[Ja]mes Collin fitz [Lawr]ence builded this howse in the yeere of owre Lord, 1598, and Marion Sinot, his wife.” This stone had been carried away to a farm-house a couple of miles off. It was eighteen inches in breadth. Mr. Lymbery sent an excellent photograph of the stone and inscription, executed by his brother, Captain Lymbery. This discovery was interesting, as showing that houses of considerable pretension were built in the now obliterated town of Bannow so late as the close of the sixteenth century.

Maurice Lenihan, Esq., Limerick, exhibited a most remarkable and important MS., being a book comprising, amongst other curious matters, the entries of the fees received by Dr. Arthure, of Limerick, during his professional career, extending from 1618 to 1660. He was a member of the same family which produced the Rev. Geoffrey Arthure, Treasurer of the Cathedral of Limerick, whose carved monumental inscription has been already illustrated by Mr. Lenihan (see p. 116 *supra*); and evidently was a medical man of much eminence in his day, as was proved by the record of fees received from Archbishop Ussher, Ireton, Fleetwood, the wife of Henry Cromwell, and many other remarkable personages. Mr. Lenihan, at the request of the Members present, promised to lay before the Society, at an early meeting, a paper descriptive of the full contents of this extremely interesting manuscript.

A description of an artificial cave, examined by Edward Tippling, Esq., of Bellurgan Park, Dundalk, was forwarded through the Rev. G. H. Reade, as follows:—

“The cave is situated in the townland of Bellurgan, parish of Ballymascanlan, and barony of Lower Dundalk, county of Louth. It is altogether artificial, situated in a bank over the river; and there seems to have been almost a town of such constructions within a circuit of half a mile. There is also a large cromleac close at hand. One of the flags covering the

cave appearing bare of mould, it was taken up, when a passage was found, about four feet high, and three wide, inclining downwards in a direction parallel to the slope of the bank. After twenty-three feet it turns at a right angle to the left, or towards the river; and, continuing thirteen feet six inches further, terminates, apparently built up square; but in the floor was seen a square hole, descending which, we find at a level about three feet lower, a continuation nineteen feet long, and in the same direction, which finally terminates in a circular space or chamber, both wider and higher than the passage leading to it. The cave is constructed throughout of water-worn boulders from two cwts. downwards, evidently taken from the bed of the adjacent river, covered with large coarse flags, some projecting on each side, supporting a third on top, others reaching over all, but no attempt at an arch. In the end wall, over the hole, was an orifice nine inches square, from which a narrow flue, neatly built, having the roof stones of the cave below for its floor, led straight out to the surface of the bank. Having by measurement ascertained the position of its outer end, we dug for and opened it; we could then see through it, and found it half filled with dry limestone gravel, apparently on purpose. The cave appears to have been first dug out, then built and roofed, and the gravel returned. The floor is the natural 'till,' and seemed undisturbed except in the terminal chambers and at the angle, which evidently were turned to the depth of a foot by some previous discoverer. The mould about the entrance was black and fine, and showed traces evidently of fires having been made there. By digging I found the cave had formerly extended further in an opposite direction, but had been opened, and the stones forming it levelled in. We found several pieces of bone in the mould around—two, like human hand or foot bones, were found along with the jawbone of a cow, in the air passage. There was no trace of fire or iron in the cave itself, or of any inscription. If I might venture a conjecture, I would say the cave is of high antiquity—from its small height and the arrangement of the roof, probably Celtic, and that its constructors used it for a hiding place for their property and themselves in time of danger, the air passage supplying them with air when the other end was closed; and that the huts in which they usually lived were situated over it, where the traces of fire are seen in the mould."

The following, accompanied by a drawing and rubbings, was received from Thomas O'Gorman, Esq. :—

"I beg leave to bring under your notice the existence of what is probably an Ogham inscription at Castlederg, county of Tyrone. On the side of a hill overlooking the town of Castlederg, and between a quarter and half a mile distant from it, stand the remains of one of those relics of remote antiquity now generally known as Cromleacs, which, from what I am about to lay before you, may possibly be worthy of the attention of archaeologists.

"A few years ago this relic was perfect, and is said to have formed a very prominent object in the landscape, being, from its great height¹ and size, plainly seen from the town; but it is now, I am sorry to say, no longer seen from any distance, having been about two years since wantonly

¹ "Lewis's Topographical Dictionary" notes it as twelve feet high.

overturned by some barbarian, who first loosened the supporting or upright stones, next the slope of the hill, and then with levers forced the ponderous covering stone over on them. They gave way, and all sunk together to the ground; and a relic which had defied time and its accompanying accidents for many thousand years became in a moment a shapeless ruin.

"When the covering stone was displaced, the top of one of the undisturbed supporting stones on which it had rested so long became exposed to view, and it is to this particular stone I beg to call your attention. It formed of itself one end of the grave or chamber, and along the edge of the flat or horizontal face of it are a number of scores distinctly, and in some parts deeply cut. It immediately struck me, when looking at them a short a short time since, that these scores might possibly form an Ogham inscription, and if so be valuable, as tending to throw some certain light on the origin or uses of such monuments. I accordingly took a rubbing of them, and attempted a sketch of the stone on which they are, both of which I herewith beg to submit to you.

"It is to be remarked that not one of the scores is on the upright portion of the stone; all are on the flat part; neither is there any appearance of a medial line or 'fleaag;' the lines on the rubbing marked with a (?) appear to me as if they had been cut originally, and afterwards obliterated.

"I could learn nothing of this monument further than that a gentleman resident in the neighbourhood told me these scores were in existence when he was a child, and the structure complete; being on the sunny side of the hill, children used it as a play-house, and he then often saw them. The peasantry of the place know nothing about it; they are aware of the 'big stones' being there, but that is all. Of one thing I am sure, the scores are not natural marks on the stone—they were made by the hand of man—but whether they are Oghams or not, I leave to you, who are so well versed in such matters, to say."

The Rev. James Graves said, that, having submitted the rubbing forwarded by Mr. O'Gorman to Dean Graves, he had received a reply, stating that it was not sufficiently perfect to enable him to say decidedly whether it was an Ogham or not. Dean Graves stated that he did not know of any instance of the existence of an Ogham on the supporting or other stone connected with a cromleac, and suggested that a cast should be taken; as, if this were really an Ogham, it was a most important discovery.

The Rev. James Graves called attention to some ancient monumental sculptures still extant at Kells, in the county of Kilkenny. That the cloisters, graveyard, and church of that priory were formerly rich in sculptured memorials of the dead there could be little doubt; but these had for the most part perished. He was not aware of the existence there of more than five ancient monuments; and of these, one which he remembered to have seen complete, though broken into three parts, had since been rendered more imperfect by the loss of one of the fragments. This slab was coffin-shaped, bevelled on the edges, and bore a graceful floriated cross

of the Edwardian period, carved in relief. Its inscription, when first seen by him, was even then in part illegible; its letters were incised on the limestone, by the side of the stem of the cross, in Lombardic capitals, and read as follows:—

✚ hīc : īacet : Rīcārdus : comērford :
 ONDAM : PRIOR EXSTITIT ISTIUS DOMI :

which might be completed as follows:—

✚ hīc : īacet : Rīcārdus : comērford : [QUI
 ISTIUS : CONVENCUS : QJONDAM : PRIOR : EXITIT.

“Here lies Richard Comerford, who was formerly Prior of this convent.” The name of Comerford is found amongst those of the earliest Anglo-Norman settlers in the county of Kilkenny, and the Comerfords held the lands of Danganmore, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kells, down to the middle of the last century, when the property passed, through the female line, into the family of Langton (see Mr. Prim’s *Memoirs of the Langton Family*, p. 81, *supra*). That one of the Comerfords became Prior of Kells has not been before noticed;¹ and as the portion of the stone bearing the name was now lost, it was the more important that the copy of the inscription made by him (Mr. Graves) in November, 1840, should now be placed on record in the pages of their “Journal.” The remaining fragments of this slab were still to be seen in the graveyard of the Priory; and their date might be assigned to the commencement of the fourteenth century.

In the choir of the Priory Church, modernly built up in the north wall, was a monumental slab, exhibiting a portion of an incised cross, of a somewhat earlier date than Prior Comerford’s tomb: along its edge was deeply incised in Lombardic capitals the singular inscription:—

✚ hīc : īacet : Wīllielmvs : pīūvs : HUGONIS : CLERICI . . .

But the choir (now degraded into a common ball alley) contained a much more interesting slab, and one most probably of an earlier date. It was coffin-shaped, bevelled on the edge, and bore a rich floriated cross, cut in relief; and what rendered it still more interesting was the example it gave of the graceful shield of the period, charged with three chevrons. This slab measured six feet four inches. Unfortunately, there is no inscription to tell the name of the deceased, and as it was impossible to recover the tinctures, we cannot say whether the tomb was carved in commemoration of some member of the great family of De Clare, at this period lords of Kilkenny, who bore “or three chevrons gules;” or whether it must be assigned, which

¹ Archdall “*Monast. Hibn.*” p. 362, &c., mentions the acts of several priors of

this period, but does not give their names.

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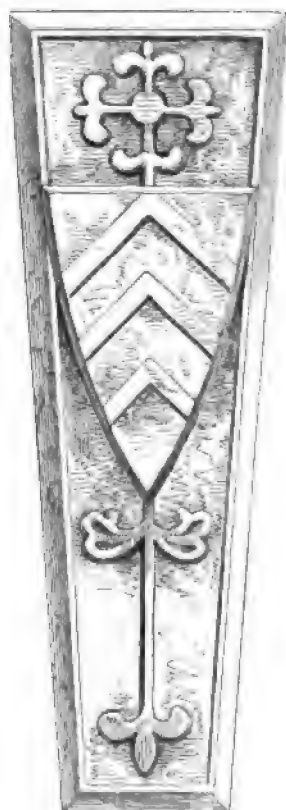


Fig. 1.



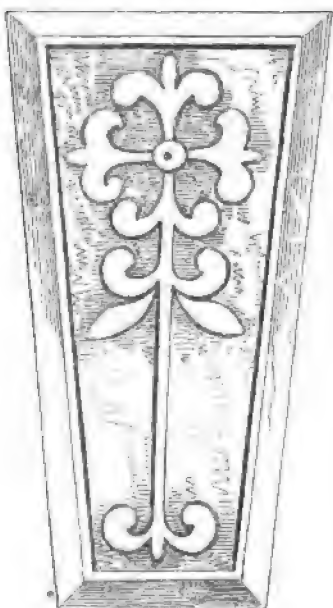
Fig. 2.

perhaps was most likely, to some scion of the knightly family of L'Ercedeckne (now Archdeacon), who held property in Kilkenny from an early period, and bore "argent three chevrons sable." An accurate representation of this interesting slab was given in the Plate facing this page (Fig. 1), from the pencil of his friend G. V. Du Noyer, Esq.

Whilst on the subject of these Edwardian cross slabs, an interesting example of a child's tomb of the period might be noticed. The diminutive slab here engraved was, Mr. Graves said, discovered by Mr. Du Noyer and himself in the spring of 1864, built into a loose wall in the dilapidated nave of the Priory Church. This was only three feet long, and devoid of inscription.

Four of the ancient monumental remains had now been noticed. There remained but one more, and that was, so far as his (Mr. Graves's) experience in such matters extended, unique. It consisted of an immense slab of Kilkenny marble, measuring six feet by four, and of considerable thickness. The surface of the stone was completely devoid of ornament or inscription; but at one end, boldly carved in very high relief, and placed side by side, were two human heads, a male and female. There was so much individuality in the expression of these heads (see the engraving after Mr. Du Noyer's drawing, Fig. 2 in Plate) that it might not be going too far to say that they were portraits—perhaps of some well-to-do burgher of Kells and his dame. The lady had her hair arranged in massive rolls at each side of the face, and confined by a band across the forehead. The hair of the male head fell in wavy locks over the ears, mingling with the flowing beard, and only cut short across the brows. In both cases the peculiarities of hair-arrangement served to assign this very interesting monument to the time of the First Edward, or not long after that period. The labour of reducing the remainder of so large a slab so as to give a relief of nearly four inches to the heads, must have been considerable.

Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan forwarded the following paper, accompanied by well-executed photographs of the antiques therein described:—



"The gold ornament, of which I send a photograph of the size of the original, was found some weeks past by a peasant, in the sands of the River Roe, in the county of Londonderry, and was sold to Mr. Minnece, a respectable silversmith in this city. Mr. Minnece disposed of it to Mr. Reid, a Member of your Society, who has kindly allowed me to have it photographed.

"It is of pure gold, weighing 1 oz. 8 dwts. and 12 grains. An exact fac-simile will be found engraved in Vallancey's 'Collectanea,' and also in Sir William Wilde's Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy (Gold Articles, p. 65). It will be observed that the connecting bow or handle is decorated with longitudinal groovings. These, as Sir William has pointed out, add a special lustre to the metal. It would also appear that this style of ornamenting was generally incised on these articles.

"As to their original use there is considerable difference among our antiquarian authorities, Sir William Betham upholding that they were a species of ring money, while Pococke asserts that they were made to fasten cloaks or other loose garments. This theory Sir William Wilde has adopted, and in his valuable 'Catalogue' has given a woodcut, showing the method by which he supposes these articles were employed as studs or fasteners between the button-holes of the dress. Now, although I hold the antiquarian opinions of Sir William Wilde in great respect, I must confess that in this instance they have failed to convince me. In the first place, these ornaments do not appear adapted for their assigned purpose. Would not two circular discs, connected by a small chain, as in the case of the wrist studs worn by our ancestors, be more suitable than a solid bar of gold, whose very form suggests that it was made to support some pendant article? In the second place, is there any evidence to support the assertion that button-holes were ever inserted in the ample cloaks and loose tunics of the ancient Irish? Would not the almost universal employment of fibulae, brooches, pins, and skewers, as garment-fasteners, incline us to a contrary opinion? Finally, although a row of those studs, as Sir William remarks, would form a very beautiful decoration to the vest or tunic, I have great doubts that they would be a convenient one. The circular discs could not be easily removed out of the button-holes, and their edges must eventually wear or tear the cloth of the garment. My opinion is, that these circular discs were inserted in either leather belts, or in some leathern article of horse gear—the leather, being stitched over the plates, would enable the bar to support either straps, chains, or hooks attached to the scabbard of a sword, or any other ornamental pendants. I should be glad, however, to learn the opinions of some Members of the Society better qualified than I am on the subject.

"Photograph No. 2, is a silver fibula, which I procured from a watchmaker in Omagh, county of Tyrone, who had it from a pedlar, who stated that it was dug up in the neighbourhood. As I am of opinion that it is in the power of every Irishman, no matter how humble his position, to do something towards creating a taste for our national antiquities, on procuring the brooch, I brought it to Mr. Williams, one of our most respectable silversmiths, and asked him could he make fac-similes of it. He replied, that at all event he would try and do so. I am happy to say that he has perfectly succeeded, and that the fibula he has made is an exact

counterpart of the original, and is very handsome. The acus is designed from the bronze Dunbel pin engraved in the "Journal" of your Society.

"It will be readily seen from the photograph that the fibula is essentially Irish in its character,—the bow terminating in two serpent heads, with extended jaws. The interlaced knots at each corner, the raised circular bosses, with radiating lines, all belong to the mystical school of Western art; and I feel no ordinary pleasure in being the means of saving this interesting relic from being broken up as old metal.

Mr. Graves said that the brooch was particularly interesting, as carrying down the Celtic style of ornament to a late epoch. It was evident from the foliated ornaments at the angles, near the flattened penannular ends of the ring, that this brooch must be assigned to the mediæval period. It had probably been manufactured in some Northern district, where English art had not penetrated. Its character was very similar to the metal work of the Celtic race of the Scottish Highlands, amongst whom the fashion prevailed to the present day.

The following paper was submitted to the Members:—

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

BY MR. JOHN HOGAN.

(Continued from Vol. IV., New Series, page 267).

IRELAND in remote times was celebrated for its primæval forests, and, though now so denuded, was nearly covered with trees, where their growth was not forbidden by the nature of the soil or the breezes of the sea¹. The cutting down of those ancient woods is duly chronicled as a deed of fame in the Irish Annals, whence may be inferred its importance to social progress; and as the land first cleared and converted into fields would necessarily be the fertile plains, protected by mountain ridges and irrigated by mountain streamlets, so in every part of Ireland the low and sheltered districts, enclosed by mountain boundaries, are the first scenes of historic life, many of them preserving to the present day, as their pro-

¹ "Ireland was called *Inis Fiodhbhadh*, the Woody Isle, because it abounded with woods." "*Ogygia*," *Pars I.*, p. 27; Keating's "*History of Ireland*," vol. 1, p. 63, Duffy's edition, 1844. See

also a highly interesting and beautifully written paper on the "*Woods and Fastnesses of Ancient Leinster*," by H. F. Hore, Esq., "*Journal*," vol. i., p. 229, *et seq.*, new series.

per denominations, the names originally derived from the patriarchs who first cleared them of their wood, rendered their soil fit for tillage and pasture, and established amongst their colonists the elementary forms of social and civil usages. In the present paper we propose to identify the situation, the extent, and the boundaries of the ancient tribe lands of the county of Kilkenny, for the illustration of which the accompanying diagram has been constructed, by reducing to a scale of one half the Ordnance Index Map of this county. The contoured lines indicate the various levels by which the plains respectively graduate to the summits of the hills. The hilly regions, being the last part of the island denuded of their ancient vegetation, remained for many centuries impervious fastnesses, and were invariably adopted by the early chieftains as the common boundaries of their respective possessions. It was so in the political subdivisions of ancient Osraigh, as will be at once observed by a glance at our lithographed illustration, on which the tribes are seen seated, enclosed beneath the shade of these lofty ridges, or lying around the base of their external slopes. We shall first briefly sketch the geographical outlines, and endeavour to ascertain the Celtic denominations of those mountain boundaries as a preliminary to our short historical survey of these primitive tribe lands, each of which we shall be able to identify as the seat of some sept of the Osraigh family.

The ground plan of the mountain tracts, which formed so many lines of demarcation between the domestic estates of the original tribes, may be described as entering the north of the present county of Kilkenny in two parallel ridges, which mutually diverge as they descend towards the south, thus forming the expansive country described by O'Heerin as "The fair wide plain of the Nore." These two ridges were respectively denominated "Sliabh Margy" and "Cuil Caisine;" they are now better known as the Johnswell mountains and the Coolcashin hills. The former rises in the barony of Sliabh Margy, near Athy, and runs thence to near the town of Gowran, in Kilkenny, separating thus far the territory Osraigh from the plain of Leinster. The latter runs from Upper Ossory down to Clomanta Church, and formed the common boundary of Ui-Duach or O'Dagh, and the territory designated in the Irish Annals as "Liath Osraigh"—i. e., Half Osraigh. "The fair wide plain

¹ "Liath Osraigh" consisted of Magh Airbh and Magh Sedna, the positions of which are indicated on the accompanying map, and of the baronies of Clarmallagh, Clandonagh, and Upperwoods, in the Queen's County. It was a sub-denomination of the kingdom of Osraigh, and a lordship of a collateral branch of the MacGillaphadraig family for some period previous to the English invasion.

In the reign of Philip and Mary, when the present Queen's County was being constructed, the part of "Liath Osraigh" situated within that county was erected into the barony of "Upper Ossory," which title it retained down to 1840, when the name was ignored by the Ordnance Survey, and the present baronies of Clarmallagh, Clandonagh, and Upperwoods formed out of it.

of the Nore" is bounded on the south by two transverse ridges, which branch out respectively from Sliabhmagy and Sliabhardagh, and mutually converge till they confront each other from the opposite banks of the Nore, about three miles above Kilkenny. These two groups of hills are known as "Drumdeilgy" and "Drumherin." The configuration of Drumdeilgy may be described as that of an irregular triangle, having its base presented to Sliabhardagh, and extending from the ruins of Kildrinagh Church, near the Chapel of Grane, to Knocknacorrige, or Ballykeeffe Hill, near Kilmanagh, from which two points its lateral lines converge till they meet at Thornback Church, on the brow of the River Nore. In the centre of this triangle are situated the spacious basin and ancient churchyard of Ballinamara, or the "Town of the dead." The Drumherin ridge is in great part separated from Sliabhmagy by the ravine known as the Glen of Ballyfoyle, anciently *Bealach-Fele*.¹ Entering this fine glen from the plain of Claragh, we are conducted amidst its lovely scenery and enchanting associations² to a less imposing but really picturesque valley, in the bottom of which gently ripples the mountain stream called the Duibhglaise, or Black River, following the curvings of this rivulet (which hence is conterminous with the northern boundary of the barony of Gowran) through vales of refreshing verdure to its junction with the Dinan, and thence to the confluence of the latter with the Nore we have described the eastern and northern confines of the Drumherin ridge, which corresponds in local arrangement with the high grounds of Drumdeilgy on the opposite side of the river. These two ridges separate the upper from the lower valley of the Nore; their southern aspect presents an almost unbroken line, stretching east and west from the mountains of Sliabhmagy, with which it forms a right angle, to *Knocknacorrige*, or Ballykeeffe Hill. This natural rampart formed the northern boundary of the ancient territory of "Laighin deas Gabhair."

We now descend from the upper to the lower valley of the Nore through the mountain pass called *Bearna Glassanagh*, and here we find ourselves in one of the finest plains in the south of Ireland. This expansive tract extends from the ridge of hills last described as the southern face of Drumdeilgy and Drumherin, to the northern aspect of a more extensive mountain tract in the south, which runs in a transverse line from Ballyhale to Killamery. This magnificent plain is completely surrounded by hills, except in the east, where *Bealach Gabhran* opens into Leinster; and in the west, where *Bealach Urluidhe* forms an aperture into Munster. *Bealach Gabhran*

¹ *Bealach Fele*, the original form of Ballyfoyle, was the site of the church of St. Mobrigue, now called "Kilmogue." See "Journal," vol. iii., p. 376, New Series. In the "Martyrology of Donegal," at 15th January, we find the feast

of "St. Breacc Fele, of *Bealach Fele*." This saint's name is not now found identified with any locality about Ballyfoyle.

² See Banim's "Crohoire of the Billhook."

is formed by the southern declivity of Sliabhmargy, at Freestone Hill, and extends thence to about four miles below the town of Gowran, where very abruptly rises a *fasciculus* or bundle of hills piled pyramidically on each other, and culminating to their summit in the lofty peak of Brandon, the highest ground in this county. This region of hills was formerly denominated "Sliabh-na-Caithle," which would be Anglicised Sliev Cahil. The name is still preserved in the neighbouring parish of Kilmocahil, i. e. the Church of my Cahil. These hills are now best recognised under the names of "Coppengagh" and "Brandon." The River Nore curves round the base of this lofty region from Thomastown to New Ross; and on the opposite side of the river rises an arid ridge, having, however, its rugged and naked outlines frequently relieved by rich pasture lands and picturesque plantations. This range of hills may be best described as running south from Inistiogue to Waterford. In the south of this ridge is situated that high and well-known peak called Tory Hill, its Celtic denomination being "Sliabh Grian." The word Sliabh is an Irish term, not applied to an isolated eminence, but is the proper denomination of a mountain. An isolated eminence like Tory Hill is usually denominated "Knock;" hence I consider it more than probable that "Sliabh Grian" was the ancient name of the entire mountain ridge which stretches from Inistiogue to Waterford. In the south of the county of Kilkenny the Sliabh Grian ridge unites with another and a more celebrated hilly region, called "Dromderg," or the red ridge; and apparently so called from the prevalence of the Old Red Sandstone in its formation. Sliabh Grian and Dromderg are separated from each other by a remarkable ravine called "Bealach-Ele." A townland in this gap, near the mountain hamlet of Coolmeen, still retains the name of *Ballach*, and the well-known town of Ballyhale¹ preserves the ancient term. The Sliabh Grian and Dromderg mountains are now best known as Poble Brennach, or the Welsh Mountains, and are so called from this entire region having been peopled very early in the Anglo-Irish period of our history by colonists from Wales.

The Dromderg ridge we have already described, as presenting its northern aspect to the great internal plain of Osraigh, and running in a transverse line east and west from Ballyhale to Killamery, where it enters Tipperary, and is continued in the Sliabh-na-man mountain; and about four miles north of Killamery rise the high grounds of "Sliabhardagh;" and in this opening between Dromderg and Sliabhardagh are situated "Mullach Inneona" and "Bealach

¹ For some account of the ancient Bealach Ele, and the present town of Ballyhale, see "Journal," vol. iii., p. 375, *et seq.* with note 1.

² In the "Journal" of the Society,

vol. iii., p. 375, I stated, on the authority of Keating's "History of Ireland," that the two districts anciently called "Mullach Inneona" and "Bailli Urluidhe" are now represented by the two localities of

Urluidhe", the former so called from the expulsion of the Ossorians out of Munster, and the latter from the irresistible blows by

Mullinahone and Earlstown. To the claims of these two localities to so honorable an origin, Mr. John Dunn, of Garryricken, entered a demurrer, from which ensued a lengthened discussion in the "Kilkenny Moderator." I do not intend to renew the controversy here; but as the points in dispute are connected with an important epoch in the ancient history of Ossory, it will be necessary to submit the evidence which support the title deeds of these two now unassuming hamlets to an ancient historical distinction. I shall in the first place confine my observations to "Mullach Inneona," and next allude to "Bailli Urluidhe."

Keating writes, "Inneona is as much as to say a violent expulsion;" and he further adds, that the place derived that name from the circumstance of its having been the scene of an engagement, from which resulted the retreat of the Ossorians out of Munster. He does not say where this "Inneona" was situated; but he refers to it as "being known by the same name to this day." However, Shane More O'Dugan, a distinguished topographer, leaves no doubt respecting the precise situation of "Inneona." This O'Dugan was so highly esteemed by the "Four Masters" as an authority on Irish topography, that at the year 1372, when recording his obit, they render to his memory the following distinguished tribute:—

"Shane More O'Dugan, chief bard and historiographer of Hy-Many, died after the victory of Extreme Uinction and penance at Rinn Duin among the monks of St. John the Baptist."

The portion of O'Dugan's compilations relating to Ossory was translated from the Irish by the late Dr. O'Donovan, and published in the "Transactions" of the Society for the year 1850, from which I make the following extract:—

"From Mullach Inneona the hospitable is Ossory's part of the land of Gallian [Leinster].
• • • • Eastwards to Leith-Ghlinn."

In plainer terms this passage reads thus:—"From Mullach Inneona" on the west to "Leithghlinn," i.e., Old Leighlin, in the east, is the part of Leinster that belongs to Ossory. Hence it will at once appear that the present town of Mullina-

hone as necessarily represents the ancient "Mullach Inneona," as the town of Old Leighlin does that of Leith-Ghlinn. To this conclusion it is objected that *Mullach* implies a height or eminence; that Mullinahone is situated in a valley, and that therefore the Irish form of the word should be "Mulline-Iona," which Mr. John Dunn translates the Mill of St. John. Dr. O'Donovan, however differs from Mr. Dunn both as regards the form and etymology of the word. In the "Ordnance Memoirs," he gives its form as "Muilleann-na-h-Uainan," which he translates "The Mill of the Cave or Grot." That this is the true translation of the word will not be questioned; but that "Muilleann-na-h-Uainan" was the ancient form of the word Mullinahone does not appear satisfactorily established. As already stated, O'Donovan translated O'Dugan's works from the Irish language; and this translation of his is a higher authority on the point at issue than any observations incidentally noted down in what is called the "Ordnance Memoirs," which consist of casual notices, penned during his journey through the country whilst engaged on the Ordnance Survey; and for this reason, that in his translation he is simply transcribing a document, and reproducing the terms compiled five hundred years previously by the most distinguished historiographer of his age, and at a period when the names of places and things were as yet unmodified by the prevalence of an English idiom; and in this translation O'Donovan renders the name of the town or locality referred to by O'Dugan as the western landmark of Ossory, not "Muilleann-na-h-Uainan," but "Mullach Inneona;" and therefore the latter, not the former, is the real Celtic name of the locality. In a note on the word "Mullach Inneona," in O'Dugan's poem, the translator writes in the margin, "Mullach Inneona is now Mullachnanny, a townland in the parish of Newchapel, near the town of Clonmel." But this was written by O'Donovan without once adverting to the fact that it makes nonsense of the context of the passage; for the width of Ossory cannot be described as extending from the town of Old Leighlin to that of Clonmel.

Three localities in Ireland were an-

which they were vanquished. The Sliabhardagh mountain runs northwards from Killaloe, near Callan, to Kilcooly, and forms thus

ciently known as "Inneona," or Indeona; and the precise position of each we are enabled to identify. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D., 1155, an army was led by Muirhearteach, son of Niall, to Ath-Duine-Calman on the *Inneoin*. This Inneona was the name of the river that divides the barony of Kilkenny West from that of Rathconrath, in the county of Westmeath. At the year 852 we read—"Maelseachlainn, King of Ireland, proceeded into Munster until he arrived at Indeoin-na-n-Deisi," or, as it is rendered from the "Annals of Ulster," at the year 853, "until he arrived at *Indeoin of the Deicies*." This is the Inneona to which O'Donovan erroneously refers as being situated on the confines of Ossory. It is near Clonmel, and is locally called Mullachnanny. It will be observed that the Annalists, when referring to Inneona in Westmeath, point out its situation by mentioning Ath-Duin-Calman, a town which stood on it; and in the latter case they add "Na-n-Deisi," to "Inneona," in contradistinction to another "Inneona" situated in Munster also, to which they refer twenty-one years later:—"A.D. 876. A victory was gained by Cearbhall, son of Dunghal [King of Ossory], and by the Deisi, over the men of Munster at Inneoin." This is Inneona proper, and therefore the Annalists do not add any word to indicate its situation—the place being, as Keating writes about the same period, "well known by that name to this day." This Inneona is now represented by Mullinahone, which stands on the confines of Munster, Deisi, and Ossory. In the "Book of Rights," the King of Cashel is said to hold a royal mansion or fort at "Inneona;" but this could not be at Inneona na-n-Deisi, nor at Inneona in Westmeath, both of which were situated in the centres of other kings' dominions, with whom the King of Munster was frequently in open hostility; but a fort or *castellum* placed at the present town of Mullinahone would be admirably situated on the borders of the kingdom, to hold command over the great passway under the hills of Killamery from Ossory into Munster and Deisi. This is the "Mullach Inneona" of O'Dugan, which he distinguishes from that in "na-n-Deisi" by the affix "hospitable,"

an honourable distinction, and one, according to public reputation, to which the people of Mullinahone are entitled at the present day.

In the "Annals of the Four Masters," and in the "Book of Rights," there is no prefix of *Mullach*, or *Muilleann*, to the word "Inneona;" and Keating, as quoted above, writes, that "Inneona [without any prefix] is as much as to say a violent expulsion." Hence it would appear that neither Mullach nor Muilleann forms any integral part of the term, but is a comparatively modern prefix, derived from some topographical circumstance connected with the locality. It is more than probable that at whatever period a mill was first erected there, it would be called from the district "Muilleann Inneona," i.e., the Mill of Inneona, and in course of time would be adopted as the recognised title of the place; and hence would come Mullinahone; while some eminence in the same neighbourhood would be called Mullach Inneona, or the Height of Inneona. Inneona being the name of the district from which both the hill and the mill would derive their denominations. In Keating's History, and O'Dugan's Topography, the prefix is "Mullach." The popular pronunciation is Mullin, or Muilleann; but which of these may have been the original form of the prefix can in no way affect that which I now hold to be fairly established, namely, that the present town of Mullinahone is situated within and preserves the name of the ancient "Inneona," to which O'Dugan refers as his landmark of the western borders of Ossory. That this was the "Inneona" referred to by Keating is obvious from the circumstance of its local position, in the open country, through which the Ossorians must have retreated from Feimhin. But a battle fought at "Inneona," near Clonmel, or at a river of that name in Westmeath, could not be said to have caused this retreat; and therefore could not derive their names from the expulsion of the Ossorians out of Feimhin. See an illustration of O'Dugan's poem, in "Transactions," vol. iv., p. 266.

Bailli Urluidhe, or Erleytown.—On the map prefixed to this paper the great opening, or Bealach, lying between the hills of Sliabhardagh and Dromderg,

far the common boundary between the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. An isolated eminence of this ridge, near Kilcooly, still retains the name of "Grean Hill;" but Keating describes Grean as the common boundary between the Dioceses of Cashel and Ossory, which obviously refers to the entire mountain, the top of which constitutes the dividing boundary of these two dioceses, and not to an isolated mound, which retains only the name which must originally have been that of the whole ridge which separates the two valleys of the Munster and King's Rivers. The eastern face of Sliabh-ardagh slopes down into one of the most fruitful vales in this county, and which separates that ridge from the Drumdeilgy hills already described. This picturesque valley opens near Kildrinagh Church, in a narrow ravine, and thence widens into a spacious lawn at Tullaroan and Ballybeigh, and again its slopes converge near Kilmanagh, where it is called "Ballach-Cloneen," which would be translated the "Pass of the Little Plain"—a term graphically descriptive of this sheltered glen, with its varied scenes and pastoral slopes. In the bottom of this valley are collected the streamlets which, flowing down its slopes in various rivulets, unite near the old church of Tullaroan, and ultimately expand into the more important stream known as the King's River. Before the slopes of this mountain passway had been cleared of their immemorial woods, the valley

and through which the Ossorians were expelled from Munster in the fifth century, is denominated "Bealach Urluidhe." The word "*Urluidhe*," according to Keating, implies the irresistible blows by which the Ossorians were vanquished. In the words "*Urluidhe*," "*Lamruadhe*," "*Ciarriadhe*," "*Osraidhe*," and in innumerable others in the Irish language of similar terminations, the "dh" is silent or aspirated; leaving the pronunciation of *Ciarriadhe*, Kerry; *Lamruadhe*, Lamery; *Osraidhe*, Ossory; and *Urluidhe*, Urley or Erley. The last, when Anglicised in conjunction with the translation of its prefix, *bailli* or *bally*, would literally be the town of Erley (or *Urluidhe*); whence was derived Erleytown, now Earlstown, the name of a small parish on the King's River, between Kells and Callan. Mr. John Dunn, of Garryricken, in a letter to the "*Kilkenny Moderator*," February, 1863, unwilling to allow the title of this district the honour of an Irish origin, contends that the word Erleytown came originally from an individual styled John de Erley, who resided there about the middle of the fourteenth century; and he further argues that Erleytown was subsequently

Hibernicised *Bailli Urluidhe* (or, *Bailli Jarluidhe*, its equivalent), and thus originated Erleytown and *Bailli Urluidhe*; to all which I reply, that Keating distinctly asserts that at the period of the expulsion of the Ossorians out of Feimhin, a certain place was called "*Urluidhe*," from the irresistible blows of the valiant men of Munster by whom they were routed, and that the same place continued to be called *Bailli Urluidhe* to his own time; whence I hold that John derived his title of *Urluidhe*, or Erley, from this historic locality, and not it from him. By this word *Urluidhe*, or Erley, was originally implied a district or tract of country, not a hamlet or town. This is directly to be inferred from the word "*Bailli Urluidhe*," which implies the town of the district of that name. *Bally Gabhran* is the town of Gabhran, and is but the Anglicised form of *Bealach Gabhran*, or the Pass of Gabhran. *Bealach-ath-Ragget* is Anglicised *Ballyragget*; *Bealach Ele* is now *Ballyhale*; and so *Bailli Urluidhe* is but the modified form of *Bealach Urluidhe*, the name of the ancient pass from Munster into Ossory. John, the knight who held three-quarters of one knight's

just described must have formed the road of communication between the plains of Magh Raighne and Magh Airbh; or, as we would now describe them, the two baronies of Callan and Kells, and the flat districts of Urlingford and Grean.

Having thus briefly sketched the outlines of the mountainous districts in the county of Kilkenny as far as is necessary for the object of this essay, we have now to present a short historical survey of the ancient tribe lands which lay between them and around the base of their external slopes, premising at the outset that my design does not here contemplate more than is required for the illustration of the ancient topography of the vicinity of the city of Kilkenny; and therefore it will suffice for my purpose to identify the situations and titles of the inferior clan tracts of the county.

The kingdom of Osraigh comprised three ancient provinces, whose denominations were older than the title of Osraigh itself. So early as A. M. 3817 we find mention of the two great plains already described as the Upper and the Lower Valleys of the Nore. About seven centuries later, when Eugene Mor was monarch of Ireland, these districts are again referred to, as also the great plain outside of the Coolcashin hills, under the names of Airged-Ros, Raighne, and Airbh. After the establishment of the kingdom of Osraigh in the first century, these territories retained their primitive names; but from various social and political causes they now assume many

fee in Erleytown, erected here his manorial residence; and it was then for the first time called the Newtown of Urluidhe, i. e., Newtown de Erley, in contradistinction to Bailli Urluidhe, or the old town of Erley ("Rot. Pat.," 29 Ed. III., 147). There are good grounds for asserting that Ballytobin occupies the site of the ancient Bailli Urluidhe. But Newtown de Erley could not have derived its name from John, the knight. As far as I am aware, there is no family named de Erley in the list of the Anglo-Norman invaders of Ireland; and more than a century before the time of this John de Erley a charter was granted by William Fitzgeoffry de Marisco to the burghers of Kells, enabling them to cut wood for the construction of their houses within the boundary of the *lands of John de Erlega* ("Charta, Statuta, &c.") It will be observed here that by aspirating the *g* in the word *Erlega* you have *Erlea*, synonymous with *Erley*, the Anglicised form of *Urluidhe*; and hence this passage reads thus:—"The burghers of Kells are granted to cut wood within the lands of John of Erley, or *Urluidhe*." What the family name of this John may have been

we are not informed. John de Hothum de Boudeby, who appears (from a Close Roll, 49 Edward III., 32) to have been Chancellor of Ireland, held the fee of *Urley in capite*, from the King, in the reign of Edward III. He was the then Lord of the Liberty of Kilkenny. But John, the knight, who, Mr. Dunn asserts, gave his name to the place, only held under de Hothum three-quarters of one knight's fee in Erley or Erleytown, for certain feudal attendance then called "knight's service" (see "Rot. Pat.," 29 Ed. III., 147.) By an inquisition taken at the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, April 5, 1638 (No. 97), John Sweetman, who died 3rd May, 1605, was found seized at the time of his death of the manor of Erley, *alias* Erleytown. It is most probable that this Sweetman was the descendant of John of Erley, the first English proprietor, who held possession of those lands in the time of King John; but whether this be so or otherwise, it is beyond doubt that the original English settler assumed, according to the then custom, the name of the estate as his own title, and was therefore called John de Erley, i. e. John of Erley or *Urluidhe*.

sub-denominations, as they are respectively occupied by one or other of the septs or clans who so often supplanted or succeeded each other in the same district; hence it will be observed that on the map which accompanies this paper the same tribe land is frequently recognised by more than one denomination. We shall now rapidly traverse the inferior clann tracts situated on the borders of the territory, and then enter the interior of the kingdom the history of which forms the immediate object of the present inquiry.

UI-BEARRCHON.—In this territory our topographer includes the country between the eastern slopes of the Sliabh Grian hills and the River Barrow, and stretching along that river from the southern base of Brandon Hill to “Comar-na-tri-uisc,” or, the valley of the three rivers, now Waterford Harbour. Rosbercon preserves the ancient name to the present day. O’Heerin thus refers to this tribe land and its toparch.

“Ui-Bearrchon of the yellow mantle—
King of that territory is O’Caelluidhe,
Plain of a tribe who return heavily,
The land over the bright flowing Bearbha.”

The territory here denominated Ui-Bearrchon includes the equally old barony of Ui-Deagh or Ida. It is to be observed here that the prefix “Ui” (sometimes “I,” “Hy,” and “O”) is to be accepted as the sign of the genitive case in the word with which it is compounded, the word land or country being understood. Hence Ui-Bearrchon implies the country of Bearrchon, most probably the Celtic form of the present family name Bergin. The O’Bearrchons were seated about the confluence of the Nore with the Barrow, and their country included the present parishes of the Roer and Rosbercon. The latter word is derived from the name of that ancient sept. Ui-Deagh or Ida (whence O’Dea) implies O’Dea’s country. It lay between the Sliabh Grian hills and the River Barrow. The O’Deas were seated on both sides of the river; but their principal or manorial mansion was in Ui-Deagh. It stood in the parish of Kilcolumb, and on the meres of the townlands of Scartnamoe and Carriganurra. The present barony of Ida takes its name from the ancient Ui-Deagh or country of Dea. Between Ui-Deagh on the Barrow and Ui-Eirc on the Suir lay another very ancient tribe land not noticed by O’Heerin—viz., “Ui-Grine,” which was separated from Ui-Deagh by the Sliabh Grian hills, which bound it on the east, to Sliabh-ruidhe (Sliev-rue) whence to the mouth of the Blackwater the River Suir forms its southern boundary. A grand view of this district is presented to an observer from the old Waterford road, about half a mile below the Kilmacow station-house. Ui-Grian means the country of Grian or Grean. Gaulskil, or Bishop’s Hall, marks the head-quarters of this territory in modern times.

UI-EIRC.—This district is situate along the north bank of the River Suir, between the Blackwater River and Carrick-on-Suir, lying under the southern declivities of the Welsh Mountains. It is described as

“A sandy territory of heavy floods;”

and its chieftain is denominated—

“King of Ui-Eirc of slender steeds
Is O’Bruadair, scion of the Flood [the Suir.]”

The name O’Bruadair is now Anglicised Brodie and Broderick; and Ui-Eirc is now Iverk, the name of that barony.

MAGH MAIL.—A traveller by the Irish South-Eastern Railway will observe as he passes the Gowran station an expansive tract of country opening to his view in a south-easterly direction. This district may be described as lying between the River Barrow and the eastern declivities of the Coppenagh hills, and comprising the parishes of Graguenamanagh, Powerstown, Ullard, Grangesilvia, Kilmacahil, and Shankill. This territory did not form part of the ancient Kingdom of Osraigh, nor to the present day does it belong to the diocese of that name. It is granted that the ancient kingdom was conterminous with the present diocese; and as these six parishes do not belong to the diocese, it will follow that they were not annexed to Osraigh at the period of the erection of that principality into an ecclesiastical province or diocese. These six parishes now form part of the diocese of Leighlin, part of which represents a section of the ancient principality of Ui-Ceinnseallach; hence the country now denominated “Magh Mail” formed that part of Hy Kinsella which lay at the west side of the River Barrow.

The annexation of this country to Osraigh dates so far back as the year 972, at which date we find the following entry in the “Annals of the Four Masters:”—“The Ui-Ceinnseallach were plundered in Osraighi, when Domhnall the son of Ceallach, Lord of Ui-Ceinnseallach, and many others were slain.” The word “plunder,” in the Irish Annals, implies a raid by one dynast into the territory of another, when the invaders forcibly carried away the cattle, and otherwise measured strength with the local toparch and his retainers; hence the context of the passage just cited is extremely equivocal, as the Ui-Ceinnseallach could not be plundered in Osraigh unless they first invaded that kingdom, in which case, if they were then “plundered,” it would be properly but an expulsion or an “overthrow.” The difficulty of the case is, however, cleared up by our bardic author, to whom we have so frequently to appeal as a guide through the obscure paths of our topographical inquiries.

O'Heerin thus introduces King Donnchadh as holding possession of the plundered estates of Ui-Ceinnseallach :—

" O'Donnchadha of honest aspect
Whose firm hosts possess the fruitful land."

In the next strophe the situation and outlines of this " fruitful land" are thus graphically sketched, and its amenities commemorated by the bard :—

" Near the Bearbha [Barrow] of *fruitful border*
 The king of the district, ye have heard,
 Is the man who is elected over Magh Mail
 The fine O'Donnchadha of Gabhran."

These quotations inform us that the territory situate on the borders of the River Barrow was anciently called " Magh Mail," that Donnchadh held possession of it by " firm hosts," and that the inhabitants ultimately elected him as their king. The words " elected over Magh Mail" import the recognition of Donnchadh's authority by the people of the conquered province; hence the words of the Four Masters, " plundered in Osraigh," imply being plundered in the place then seized on, and subsequently united to Osraigh.

Magh Mail extends southwards from the Gabhran hills, between Copenagh and the River Barrow, to the base of Brandon Hill. This country is the section of Ui-Ceinnseallach frequently referred to in the " Irish Annals" as " Laighin deas Gabhair," because, like Osraigh, it lies south of the Gabhran hills, and was therefore thus denominated after Osraigh or Laighin deas Gabhair proper had been erected into a kingdom. From this event down to the period when it was " plundered" by Donnchadh there is an almost unbroken record of its lords or chiefs; but after its annexation to Osraigh it ceased to be a tribe land of Ui-Ceinnseallach, and no further mention is made of its chieftains. After the English invasion, when Kilkenny was created a separate " liberty," Magh Mail, being then united to Ossory, was included in the newly-constituted county, and thus civilly recognised as part of the ancient Osraigh; yet it is the only part of the present county of Kilkenny lying outside of the diocese of Ossory, which proves that this ecclesiastical territory had its boundaries fixed before the annexation of Magh Mail to that kingdom.

It has been supposed and asserted that Magh Mail was the tribe land of the O'Dunphys or Clann Donnchadh, and that they were expelled from the place shortly after the English invasion, when they were replaced by the O'Kellys, who resided near Gowran down to a recent period. This is historically incorrect; for the

Clann Donnchadh or O'Dunphy were seated in Gabhran;¹ and O'Heerin distinguishes Magh Mail from Gabhran, for he writes O'Donnchadh of Gabhran was elected king over Magh Mail, therefore Gabhran and Magh Mail were different places. The Kellys who resided near Gowran were not of Ossorian descent or connexion; for they occupied Magh Mail before it had been usurped by Donnchadh and united to Osraigh. Thus at the year 804 we read of a battle between the two parties of the Ui-Ceinnseallach at each side of the Barrow, "where *Ceallach*, son of Donnghall, was slain;" again, at the year 856, "*Ceallach*, son of Guaire, Lord of Ui-Ceinnseallach died;" and in the year 972, Domhnall, who was slain by Donnchadh of Osraigh, was "son of *Cealleach*, and Lord of Ui-Ceinnseallach." This primitive clan has left its name in the topographical terms of "Kellymount" and "Castle Kelly;" and the families of that title who resided near Gowran down to the present century were the descendants of the primitive stock who submitted to the authority of King Donnchadh, and elected him over Magh Mail; and it is a singular circumstance that, though now united to Ossory near nine hundred years, yet the sentiments and predilections of the inhabitants of this district at the present day are all in sympathy with those of their ancient co-relatives beyond the Barrow.

The fine plain west of the Coolcashin hills, which contains the chapel of Grean, the steeple of Feartha, and the castle of Glashare, constituted the primitive province of Grean Airbh. This tract of country has been divided by O'Heerin, for the purpose of commemorating separately the fame of its chieftains, into Magh Sedna and Magh Airbh; and though nothing has been discovered to determine the dividing boundary of the two, we shall treat of them here as district tribe lands.

¹ The country of the O'Dunphys, or Clann Donnchadh, called Ui-Donnchadh, was coextensive with the district of Gabhran, and extended across the entire kingdom of Osraigh, from the church of Kilmacahil to the borders of Munster. This is clear from the "Martyrology of Donegal," in which at the 31st December we find the following entry—"Enda and Lochan of Cill-na-managh, in Ui-Dunchadha, or of Cill-mac-Cathail in Ui-Bairche; and of Bealach-Gabhran. Lochan was of the race of Dathi, son of Fiachra." Respecting St. Lochan, I am unable to find any locality identified with his name, or any reference to him except that now quoted. He may have been the patron of some church in Ui-Bairche, in the barony of Slieve Margy, Queen's County. But St. Enda is one of the patron saints of Kilmanagh, in the county of Kilkenny. His "holy well" is

there still recognised as "Tober Edaun." He is said in the extract to belong to Cill-mac-Cathail, in Ui-Bairche and Bealach Gabhran. As far as I can judge from the context of the passage, it was Lochan that belonged to Ui-Bairche, and Enda, or Enda, to Kilmanagh and Cill-mac-Cathail. This latter church is in Bealach Gabhran, and is now Anglicised Kilmacahil. It stands in the village of Garryduff (i. e. the Black Garden), about four miles from the town of Gowran. It will be observed that the churches here named in connexion with the country of the O'Dunphys are situated, one in the extreme west of Leighlin, and the other in the west of Ossory. Hence the district of Ui-Donnchadh was coextensive with that of their co-relatives the O'Carrolls, and extended across the width of Osraigh, from the parish of Kilmacahil to the borders of Munster.

MAGH SEDNA.—The great plain surrounding the steeple of Fearta, in the barony of Galmoy, represents the ancient "Magh Sedna," and which, according to Dr. O'Donovan, was so named from Sedna, the progenitor of the O'Brophys, who peopled this district. The territory ran high into Upper Ossory, in the Queen's County. The well-known railway station of Ballybrophy derived its name from the chieftain of this clan to whom O'Heerin thus refers—

"O'Broithe, over free Magh Sedna."

The Coolcashin hills separate this plain from the valley of the Nore, and form the common boundary between Magh Sedna and Ui-Duach.

MAGH AIRBH.—An excursionist from Freshford to Kilcooly will observe the expansive prospect that opens to his view as he emerges from the narrow ravine formerly called Bearna Lishe, through which the road wends its way with the curving of the stream from Clomanta to Tubbrid Castle. The broad plain into which this dingle forms the passway from the valley of the Nore may be described as extending from the Kilcooly hills to the base of Ballyspellan, enclosing within its extremes Kildrinagh, Urlingford, and Woodsgift. In Irish history this territory is known as "Magh Airbh;" in the "Annals of the Four Masters" it is called "Grian Airbh;" by Keating it is designated "Grein Airbh;" and by Kennedy "Grein Airbhson;" whence we are enabled to identify the well-known locality in which stands the "Chapel of Grean," and in its neighbourhood the historic eminence called "Grean Hill" as identical with the ancient "Magh Airbh." In the "Circuit of Muirheartach Mac Neill,"¹ "The Cold Magh Airbh" is said to contain "*the wells of the long-lived Briton*." Whoever this British longevitian may have been, his memory is preserved in the word Tubbrid-Britan, i. e. "The Well of the Briton."² The demesne of Woodsgift stands near the site of the ancient church of Tubbridbritain, from which we can conclude with probability that the beautiful demesnes of Woodsgift and Baliefe lay within Magh Airbh; nor is there any difficulty in inferring, from its proximity to the site of the ancient church, that Woodsgift occupies the site of

¹ "Circuit of Muirheartach Mac Neill" (a royal raid made through Ireland by this King of Ulster, in the year 942)—edited by the late Dr. O'Donovan for the Irish Archaeological Society. See "Tracts relating to Ireland," vol. i.

² "The long-lived Briton" may have been St. Patrick. Tubbridbriton well gushes in great volume from the rock near the old church. Many writers of authority maintain that St. Patrick was a native of Britain.

the capital *Bailli* of this primitive tribe land. The following is O'Heerin's tribute to the memory of its chieftain :—

“ Over Magh Airbh I now mention
Is O'Caibhdeanaigh of the Woody Plain.
Head of every meeting is the steady chief
At the head of Coil O'g-Cathosaigh.”

I am not aware that the toparch O'Caibhdeanigh, which is Anglicised O'Gaffney, has any representative in this locality at the present day. His clan must have been early supplanted by the Shortals, an Anglo-Irish sept of importance in this neighbourhood to the time of Cromwell. Nor is there now any locality there corresponding in title to Coil O'Cathosaigh, unless indeed this word be the original Celtic form of the word “Cuil Caissine,” the ancient Irish name of the lofty tract that rises near Johnstown, and runs thence northwards into the Queen's County. The hill of Ballyspellan, as the south-western bluff of Coolcashin is called, forms a most remarkable feature in the landscape of “Magh Airbh;” and whilst it was still clothed in its primeval foliage, would be properly designated the head of “Coil o-g Cathosaigh,” which might be translated the head of the wood, or the head of the ridge of Cathosaigh, Casey, or Cashin. Whether the word “Coil” here used by O'Heerin be equivalent with “Cuil,” the word applied in the Irish Annals to the ridge of hills now denominated “Cool Cashin,” I will leave to others to determine. That the two words are synonymous, and that Cathosaigh was the root of our Casey and Cashin I believe will be granted; and therefore, though the prefix “Coil” would not imply a hill, the affix Cathosaigh, when compounded with it, would easily sound “Coolcashin,” from all which it would appear that the head-quarters or capital *bailli* of the “woody plain” of “Magh Airbh” was situated not remote from the head of Coolcashin; for the ancient church usually marks the site of the fort of the toparch, or local chieftain; and as the church of Tubbridbritain stands at no great distance from the base of the Ballyspellan hills, which form the head of the Coolcashin ridge, it would thence appear that the locality of O'Caibhdeanaigh's (O'Gaffney) mansion, who was the dynast of this “woody plain,” is now occupied by the picturesque grounds of Woodsgift¹ and Baliefe.

¹“Woodsgift.”—The place now known as Woodsgift was anciently called “Lochana.” The present name was derived from the following circumstance:—Captain Richard St. George, Governor of Athlone in the middle of the seventeenth century, gave the estate of the Lochans as a dowry to his second daughter,

ter, Anne, on her marriage with Major Edward Wood, of Court, near Sligo. They had no family, and Mr. Wood left the Lochans to his wife's nephew, George St. George, fourth son of Henry St. George, Esq., of Athlone, and subsequently of Kilrush, county of Kilkenny. George, being the youngest son of Henry,

Having thus rapidly traversed the ancient tribe lands lying outside of the mountains and on the borders of Osraigh, we now enter the interior of that territory; and here we find three expansive tracts of country, which may be properly denominated the Upper Valley of the Nore, the Lower Valley of the Nore, and the Valley of the King's River, with its southern continuation to the Dromderg hills. It must be observed here that there is no physical line of demarcation between the two territories now described as the Lower Valley of the Nore and the Valley of the King's River. In the history of ancient Osraigh they both appear to have formed the domestic estates of the kings of this principality. They were, however, for a time subject to distinct governments, the line of separation being a political, not a natural boundary. We shall now treat them as separate tribe lands, and in the historical part of this essay fully illustrate what is now only touched on.

MAGH AIRGED-ROS, OR UI-DUACH.—The broad ravine lying between the Sliabhmagry and Coolcashin hills may be properly described as the Upper Valley of the Nore. As the Coolcashin ridge descends towards the south, it inclines in a westerly direction from the river to form a right angle with the Dromdeilgy ridge at Ballyspellan Hill. This arrangement of the mountain tracts produces the expansive plain extending through Freshford and Rathbeith to Darrow, and which has been described by O'Heerin as "the fair wide plain of the Nore." This extensive and fertile country was known in the very dawn of history in this island as "Magh Airged-Ros," which has been translated "The Plain of the Silver Wood," derived from the circumstance of King Eaneus having here minted silver coin and manufactured silver armour "for the men of Ireland" 679 years before the Christian era. There is no locality in this county now retaining in any form the primitive title of "Airged-Ros;" but we are enabled to identify the Upper Valley of the Nore as having been the portion of that historical region from the most authentic vouchers in Irish history. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," at the year 850, Cathal, son of Dubhan, is designated "Lord of Ui-Duach Arga-

appears not to have been so amply provided for as his other brothers; and the late Sir Richard Bligh St. George used to repeat the very words in which Mr. Wood conferred the Lochans on his protégé. "George," said the Major, "your father did not leave you as well off as his other sons; but I now give you the Lochans as my gift;" and henceforward the Lochans was called "Woodsgift." General Richard St. George, brother to George of Woodsgift, and to Dean St. George of Ross, succeeded on the death of his father, Henry, to the es-

tate of Kilrush. He died in 1755, and was succeeded in the proprietorship of the same estate by his brother, the Dean of Ross. George St. George of Woodsgift was grandfather to the late Sir Richard Bligh St. George of the same place; and the Dean was great grandfather to Major St. George, the present proprietor of Kilrush, amongst whose family papers are preserved some highly interesting materials for the illustration of local and family history, and which the Major most urbanely and liberally places in the hands of an inquirer.

drois;" hence Ui-Duach and Airged-Ros were identical; and as the ancient Ui-Duach, or Odagh, extended on both sides of the Nore from the mouth of the Dinan River to far above *Dearmagh* (now Durrow) in the Queen's County,¹ it necessarily follows that this same district lay within "Magh Airged-Ros." At A. M. 3501, we read in the same records that Eremhon with his chieftains erected "*Rath-Beothaigh over the Eoir in Argat-Ros*;" and in fifteen years later, i.e. at 3516, it is again recorded that "Eremhon died at *Rath-Beothaigh over the Eoir in Argat-Ros*." This Eremhon was son of Milesius, King of Spain; he was the leader of the Milesian colony, and has been esteemed the founder of the Milesian monarchy in Ireland. The *Eoir* over which he erected his rath is now called the Nore; and *Rath-Beothaigh* is the now well known locality of Rathbeath, seven Irish miles above Kilkenny. The ruins of this *rath*, or earthen mansion, which Keating calls "Heremon's palace," and which according to the "Annals" was erected seventeen hundred years before Christ, may still be seen on the brow of the River Nore, between Lismain Bridge and the church of Rathbeath; and here one is excited to marvel at the remote importance of this now obscure locality. The site of Eremhon's rath became one of the most celebrated localities in ancient Ireland; and if the following evidence be deemed admissible, the river on whose bank he founded it preserves his name as its own title to the present day.

From the extracts just quoted from the Irish Annals, we find that "Eoir" was the ancient form of the present word "Nore." In the "Book of Rights" additional information is afforded us on this point; for in connexion with an ante-Christian epoch the "eric of Fearghus Scannal" is said to extend from the "Eoir to Dumha Dresa." In a note on this passage the learned translator observes that the word Eoir comes from a still older form, namely, "an-Eoir," which is apparently but the abbreviation of a proper name. It will be observed that the name of the builder of Rathbeath is translated "Eremhon;" but in the Irish text of the "Annals" the form of the name stands thus, *Eíreamon*, or in our characters, *Eireamon*. Now,

¹ According to Colgan ("Acta Sancta Hib." tom. i., p. 355, n. 37), St. Fintan Maelduibh was honoured at Dermagh in the "region of Yduach." This Fintan was an illustrious teacher in the great monastic house at Cluain Eidneach, now called by the synonymous title of Clonenagh, near Mountrath, in the Queen's County. He was the friend and companion of St. Caimneach of Osraigh, and a scholar of the great St. Columbkille ("Life of St. Columbkille, by St. Adamnan," p. 10. Dublin, 1860). Clonenagh was a place of great celebrity, and is frequently referred to in

the Irish Annals. I am informed by a native of the place that there are more Fintans in that parish than in all the rest of Ireland. St. Fintan's festival was kept there on the 17th February, though in every other church in Ireland it was and is still observed on the 15th November. Fintan's name is not now known in connexion with Durrow. See "Martyrology of Tallaght," pp. 16, 74. The parish of Durrow formed part of the county of Kilkenny, and therefore of Ossory, until the time of the Ordnance Survey, when it was included in the Queen's County.

if we be permitted to take off the final syllable of the king's name, the remainder of the word will be "Eire," identical with "Eoir," the name of the river; and if it be granted us to add the final "mhon" of the king's title to the name of the river, we have Eoir-mhon, between which and Eiremhon there is no material difference. In Irish topographical nomenclature "Roighna" and "Raighne" are synonymous; so will "Eoirmhon," "Eiremhon," or "Eremhon," express or imply the same thing; whence it appears that the word "An-Eoir," the ancient form of the word Nore, is but a modification of *Abhan-Eoirmhon*, or Eoirmhon's River. We can easily understand how in the lapse of a thousand years the initial "Abh" and the final "mhon" would be gradually disused, till *Abhan-Eoirmhon* became softened down to "An-Eoir," and thence to "Nore," its present form. In the works of Irish antiquaries the name Eremhon more usually assumes the form of Heremon or Herimon; and in the "Martyrology of Donegal," compiled from original materials, at the 11th March, St. Aenghus, the Culdee, is said to have been educated "ap bpu na heoipe a-laogir," i. e. on the brink of the *HEOIR* (the Nore) in Laighis or Leix. The singular parity which exists here between the name of the king and that of the river certainly renders it probable that Eremhon, who was the founder of the Milesian monarchy, and who in that very remote age selected the "fair wide plain" of this river for the site of his mansion, and who actually erected his palace on the margin of its current, should, as his contemporaries' in other parts of Ireland, transmit his name to its waters, and with which it has been identified, whilst generation after generation successively peopled and disappeared from its banks.

The Upper Valley of the Nore, or Airgad-Ros, did not form part of the kingdom of Osraighe for some period after its original establishment. In the "Will of Cathair More," a document purporting to be as old as the second century, "Airgad-Ros" is named as being subject to that King of Leinster; and it seems to have been wrested from the dominion of his successors by Duach, from whom it first assumed the name of Ui-Duach, or the land of Duach, now Odogh. This Duach was King or Chief of Osraighe about the middle of the sixth century.¹ In the "Annals of the Four Masters" and

¹ It would be outside the design of this essay to cite here the innumerable authorities which might be adduced to show that most of the notabilities of ancient Ireland left their names, respectively, identified with either the site of their mansion, or the place of their burial. Armagh is so named from Macha, a heroine of pre-Christian times. Tara derived its name from Tea, the wife of Heremon, who caused a court to be there erected. Heremon himself, the founder

of the Milesian monarchy, would also be supposed to give his name to the locality of his mansion or to the site of his sepulture, both of which are perpetuated by his "rath," still standing on the brink of the Eoir, or Nore, near Rathbeath church.

² The earliest notice of a king or lord of Osraighe, in the Irish Annals, occurs at the year 582, where we read—"Fearadach, son of Duach, Lord of Osraighe, was slain." This Duach must have wrested

in the "Will of Cathair Mor" this district is invariably recognised as "Argad-Ros" down to the death of Duach, which happened before the year 580. The first entry after his death referring to the place in the Irish Annals is at the year 850, when it is named "Ui-Duach in Argad Rois," and in all subsequent notices Ui-Duach is adopted as its recognised title. The prefix "Ui" is to be understood as governing the word with which it is compounded in the genitive case, the word country or land being understood. Hence Ui-Duach Idagh, or Odagh, implies the land or country of Duach. It seems highly probable that this Duach erected his fort or earthen palace at Three Castles, anciently called "Castle Duach," which is the site also of the ancient church of Odagh; and in the garden of "Three Castles demesne" is a high sepulchral mound, now planted with shrubs and flowers, and to the summit of which you ascend by a curious spiral terrace; it is within a short space of the ancient graveyard, and seems highly probable to have been raised over the body of this chief lord of Osraigh, whose name the place assumed, and still adopts as its own. In O'Heerin's "Topography" we have the following reference to the country of Ui-Duach :—

"Ui-Duach of Ossory of the warm soil,
The fair wide plain of the Feoir.
Not easily passable is the wood of the plain;
Its protecting chieftain is O'Broenain."

Ui-Duach is identified with the bold adventures and daring exploits of this valiant tribe of the O'Breannains for more than eight hundred years. This clan sprung from Breannain, son of Cearbhall Mac Dunghal, King of Osraigh, in the ninth century.¹ It does not appear that the O'Breannains at any time held possession of the entire territory of Ui-Duach. Their dominion seems to have been confined to the Fassach or waste of the Dinan River, including

the Upper Valley of the Nore, or Airged Ros, from the Leinstermen, and annexed it to Osraigh; whence the district has since been called Ui-Duach, or the country of Duach. Fearadach, the son of Duach, was father to Colman, the friend and benefactor of St. Cainneach, Abbot of Aghabo, and patron of the city of Kilkenny.

¹ The genealogical work of Duald Mac Firbis preserved in the Royal Irish Academy contains a pedigree of the O'Breannains of Ui-Duach. It was translated by the late Dr. O'Donovan, and published by the Rev. James Graves in connexion with his "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory, No. I." This pedigree traces the O'Breannans up to O'Broenain, son of Cearbhall, or

Carroll, in whom they unite with the progenitor of the O'Dunphys and Fitzpatricks, which agrees with an entry in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at the year 887, "The killing of Braenan, son of Cearbhall, by the Deisi." From this Braenan, according to Keating, "sprang the valliant family of O'Braenan of Ui-Duach." But a singular discrepancy occurs here between the pedigree of Mac Firbis and the many other authorities that we have on the succession of the Kings of Ossory. The Four Masters, Keating's pedigree of the Fitzpatricks, and O'Donovan's table of the descent of the Ossorians and Laginians from Conla, the common ancestor of both, agree in making Cearbhall the son of Dunghal, from whom they ascend

the fertile spots and rich pasture lands lying between the hills of Fassidineen. The Comar was the head-quarters or capital *bailli* of this celebrated tribe land. For the history of this turbulent but valiant tribe, who held their own in this secluded region despite English power, down to a comparatively modern period, see "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory," by the Rev. James Graves.

RAIGHNE, OR MAGH REIGHNA.—Few districts of ancient Ireland attained an earlier celebrity than the territory of Raighne or Roighna. So early as the year of the world 3817, we read of it as the scene of a sanguinary conflict between rival chieftains for the sovereignty of the island. "After Enna Airgtheach had spent twenty-seven years in the sovereignty of Ireland he fell by Raith-eachtaigh, son of Maen, . . . in the battle of Raighne. It was by this Enna Airgtheach that silver shields were made at Airget-Ros; so that he gave them to the men of Ireland." From this extract it appears that Airget-Ros and Raighne were distinct provinces at that very remote era. About seven centuries after that epoch Eugene Mor, who died monarch of Ireland in the year of the world 4606, made a general partition of the island amongst his twenty-five children, on which occasion the country now represented by the county of Kilkenny was subdivided according to the physical arrangement of its mountain ridges into three districts, and allotted respectively to three of his sons. The plain west of the Coolcashin hills fell to Nairbh, and from him was called Magh Nairbh or Airbh. The Upper Valley of the Nore, or "Airget-Ros," was given to Cinga; and the great central plain of Osraigh, which includes the Lower Valley of the Nore and the Valley of the King's River, became the dowry of Raighne, from whom it either was called Raighne, or he assumed its name as his own title. In the first century Aenghus founded the petty principality which formed the nucleus of the future kingdom of Osraigh. This territory, for some centuries denomi-

through Aenghus Osraigh to Conla; but Mac Firbis takes a different route—for he makes Cearbhall, or Carroll, the son of "Cú Bladhna" and thence, through a column of names unknown in the history of Ossory, traces the O'Brennains to Ros-Falg, or Ros-Failg, son of Cathair Mor, King of Leinster; but this cannot be a true pedigree of the O'Brennains, for they descend from *Brenain, son of Cearbhall*. This Cearbhall came in a direct line through the Kings of Ossory, who did not descend from Cathair Mor, but from Aenghus Osraighe, whose son Laoghire, surnamed "The Victorious, one of the stoutest heroes of his time," governed "Laighin deas Gabhair," as the Lower Valley of the Nore was then called, whilst Cathair Mor was ruling in

Leinster. It is surprising that this discrepancy escaped the notice of O'Donovan when transcribing the pedigree of Mac Firbis; for in his table of the Ossorians and Lagenians, he shows the Kings of Ossory descending from Conla to Cearbhall, the son of Dungal, and the father of Braenan, in a distinct line from that by which Cathair Mor, the great ancestor of the Kings of Leinster, descended from the same progenitor. See Pedigree of the Ossorians and Lagenians, by O'Donovan, "Journal," vol. i. (1850); Pedigree of the Fitzpatrick's; Keating's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 253; and Mac Firbis's Pedigree of the O'Braenains, published by Rev. J. Graves, "Journal" of the Society, vol. i., p. 234.

nated "Laighin deas Gabhair," comprised the two ancient provinces of Feimhin and Raighne, which continued thus united until the middle of the fifth century, when Aenghus Mac Nadhfrach expelled the Osso-rians out of Feimhin, and annexed it to Munster, after which the kingdom of Osraigh was confined to the single province of Raighne; whence its kings were for many centuries denominated Righ Raighne, i. e. King of Raighne. Now from these historical statistics it is obvious that the country anciently denominated Raighne was neither a tribe district nor sub-denomination of Osraigh, but was a primitive province long anterior to the establishment of that kingdom by Aenghus its founder, and from which his successors derived the title of Righ Raighne. At the end of the ninth century Cormac Mac Cuilleanan, King of Cashel, in pursuit of his aggressive policy, and in virtue of the "eric of Fearghus Scannal," claimed jurisdiction over Raighne, it having formed the principal part of "Laighin deas Gabhair." A compromise appears to have been effected on this occasion between Cormac and Ceallach, who was then King of Osraigh, the terms of which guaranteed to Cormac the possession of that part of the present county of Kilkenny south of the King's River. In this district Cormac erected a royal mansion or fort, at a place denominated by his bards "Ucht-na-Raighne," i. e., "The Breast of Raighne," which appears to have been the well-known eminence called Knock-ad-Raighne, that rises like a pap on a breast over the surrounding plain. That the broad and fertile plain spread out in front of this hill was situated within the territory of Raighne seems certain from its title; but though this circumstance enables us to identify this locality as part of Raighne, it is not equally conclusive respecting the extent and boundaries of that historic district. The late Celtic scholar, Dr. O'Donovan, who refers to Raighne as a simple tribe land of Osraigh in his addenda to the first volume of the Irish Annals, endeavours to erect a landmark from which to determine its position, and for this purpose recognised the "Church of Cill Finnche," which was situated in Raighne, as identical with the present locality of Killinny, a townland lying along the King's River, between Kells and Newtown. This was an afterthought of his; for in a note under A. M. 3817 he writes—"Roighna was a plain in the ancient Osraighe, in which plain was situated the Church of Kill Finnche, near the ford of Ath-Duirnbuidhe, and at the foot of a great hill called Dornbuidhe." Respecting the first sentence of this extract we must observe that, according to the Irish "Annals" just quoted, Raighne was a primitive Irish province long before Osraigh was founded, and was subsequently another name for Osraigh itself; and as regards Cill Finnche, the word is derived from "Cil," a church, and *Finnche*, the name of the patron saint. In the "Martyrology of Tallaght," at 2nd February, we find this saint described as "Finnchi Duiren." In ancient Irish

calendars the names of the saints are usually entered in the genitive case, the prefix "Feast" being understood and the locality of the church mostly added; hence this concise entry will read thus—"The Feast of St. Finnche at Duiren." In the "Martyrology of Donegal," on the same day, we find the following amplification of this saint's festival:—"Findeach Duirnd, Bishop of Cill Finnche, of Ath-Duirn in Osraighe. Dornd-Buidhe is the name of a hill in Magh Raighne." In the bishop's name, Findeach, the "d" is aspirated, leaving the pronunciation Finech synonymous with Finnche; hence Bishop Finnche was both the patron and titular of the ancient Cill Finnche. But this saint was neither the patron nor titular of Killinny; for the old church of the place was dedicated to St. Bridget. The ruins of it existed near Mr. Hutchison's house down to the present century. There are persons still living who remember St. Bridget's patron to be annually observed there on the 1st February;¹ and "St. Bridget's Well" still preserves for the place the name of its ancient patron. In the Charter of Henry IV. to the Priory of Kells the "Church of Killinthy" is enumerated amongst the ecclesiastical houses affiliated to that establishment. This Killinthy is said to have been identical with the present Killinny, and both with the ancient "Cill-Finnche;" and if this assertion be well-founded, the district anciently described as Cill Finnche must have been much more extensive than the present townland of Killinny; or this townland must only preserve a name that formerly belonged to another place—an occurrence frequent in Irish topography. Thus at the year 858 we read of "the fleet of the foreigners in the bay of Port Lairge." In this word Port Lairge, the Celtic name for Waterford, the "g" is aspirated, leaving the pronunciation Portlaure, a name now confined to the modern but industrious town of Portlaw. Should some topographer now insist that Portlaw is locally identical with the ancient Danish city of that name, he will be bound to show us *there* the bay in which the fleet of the Norsemen anchored one thousand years ago. In like manner the *criteria* which O'Donovan quotes from the *Feiliere Aenghus* for the identification of Cill Finnche will not admit of it and the present townland of Killinny as having ever been locally identical. There is no hill in the townland or neighbourhood of Killinny, nor in the spacious plain between it and the Killamery ridge, except the one great and remarkable eminence called "Kock-ad-Raighne" which is, beyond all doubt,

¹ A singular practice observed on the "patron day" at Killinny church may be worth preserving. There was there an artificial cave, the site of which is still pointed out near the old church in which, on the "patron day," married women performed a "station," which they believed to be a remedy against sterility.

My informant avers that this cave ultimately became a den of ill-fame; and attained so notorious a celebrity that the parish priest of Danesfort, with a body of peasantry, on a summer Sunday, proceeded from the chapel of Kells, after twelve o'clock mass, and demolished the roof of the grotto.

the place anciently designated Dornbuidhe. Part of this word seems to be still preserved in the termination of a townland title, situated on the side of this hill, named *Baun-a-Volla-Buidhe*, which has been rendered for me, the *fallow* field, or, bawn of *Buidhe*. This hill is four miles distant from Killinny, and not visible from any part of it. Ath-Duirnbuidhe, or the Ford of the Yellow Fist, according to its derivative etymology, must have been a pass over one of the streams that wash the base of this hill. A ford near the church of Kilree was anciently called *Ath-Cill-Osraighe*, or the Ford of the Church of Osraigh. It is now Anglicised Kill Ossory Ford. Whether this, or a ford over the stream which runs under the old church of Sheepstown, was the Ath-Duirnbuidhe of Aenghus we have no means of determining; but that either this church of Sheepstown¹ or that of Kilree was identical with that anciently called Cill Finnche seems probable from the fact that both of them stand at the foot of the "great hill" of Raighne; and it is certain that the fine tract of country spreading out in front of this hill, and extending thence through Dunnamaggin and Ballytobin to the borders of Tipperary, formed part of the territory of Raighne; but that the latter was a country of much greater extent appears not only from what has been already advanced, but still more so from what we shall now submit.

In the annotations to "The Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory," O'Donovan writes, "The plains of Magh-lacha and Magh Roighna are comprised in the present barony of Kells, county of Kilkenny." Magh-lacha, according to Colgan, contains the parish church of Cill-Bhrighde Major and the chapel of Cill-Bhrighde. The former is the parish church of Kilree, that stands in the neighbourhood of the hill of Raighne, and the latter occupied the site of the old churchyard of Kilbride, one mile below Callan. A line drawn between these two points extends across the whole barony of Kells, from the borders of Munster to the base of Knock-ad-Raighne;

¹ In the word Cill-Finnche, if the "F" be silent, the pronunciation would be Killinche; however, in O'Donovan's punctuation of the text of the "Four Masters," and in Dr. Todd's edition of the "Martyrology of Donegal," the "F" retains its full sound; yet, notwithstanding this, Cill-Finnche appears to be the root of both Killinthy and Killinny; yet the present townland of this latter name cannot have been the site of St. Finnchi's church, as it is near four miles distant from the "great hill" at the base of which that church stood. Neither can the church of Kilree have been that of St. Finnche; for, like Killinny, St. Bridget is its patron. Dr. O'Donovan as-

serts that the ancient patron saint of Kilree was named *Crimther Fracch*, pronounced *Criffer Res*; and if this be true, it must have been at a very remote period, which renders it still more certain that it was not ever the church of St. Finnche. But Sheepstown church stands at "the foot of the great hill," and preserves in its architectural details the characteristics of the period when the Norsemen, in one of their raids, burned the church of St. Finnche; from which it may be safely concluded that Sheepstown and the ancient Cill Finnche are locally identical. For some observations on Sheepstown church, see "Transactions," vol. iii., p. 381, *et seq.*, New Series.

and hence O'Heerin describes Magh-lacha as an "extensive district:"—

"In Magh Lacha of the warm hill slopes
Is O'Faelain of manly tribe;
Extensive is the district due to them
Which the O'Faelains have peopled."

The "warm hill slopes" of Magh-lacha are the northern declivities of the Dromberg ridge, which runs from Ballyhale to Killamery; hence the entire plain between these hills and the Valley of the King's River formed the "extensive district" or country of the O'Faelains.

The Valley of the King's River did not belong to Magh-lacha, nor was it peopled by the O'Faelains. Its outlines and clann are thus described by O'Heerin:—

"O'Gloiairn the fruitful branch has got,
A cantred of a sweet country—
The smooth land along the beauteous Callann,
A land without a particle of blemish."

"The smooth land along the beauteous Callann," which constituted O'Gloiairn's cantred, includes Killinny; and if this latter was identical with Raighne, O'Heerin would not fail to notice so important a circumstance. The name O'Gloiairn is still preserved in the title of the mountain stream well known as the Glory River, which empties itself into the Callann, or King's River, just at Killinny mills.

There is mention of another very primitive tribe district situated in the plain described as Magh-lacha, namely, "Ui-Caithren." This word might be Anglicised O'Cairen, O'Kerney, or O'Kearn's country. The only reference I find to this locality or clann is the following from the *Feiliere Aenghus* at the 6th December:—"Gobhan Fionn Chille Lamhraidhe in Uibh-Caithrenn in Iarthar Osraighe," which may be thus translated, "Feast of St. Goban Fionn at the church of Killamery, in Ui-Caithrenn, in the west of Ossory." The church of Killamery determines the position of that tribe land.

From what has been now advanced it will follow that Magh-lacha and Ui-Caithren occupied the plain south of the King's River, and O'Gloiairn's cantred lay along the banks of that and the Glory Rivers; yet that these localities were situated within the territory of Reighna is evident from the circumstance already mentioned that *Knock-ad-Reighna* preserves the name, and must have been situated within that primitive province.

In the "Martyrology of Donegal," at the 17th September, we find the feast of St. "Brachan of Ros-tuirc, in Magh Raighne in Osraighe." The site of this saint's church is now called "Kill-Bragh-

an," a primitive hamlet giving name to a townland, and preserving in its fine old plantations and venerable appearance the evidence of a gone-by importance. The next townland to "Kill-Braghan" is "Ros-more," obviously a modification of "Ros-tuirc," in which the church of St. Brachan was situated. Both townlands are in the parish of Killaloe, and about nine Irish miles west of Kilkenny. From the locality of Kill-Braghan a most interesting view is obtained over the baronies of Shillalagher, Callan, and Kells. Kill-Braghan stands on the meres of the two baronies of Crannagh and Shillalagher, which demonstrates that the ancient territory of Raighne was not confined to the present barony of Kells. In the *Felire Aenghus*, at the 5th November, we read, "*Colman Glinne Dealmaic i Maigh Raighne in Osraighibh*," which will bear the following translation in English:—"The feast of St. Colman at the Church of the Glen of Dealmaic, in Magh Raighne, in Osraigh." By the church of Glenn-Dealmaic I understand the church of Claragh, which is situated in a secluded *glen*, and of which parish St. Colman is patron. St. Colman's well is shown there to the present day; and the parish priest of "Pit" is collated by the bishop to the parish "*S. Colmani de Claragh cum annexis*." This church or its locality does not now retain the name of Glenn-Dealmaic; but the church and holy well are situated in a retired vale under the shadow of the Johnswell Mountains, which would be properly denominated a glen or wooded vale. The affix Dealmaic is a proper name, which would be superseded by that of the next proprietor. The situation of this glen or valley of Claragh is just inside of "Bealach Gabhran," which the poet of Aileach described as a "district of glens." If the church of Claragh be identical with that of Glenn Dealmaic, the great plain surrounding Kilkenny was also included in the territory of Raighne.

In the funeral panegyric pronounced over the sepulchre of Donnchadh, who died King of Osraigh in the year 974, his daughter Sadbh, or Sabia, then Queen of Ireland, is apostrophized as the "daughter of the great King of Raighne." This same King of Raighne is expressly styled by O'Heerin "the fine O'Donnchadh of Gabhran," whence it follows that the district anciently called Gabhran was included in that of Raighne. We shall show at the proper place that this Donnchadh held his court in the immediate

¹ The funeral panegyric delivered at the grave of King Donnchadh, in the ancient cemetery of Saighar, though much interwoven with fable, is highly interesting for the vista which it affords us into the social habits and modes of life in the ancient palace of the kings of Osraigh. It is an unpublished portion of Keating's "History of Ireland." It was

translated from the Irish into Latin by Dr. John Lynch, author of "*Cambrensis Eversus*," from which a transcript was made by the late Dr. O'Donovan for the Rev. James Graves, who published it for the first time in "*The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice*," brought out by him and Mr. Prim.

neighbourhood of the present city of Kilkenny; and if this was situated in Raighne, the latter must have been (as originally contended) coextensive with the country of Lower Ossory. In the Life of St. Cainneach¹ we have an account of a journey made by this saint from his monastery at Aghabo to the rath, or *castellum*, of Colman in Magh Raighne, to assist that prince, whose accession to the throne of his father Feradach was disputed by two rivals, named Maoladhar and Malgarb. The Saint arrived in great haste, and found the castle of Colman in flames, and surrounded by the King's enemies. Cainneach, however, passed into the burning mansion, conveyed out Colman uninjured, conducted him to a place of safety, and assured him that in three days he would be King of all Osraigh—a prediction which was fully verified by his future reign of over twenty years, during which he is said to have been a munificent benefactor of the Church, and an attached friend of St. Cainneach. The late Rev. Dr. Kelly of Maynooth, who supposed the ancient Raighne to be confined to the present locality of Kells, writing on this event, observes—"It is incredible that no church of his protector, St. Canice, would be found near the home of Colman Mac Feradach;"² but if the mansion of Colman, King of Raighne, stood on the same site as that of Donnchadh, King of Raighne, as there can scarcely be a doubt it did, St. Cainneach founded a church on the lands and within view of Colman's castle, which subsequently grew up to the dignity of a cathedral; and therefore the site of the present city of Kilkenny, and the great plain of "Magh Rath," of which it is the capital, were both included in the ancient and celebrated territory of Raighne; and this view of the case is further sustained by a passage in the Latin "Life of St. Cainneach, from which we have been just quoting, where the journey of the saint to the *castellum* of Colman, through Magh Raighne is described as "per campum Regni," i. e., through the plain of Regni or Raighne, an expression which must necessarily be understood of the great central plain of the kingdom of Osraigh, which stretches from the Drumdeilgy or Thornback hills, two miles above Kilkenny, to the Killamery ridge, twelve miles below it, and from the church of St. Colman, at the foot of the Johnswell mountains, westwards to the site of the church of St. Brachan, on the brink of the Munster River,³

¹ The Life of St. Cainneach, or Kenny, here quoted, is that privately published by the late and much to be regretted Marquis of Ormonde. Dublin, 1853, chaps. xliii. and xlv.

² "Martyrology of Tallaght," Life of St. Canice, p. 142.

³ From Kilcooley to near Killaloe, the "Munster River" forms the common boundary of the counties of Kil-

kenny and Tipperary. On the map prefixed to this paper, and on the authority of a statement by the late Dr. O'Donovan, this stream is designated "Glaise-an-ionathar," which he also translates the "*Stream of the Entrails*." It must, however, be observed that he does not profess to have any authority save its probability for so denominating that river (his words are—"this was evidently

from all which we now conclude that Raighne was not a clan tract or inferior subdivision of the ancient Osraigh, but a primitive province, older than Osraigh itself, and of which Magh-lacha, Ui-Caithren, O'Gloiairn's cantred, and Magh Rath were but so many subdenominations; and hence O'Heerin, who sketches the positions and chieftains of every tribe land in Osraigh, "From Bladhma out to the sea," and "from the Bearbha to the plain of Munster," does not mention Raighne, because it was not a tribe land of Osraigh, but another name for that kingdom itself.

the name of the Munster River)." Since the construction of the map, it has appeared to me from the form of the word itself, as well as from its import in O'Dugan's compilation, that "Glaise-an-ionathar" could not have been the name of the "Munster River." In O'Donovan's punctuation of O'Dugan's text, in this word, "Glaise-an-ionathar," the "th" is aspirated, leaving the pronunciation Glaiseanionar, or Glasanare, which general use would soon modulate into "Glashare," the name of an ancient church and manorial castle in the barony of Galmoy, and on the borders of Upper Ossory. The Irish words glaise, clash, and glash, are synonymous terms for a narrow river or mountain stream, and Glaise-an-ionathar appears to have been the name of the rivulet which runs

through the parish of Glashare, and for part of its course forms the dividing line between the Kilkenny and Queen's Counties. It enters the former county through a narrow ravine in the Coolcashin hills, and thence through a picturesque valley flows down by the chapel of Gathabawn, and the old castles of Baleen to the town of Freshford, and was one of those tributaries to that district of water which in ancient times obtained for it the name of "Achadhur," or, the field of the streams. Another of those tributaries was called "Clash-na-Chro," i. e. the stream of death. It runs through the hills from the church of Ballinamara (i. e. the town of the dead), by Wellbrooke House. From this stream is derived the present word Clashacrow, the name of the parish through which it flows.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1865.
SEVENTEENTH SESSION.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. V.—PART II.

NEW SERIES.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR MEMBERS ONLY.

1865.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS

OF

THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1865.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments,
William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January the 18th
(by adjournment from the 4th), 1865.

BARRY DELANY, Esq., M. D., in the Chair.

The Rev. James Graves, Hon. Secretary, read the following letter, received from the Comptroller of the Prince of Wales's Household, in reply to a letter which had been addressed to the Prince, asking his Royal Highness to take the place of his lamented father, the late Prince Consort, as a Patron and supporter of the Society :—

“SANDRINGHAM, KING'S LYNN,

“24th November, 1864.

“REV. SIR,—I am directed by the Prince of Wales to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, addressed to him in August last, but to which His Royal Highness' absence on the Continent has delayed an answer being transmitted before.

“I have now the pleasure to inform you, by desire of the Prince, that His Royal Highness will be happy to accede to the request you have submitted on the part of the Committee of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, and to become its Patron.

“Will you be good enough to acquaint me with the sum necessary to become a Life Member?

“I have the honour to be, Rev. Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

“W. KNOLLYS.

“Rev. James Graves.”

Mr. Graves mentioned that His Royal Highness had sent double the amount of the ordinary composition for life membership.

The letter was received with great satisfaction by the meeting, as was also a communication from the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, stating His Excellency's willingness to become a Life Member and a Patron of the Society in the room of his deeply regretted predecessor in the Government of Ireland.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Hon. Lord Lismore, Shanbally Castle, Clogheen : proposed by Lord James Butler.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Carrick, Mount Juliet, Thomastown ; the Right Hon. Lord De Vesci, Abbeyleix House, Abbeyleix ; and R. B. Utting, Esq., 9, Cornwall-crescent, Camdentown, London : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

James Quinn Pigot, Esq., Q. C., Tanfield-court, Middle Temple, London : proposed by Charles H. Foot, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

The Rev. Alfred Byrne, R. C. C. ; and the Rev. Michael Doyle, R. C. C., Irishtown, Dublin : proposed by Joseph Lalor, Esq., M. D.

W. M. Hennessy, Esq., Office of Lunatic Asylums, Dublin Castle : proposed by Mr. Prim.

James A. Kift, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Upper Pembroke-street, Dublin : proposed by H. B. Armstrong, Esq.

James J. McCarthy, Esq., A.R.H.A., Architect, Longford-terrace, Kingstown ; and Dillon Kelly, Esq., J. P., M. D., Mullingar : proposed by the Rev. P. V. Skelly, O. P.

John Feehan, Esq., T. C., High-street, Kilkenny ; and Mr. Michael Brophy, Parliament-street, Kilkenny : proposed by Mr. John Hogan.

James Comerford, Esq., Ardavan, Rathdrum, county of Wicklow : proposed by Andrew Wilson, Esq.

John Julien, Esq., Crown Solicitor, King's County, Drombane : proposed by T. L. Cooke, Esq.

The Hon. Secretary observed that the name of Sir Edward Conroy, Bart., elected at last meeting, had by mistake been printed Sir Edward *Coursy*.

The election of the Committee and Officers for the ensuing year was then proceeded with, as follows :—

PATRON IN CHIEF:

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

PATRONS :

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Most Honourable the Marquis of Ormonde.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin.

Colonel the Right Hon. W. F. Tighe, Lieutenant of Kilkenny.

PRESIDENT :

The Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory.

VICE-PRESIDENTS :

The Worshipful the Mayor of Kilkenny.
The High Sheriff of the county of Kilkenny.
The High Sheriff of the city of Kilkenny.

TREASURER :

Rev. James Graves, A. B., M. R. I. A.

HONORARY SECRETARIES :

Rev. James Graves. | John G. A. Prim.

HONORARY CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM AND LIBRARY :

James G. Robertson, Esq., Architect.

COMMITTEE :

James S. Blake, Esq., Barrister-at-Law ; Rev. John Browne, LL. D. ; Barry Delaney, Esq., M. D. ; Peter Burtchaell, Esq., C. E. ; Rev. Luke Fowler, A. M. ; John James, Esq., L. R. C. S. I. ; Robert Malcomson, Esq. ; Rev. Philip Moore, P. P. ; Matthew O'Donnell, Esq., Q. C. ; Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C. ; James G. Robertson, Esq., Architect ; John Windele, Esq.

The Report of the Committee for the year 1864 was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows :—

"Your Committee have much pleasure in reporting that the year 1864 has been one of average prosperity to the Society. When a voluntary association, after the lapse of fifteen years, exhibits no signs of decay, it must be accounted a strong proof of inherent vitality ; and that the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society has, like all really living bodies, the power of renewing itself from year to year, will be acknowledged when the facts now to be recounted are borne in mind.

"The list of *bonâ fide* paying Members numbered on the 31st of December *six hundred and thirty*. The new Members elected within the year were *forty-nine* ; and *forty-eight* Associates have resigned, died, or been temporarily removed from the list for non-payment of their subscriptions. Of those who intimated their intention to withdraw, there were but four who were in arrear, viz :—

Michael Shortall, Esq., Kilkenny,	12s.
Captain Leslie, Killebegs, Carrickmacross,	15s.
David Leslie, Esq., M. D., Killebegs, Carrickmacross,	12s.
James Morrin, Esq., Dublin,	12s.

"The following are the names of those who have been struck off for

non-payment of their subscriptions, to be restored when the arrears are cleared off, viz. :—

	Amount for.
Mr. J. Campion, Kilkenny,	1863 and 1864
T. Jones, Esq., George's-street, Cork,	1863 and 1864
Rev. Albert James, Ramoan Glebe, Ballycastle,	1863 and 1864
H. Kiernan, Esq., J. P., Capra House, Carrickmacross,	1863 and 1864
J. Murphy, Esq., Greenridge, Kilkenny,	1863 and 1864
F. J. Power, Esq., Mountmellick,	1863 and 1864
D. Percy Sweetman, Esq., Wexford,	1863 and 1864
W. P. Urquhart, Esq., M. P., Castlepollard,	1863 and 1864
The Very Rev. Dean Lyster,	1861, 1862, and 1863
John Costello, Esq., Galway,	1862 and 1863
Richard Donovan, Esq., J. P., Ballymore, Ferns,	1862 and 1863
John C. Deane, Esq., London,	1861 and 1862
Rev. Richard Fitzgerald, St. Mullins,	1862 and 1863
Rev. John Flanagan, Killeven, Clones,	1861 and 1862
John Greene, Esq., Wexford,	1859 and 1860
Mr. Daniel Hickey, Gowran,	1862 and 1863
Mr. Denis Hoyne, Thomastown,	1861 and 1862
J. H. Haliday, Esq., Belfast,	1861 and 1862
Rev. John T. Kyle, Clondrohid, Macroom,	1861 and 1862
John M. Loughnan, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Dublin,	1861 and 1862
G. H. Lowe, Esq., Solicitor, Kilkenny,	1862 and 1863
Rev. Maurice Mooney, Dungarvan,	1862 and 1863
James O'Reilly, Esq., Ballast Office,	1863 and 1864
Arthur Nugent, Esq., Cranna, Portumna,	1861 and 1862
Patrick O'Herlihy, Esq., Cork,	1861 and 1862
Rev. John Quarry, The Rectory, Middleton,	1861, 1862, and 1863
Andrew Ryan, Esq., Gortkelly Castle, Borrisoleigh,	1861 and 1862
Rev. Paul Smithwick, Baldoyle,	1861 and 1862
Hercules St. George, Esq., Balief,	1861 and 1862
Patrick Tobin, Esq., Merchant's-quay, Dublin,	1861 and 1862
A. Colville Welsh, Esq., Dromore,	1862 and 1863
Rev. Thomas Wilson, Bandon,	1861 and 1862
The Marquis of Westmeath,	1863 and 1864
G. J. Wycherly, Esq., M. D., Cork,	1863 and 1864
William Whitmore, Esq., Carlow,	1863 and 1864

"The fact seems scarcely compatible with its present vigorous existence, that since the commencement of the Society over *nine hundred* members have died, or been removed from the list. Those who wish to withdraw are of course fully justified in so doing; but there is a matter your Committee would fain hope will not continue to be overlooked by some amongst that class, namely, that it is a palpable injustice to the Society to allow arrears to accrue if there is no intention that membership should be kept up. The 'Journal' of the Society is necessarily supplied for the current year, although the subscriptions, due in advance, may not have been paid; all whose names are obliged to be removed from the list for non-payment are therefore in the position of having received value without rendering the equivalent of their subscriptions—thus turning the

leniency of the Society to its detriment, and causing a loss which is increased by the cash expended on the postage of the 'Journal,' as well as of the several circulars which they have received and left unnoticed.

"It may seem invidious to dwell on these unpleasant topics; but when it is stated that a sum of over £150 has been lost to the Society in the unpaid arrears of a portion of these nine hundred 'dead men,' it will be seen how necessary it is that such matters should not be passed over in silence. This £150 would have defrayed the entire expense of the 'Journal' for one whole year, and should by right form a portion of the balance in hands, instead of being a decided loss to the Society. It is obvious that a great many on this list have suffered their subscriptions to fall into arrear from mere want of thought, and it is hoped that they will, when thus reminded of the matter, make good their liabilities.

"Your Committee gladly quit this unpleasant subject, in order to point with pleasure to the continued estimation in which the 'Journal' of the Society is held. The market price of its seven volumes on booksellers' catalogues ranges high—considerably more than the original cost to Members. The Illustration Fund has met with very encouraging support. The names of all those who have increased their annual subscriptions in aid thereof are printed from time to time on the cover of the 'Journal;' and it is to be hoped that in the year we are now entering the example of this class, the *gens nobilior* of the Society, will be more widely followed.

"Amongst its losses by death the Society has to lament that of the Earl of Carlisle, for so many years one of its Patrons, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Death has also removed from amongst us a zealous Original Member of the Society, Joseph Burke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. On the establishment of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, Mr. Burke, then holding an official position connected with the county of Kilkenny, became one of its most zealous supporters, and one of the most energetic members of its managing committee. Indeed, it is not improbable that but for him it would not at this day be still in existence—most certainly, at least, but for him it would not hold the position of importance as an institution which is now accorded to it throughout the United Kingdom. The founders of the Society had not looked to or hoped for the extension of its influence beyond the narrow limits of the district whose name it bore; and they never contemplated, in their original design, the publication of its Proceedings in any other form than as they might appear in the reports of the local newspapers. At the end of the first year of its operations, however, Mr. Burke startled his fellow-members of the Committee by a proposition for the publication of the Society's Transactions in an illustrated volume, to be followed annually by a similar issue—averring that the papers read were too valuable to be left buried in old newspaper files, and were of sufficient importance to establish the Society's reputation throughout Great Britain, and gain such adhesions to its ranks from distant localities as would not only largely extend its means of usefulness, but insure for it ample support to keep it in existence independently of mere local subscribers, many of whom might be expected to fall away when the novelty of the undertaking should have worn off. The

suggestion, from being at first looked upon as a wild chimera, came to be soon seriously entertained, and was ultimately adopted and acted upon, with exactly the result which its propounder had foretold for it. The Society is no longer a mere county or provincial one; but, under the patronage of Royalty, counts its supporters and contributors from amongst the learned men, not of Great Britain and Ireland alone, but also of the Continent of Europe.

"A marked feature of the year's progress has been the generous determination of some of the Members to defray the whole or the greater part of the expense of the printing of several papers of considerable interest. Your Committee gladly mention the names of A. G. 'Geoghegan, Esq., and Captain H. M. F. Langton, whose generosity has enabled the Committee to give to the Members, for the year 1864, a much larger amount of printed matter than the ordinary funds of the Society would in prudence warrant.

"In conclusion, your Committee have great pleasure in announcing that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been graciously pleased to become Chief Patron of the Society; and that His Excellency Lord Wodehouse, successor to Lord Carlisle as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, has also been pleased to become a Patron and Life Member. That His Royal Highness, the heir apparent to the throne of these realms, should thus show the interest he feels in the antiquities and ancient history of Ireland, must be most gratifying to the Members of this Society, and deserves their lasting gratitude; and it is also encouraging to find the present Viceroy of Ireland following in the steps of his illustrious and lamented predecessors, and giving the sanction of his patronage to a Society, the object of which is to foster the study of ancient literature and archaeology."

It was unanimously resolved that the Report of the Committee be adopted and printed.

Mr. Robertson expressed a hope that the Members who had dropped off owing arrears would pay for those years during which they had continued to receive the Society's "Journal."

The Rev. J. Graves said he hoped so; all would be applied to.

Mr. Prim observed that the paragraph in the Report suggesting that the default of many arose from mere want of thought, was, no doubt, correct. It was too much the habit to overlook mere circulars; but the members of a Society should recollect that it would be too serious a labour to write special letters to each personally. He was sure many of the defaulters would not only pay the arrears placed to their names, but ask to join the Society again, and would be more careful in recollecting to meet the current subscriptions for the future.

The following Statement of the Accounts for the year 1863 was then brought forward by the Treasurer:—

CHARGE.

1863.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands,	27	10	4½
Dec. 31.	„ Annual Subscriptions, including those to “Illustration Fund,” received during the year,	198	5	6
	„ Subscriptions to Annual Volume	0	10	0
	„ Life Composition,	5	0	0
	„ Donation from Lord Courtown, towards copying MS. Name Books of Wexford and Carlow, at the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park,	1	0	0
	„ Donation from A. G. 'Geoghegan, Esq., being the cost of printing his paper on the History of Londonderry,	8	15	9
	„ Cash received for Woodcuts sold,	1	1	6
	„ Cash received for “Journal” sold to Members,	1	18	6
	„ Rent of Land at Jerpoint,	1	0	0
		<hr/> £245		
			1	7½

DISCHARGE.

1863.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By postage of “Journal,”	7	4	8
	„ Circulars and Correspondence,	8	12	6
	„ Cost of Illustrations of “Journal,”	26	19	6
	„ Cost of printing, paper, &c., of “Journal” for the three quarters ending September 30th, 1863,	89	18	7
	„ General printing and stationery,	24	13	4
	„ Commission to Dublin Collector,	0	8	6
	„ Sundry expenses incurred by Treasurer,	5	17	3
	„ Carriage of parcels,	0	14	5
	„ Purchase of scarce numbers of “Journal” and other books,	3	0	5
	„ Rent of Jerpoint Abbey for one year,	1	0	0
	„ Caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey,	1	0	0
	„ Rent and Assurance of Museum,	14	15	0
	„ Transcribing original documents, viz.:— “Name Books” of Kilkenny, Wexford, and Carlow, &c.,	14	10	6
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	46	6	11½
		<hr/> £245		
			1	7½

Mr. Graves stated that the actual balance in the Society's favour was not quite so large as the above, the payment for printing the last quarterly part of “Journal” for 1863 coming into 1864; but

yet, when the accounts for the latter year should be brought forward, it would be found there was still a *bond fide* balance in the Society's favour.

The Treasurer's vouchers having been handed in, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Aylward were requested to audit the accounts before next meeting, as usual.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. V., part 1.

By the Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society for the County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester: their "Journal," part 7.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 82.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: their "Journal," Vol. X., part 2.

By the Author: "Catechism of Irish History," by the Rev. John O'Hanlon.

By the Royal Institution of Cornwall: their "Journal," No. 2, October, 1864.

By the British Archæological Association: their "Journal" for December, 1864.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, Statistics, and Natural History: their "Proceedings," Vol. IV., No. 1.

By the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society: their "Magazine," No. 25.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for November and December, 1864, and January, 1865.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1131-1144, inclusive.

By Mr. Robertson, on the part of the Dean and Chapter of St. Canice: some pieces of carved oak, which had formed portion of a roof of St. Canice's Cathedral earlier than that being at present removed—apparently not older than the period of Bishop Williams' "restoration," in the reign of Charles II.; also some very perfect specimens of the old Cathedral flooring tiles, and an iron spring lock, of some antiquity, found in the progress of the works there. Also a carved stone belonging to the ancient Parish Church of St. Canice, which had preceded the present Cathedral. This stone, used as an ordinary building stone in the North Chapel, presented the ball ornament on a chamfer, usual in the Hiberno-Romanesque mouldings of the twelfth century. It corresponded fully in style with the carved capital built into the external base of south transept wall, as figured in the "History of St. Canice's Cathedral," p. 26.

By Mr. Prim: a leaden bulla of Pope Innocent IV.—whose pontificate began in 1243, and ended in 1254—stated by the person from whom he had bought it to have been found in the drainage excavations in the cemetery of St. Canice's Cathedral. This bulla had probably been originally attached to some Papal rescript connected with the Cathedral, with the erection of which it was coeval.

By the Rev. V. P. Skelly, O. P.: an encaustic flooring tile, the design on which was a lion rampant within an engrailed border, found in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny; and a London groat, of Edward IV., in base metal, also found at the Abbey.

By Mr. J. Ennis Mayler, Ballymitty, county of Wexford: a half stone mould for casting a small equal armed cross-crosslet, found at Mooretown, county of Wexford, about the year 1790, by the late Mr. Richard Cullen, who died about forty years since, and who always stated that he had picked it up in the sand by the margin of a stream. This mould differed from others of a similar character, in having an orifice in the back, whereby the molten metal passed into the mould at the centre of the cross, in place of at the edge, as usual. Mr. Mayler also presented four copper coins, found in the barony of Forth, including a half-crown of James II., struck in August, 1689, in remarkably good preservation.

By the Rev. W. A. Dobbyn, Clonmore Glebe, through Mr. Robertson: a very fine bronze spear-head, and an unfinished spindle-whorl, the hole not being completely drilled through. The spear-head was of that class having a broad blade, with orifices at each side of the central ridge, figured by Sir William Wilde, in his "Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy Museum," page 496, figure 365.

By Dr. Ridley, Tullamore: a Kilkenny token, being that variety struck "For the Poor," in 1659.

By Edmond Smithwick, Esq., Mayor of Kilkenny: a curious and rare engraving, the object of which was to hold up to ridicule and obloquy the famous writer, Daniel de Foe. It was entitled "The Whig Medley, by G. B., Engraver," 1711.

By Mr. A. G. Geoghegan, Londonderry: a photograph of a page of a MS. copy of the Bible richly illuminated, written in the fourteenth century, now preserved in Foyle College, Londonderry. The photograph was accompanied by an interesting account of the MS., printed at p. 232, *infra*.

By Mr. Robertson: an ancient stone cresset, supposed to have been used for burning rushlights, and of which there were already three specimens in the Museum, found in different localities. The antique was cupped at each end, and shaped like a dumbbell in the centre, being thus capable of standing on either extremity. Mr. Robertson had recently obtained it in the parish of Castle Ellis, county of Wexford.

Mr. Graves observed that, at a recent visit to their Museum, Lord Enniskillen had expressed his sense of the great rarity and interest of this class of antiquities, which he had here seen for the first time. He (Mr. Graves) had given to Lord Enniskillen a cast from one of the examples in their collection, in order that His Lordship might ascertain if any such antiques were preserved in the British Museum.

By Mr. Andrew Wilson, Collector of Inland Revenue, Wexford, on the part of Mr. Denis Hoyne, Thomastown: a piece of the St. Patrick-money, of the halfpenny size, in good preservation. Referring to the late Dr. Cane's argument as to this coinage having proceeded from the mint of the Confederate Catholics, and Dr. Aquilla Smith's theory, in reply, as to their having been Dublin tokens of the reign of Charles II., Mr. Wilson expressed his opinion that they were much more likely to have been struck early in the reign of James II. He supported his views by the following observations:—

“The absence of the arms of the Confederation, and of their well-known motto, ‘Pro Rege, Lege, et Patria Hiberni unanimes,’ as well as of anything on the coin to denote its being issued by their authority, appears to me a fatal objection. I should expect that a Government like the Confederation, newly formed, and not universally accepted in the kingdom, would be sure, when issuing a coinage, to seize such an opportunity to proclaim the authority they claimed, by engraving on the coin their official style. The issue of the coin, it would appear to me, might be attributed with more probability to another period of our history—the commencement of the reign of King James II., before any serious attempt was made to contest his right to the Crown. The inscription on both sides of the coin appear to me more appropriate to that period than to the earlier period. In that earlier period, although the Supreme Council was carrying on the Government in the name of the King, it was not to be expected that their loyalty could be of so exalted a character to him that they should write him down a second David, and suppress all mention of themselves—and the inscription on the obverse, ‘Quiescat Plebs,’ would be a bitter mockery in the midst of a desolating war. But assuming the truth of my hypothesis, the inscriptions would be singularly appropriate. ‘Floreat Rex’ would be an exceedingly appropriate prayer addressed on behalf of a Catholic King, married to a young Catholic Princess, but as yet without heirs: and the other inscription, ‘Quiescat Plebs,’ would represent a prayer for the continuance of the only interval of peace the kingdom had enjoyed for years. I should be inclined to think that the ‘St. Patrick’s’ pieces were never intended to serve for money. They appear to me to have been kept as badges of adherence to the King, in the same way as the silver ‘White Swans’ were given to the adherents of the Lancastrian Prince of Wales *tempore* Henry VI.”

By Mr. Robert Day, Jun., Cork, eighteen specimens of flint implements, found as described in the following communication:

These implements exhibited a striking resemblance to those discovered in the "drift" near Abbeville and elsewhere in France and England, which have excited so much interest of late in scientific quarters; the presentations comprised specimens of the perfect leaf-shaped spear or knife, the partly formed celt, and the broken flint weapon; none of them were polished:—

"On the Northern Counties Railway within two hours' drive of Belfast, is the Toome Station, which takes its name from Toome Bridge, a secluded peaceful village, nestled among old trees, and bounded on the south by Lough Neagh, and on the west by the River Bann, which here flows out of the lough on its course to join the Atlantic, below Coleraine. The bridge which spans the river at Toome forms a connecting link between the counties of Antrim and Derry. The lough presents at this place the appearance of a great V, having the space between the points filled with a plateau of sand, known as Toome Bar. This is almost invariably covered with from two to three feet of water. Barton, who published a work on Lough Neagh, Dublin, 1751, says, 'that before the autumnal season of the year the water discharged at Toome is very inconsiderable, so as not to afford a depth greater than that which may reach to a shoe-buckle, or the knee of a person wading; and once it happened that a person taking advantage of an inblowing wind walked over dryshod.' Unfortunately, when I visited the place, the wind was in a contrary direction, and the water reached above the knee; but my guide informed me that, owing to the dryness of the summer, the whole surface of the bar was at one period of this year dry. Strewn upon and imbedded in it are logs and barks of timber, some of which bear the marks of fire, while others still retain their upright position; these must have been placed here artificially, as the bar of sand extends fully a quarter of a mile into the lake, outside of which there is deep water; and if by the force of the water they had been thrown up here, it is equally probable they would have been swept by the first winter flood into the river, and thence to the sea. From this it may be inferred that there was here, at a very remote period, a crannoge or lacustrine dwelling. The sites for such habitations were, when practicable, always chosen either where a river flowed into a lake or *vice versa*, these being the best fishing grounds. And here nature may be said to have formed a site which is unequalled. From the large number of flint weapons, &c., which I found lying on the surface, and slightly imbedded in the sandy bottom, it is more than probable that they were used by the dwellers in this island village. Flint is not found in its natural state within seven miles of Toome, so that it must have been brought home, and manufactured in the crannoge. I searched in vain for a fragment or nodule similar to those which may be found in any gravel heap, but all I saw had the evident marks of chipping; some were thrown away, owing to the imperfect character of the flint, while others were perfectly formed, and more were broken, either in the process of making or in use. But the most positive proof of their having been made here is, that the large cores of flint from which the weapons were struck were also found. All these flint flakes are of the earliest type, many closely resembling those found in the 'drift' at Abbeville, and many like those brought home from the

Dordogne Caves by Messrs. Lartet and Christy. I only succeeded in getting two rudely shaped barbed spear-heads; but had the good fortune to find four celts of the ordinary type, made from the trap rock, two of which are polished, while the others are made with less care, and the edge only showing signs of careful working. The greater number of these flint weapons were perhaps formed by not more than three or four skilful blows; thus, one would strike the fragment from the core, while two more would form the midrib, giving it a leaf shape, and a fourth would cause the slight depression at the base, which was intended to secure the weapon to its wood or bone handle. Some ten or fifteen years ago the commissioners appointed for deepening the River Bann had occasion to infringe on this sand bed, and in it antiquities of great variety, belonging to the Stone and Bronze periods, were found. These were deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; and any person looking over the Catalogues of this National Collection, must be struck with the frequency with which Toomebar appears in connexion with bronze swords and spear-heads, or with the more peaceful relics of a bye-gone age, the ring brooch, enamelled bead, or silver armlet. Lough Neagh, like nearly all the other lakes in Ireland, has its traditions and legends, in which the peasantry implicitly believe. And when Moore wrote the lines—

“ ‘On Lough Neagh’s banks as the fisherman strays,
When the clear cold eve’s declining,
He sees the round towers of other days
In the waves beneath him shining—”

he but perpetuated in undying verse the belief which the dwellers on its shores possess, that beneath the present waters was once a thickly populated country; but owing to the ‘evil living of the men who dwelt therein,’ it was suddenly submerged by a just God; and that even to this day may be seen, beneath its placid waters, the round towers, ‘the high-shapen steeple’ and the crumbling wall, of ruined cities. May not this tradition be the faint remembrance of the lacustrine inhabitants?”

The Rev. James Graves said that, having heard of the discovery of a crannoge, or lake-dwelling, in Grantstown Lake, Queen’s County, on the property of the Right Hon. John Wilson Fitzpatrick, he had written to their newly elected Associate, that gentleman’s son, Mr. Bernard Fitzpatrick, who had kindly sent him the following brief account of the particulars:—

“The lake is very deep, and was drained two or three years ago, so as to make it six feet lower. This disclosed an island of mud and stakes. The stakes which form the circumference are very sharply pointed, but in the centre they seem to have been grooved and nailed to one another. I found an enormous quantity of animal bones; two nails with large heads; a hasp; what I consider to be an arrow or spear of charred wood, and a polished piece of bone, like a hair-pin. The pin has grooved circles all round it, at the top. I found also a great deal of charred wood, and a lump of gypsum. I also found what I think must have been a coffin, as it was boarded over, and had pieces of wood for the head and feet; also

side pieces, all fitted into one another. When opened, there was a bad smell; and two small bones, almost crumbling, were found inside; it was about four feet and a half long. I found no boat—anything of the kind would be likely to have sunk to the bottom, and the lake is upwards of eighty feet deep at least.”

The Rev. J. Graves said that he wished to correct a typographical error in the completed version of the inscription on Prior Comerford's tomb, at Kells (see p. 186, *supra*); it should read—|.

† HIC : IACET : RICARDUS : COMERFORD : [QUI :
QJONDOM : PRIOR : EXSTITIT : ISTIUS : DOMI :

The Rev. George H. Reade, Inniskeen, recorded the discovery of a crannoge on the glebe island, in the parish of Aghnamullen, in the county of Monaghan. There were two islands in the lake under the glebe house. Some fourteen years ago the then rector ploughed up one of them for the first time, and turned up many curious antiquities—bones, stakes, pottery, &c. The present rector had also found many ancient remains on the edge of the island, during the low water of last summer. He mentioned to Mr. Reade the following curious circumstance:—Sitting on the island one day, he saw what he thought to be a button on the leaf of a waterplant, which had grown up from the bottom of the lake. But this, on examination, proved to be an old coin, ascertained by Mr. Reade to be a half-groat of Edward III. Some of the treasures of the lake being thus lifted to the surface by the natural growth of the plant.

The Marquis of Kildare, in reference to Mr. 'Geoghegan's argument, founded on a passage in Moore's "History of Ireland," as to Christopher Paris neither having treacherously surrendered Maynooth Castle, nor being executed by Skeffington on taking that stronghold of "Silken Thomas," sent the following communication:—

"On reading Mr. 'Geoghegan's note (p. 56) of the last number of the Society's 'Journal,' it appears to me that the facts he mentions do not 'corroborate Moore's account.' According to Stanihurst, Christopher Paris was beheaded soon after the taking of the castle. Sir W. Skeffington, in his letter of the 26th March, 1535, says that the castle was taken on the 23rd, and twenty-five of the garrison were beheaded, and one hung on the 25th. And in the act of attainder of Thomas Earl of Kildare and his followers, it is mentioned that Paris was dead at the time it was passed, 1536. I think the accounts are not inconsistent, as Skeffington, in his report, would very likely suppress the fact of the castle having been given up by treachery, as lessening his own merit in taking it; and it is scarcely probable that Stanihurst, writing in the life-time of Earl Thomas' brother, would publish the story of the betrayal, if it was a mere invention. The fact of George Paris being on friendly terms with a Fitzgerald,

and conspiring with him against the English Government, is also consistent with this story. He may have retained the family friendship for the Geraldines, and have been the more hostile to the Government in consequence of the execution of his father or brother, under the circumstances mentioned by Stanihurst."

Mr. Prim said he wished to place on record in the "Journal" of the Society the recent discovery, by the Rev. Mr. Skelly, at the Black Abbey, of an Edwardian tomb, making an interesting addition to the tombs previously discovered, and which had been noticed by him in the Transactions of the Society for the year 1851.¹ In the process of removing the yard wall of an adjoining house built on part of the old monastic precincts, for the purpose of making a more commodious entrance at the western end of the abbey, the workmen found a tomb, apparently in its original position, as it lay east and west, and the foot to the former point. It was a coffin-shaped slab, ornamented with a cross in bold relief, gracefully designed, and floriated at the points. Running along the right side of the shaft of the cross, in two lines, was an inscription in Norman French, and incised Lombardic characters, as follows:—

✠ DAVID : MERCATOR : ꝥIT : ICI : DEU : DE :
SA : ALME : EIT : MERCI : AMEN.

This David the Merchant was, no doubt, an ancient burgess of Kilkenny, but Mr. Prim said he had not yet been able to identify him.

Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan sent the following:—

"Attached to Foyle College, Londonderry, is an extensive library, containing some 1500 books, chiefly of a theological character. Ponderous folios of the early Fathers of the Church, and polyglot treatises by the learned casuists of the Middle Ages, meet the eye on every side. A considerable number of the volumes which form the collection are in black letter; and such light reading as the works of Bredenbachius (*Antwerp*, 1588), Buchehingerus' 'Historiæ Ecclesiæ' (*Lovanii*, 1560), Cloppenburghius (*Franckf.* 1652), Hieronymus Opera (*Bas.* 1565), Hilarii lucubrationes (*Bas.* 1528), and the 'Orthodoxagraphiæ Theologiæ' (*Bas.* 1555); and hundreds of volumes of a similar nature, rest in all the dignity of undisturbed repose on the shelves. It is therefore not a matter of much marvel that the gift of this collection by Archbishop King, in 1729, as a public library for the use of the clergy and gentlemen of the Diocese of Derry, has been, so far as the laity are concerned, of little benefit; few of the gentlemen of Derry have been tempted to avail themselves of the privilege granted by the worthy donor; and to a great number, I fear, its very existence is unknown.

"Still the collection is in many respects an interesting one, and no

¹ "Journal," vol. 1., p. 453, First Series.

better description of it can be given than what has been already supplied in the preface to the Catalogue, printed in 1848. It runs thus:—

“These books were originally the Library of Ezekiel Hopkins, D. D., Lord Bishop of Derry. His name is written in many of them, and among them are several books of manuscript notes, the result of his diligent study. On his decease they were purchased by his successor in the see, William King, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, justly celebrated for his learning and services to the Church. By him they were demised at his death, in 1729, in trust, to Bishop Nicholson, as follows:—

““13thly.—I give and bequeath to the Right Rev. William, Lord Bishop of Derry, and to his successors for the time being, all the books I bought from the executors of Dr. Hopkins, late Bishop of Derry, in trust, nevertheless, that he and his successors shall suffer the said books to be and remain in the library now prepared for them, for the use of the clergy and gentlemen of the said diocese, as a public library; and I will and order my executor hereafter appointed, during his life, to make such further conveyance of the said books as counsel learned in the law shall advise, and, with the consent of the bishop of the said diocese for the time being, to settle proper rules for the management and preservation of the said library and books; and I do hereby appoint the Bishop of Derry to be visitor of the same, and entreat him and his successors to take that care upon them.”

“The books were, in pursuance of the above will, kept in a suitable room attached to the old Free School in Derry, and were transferred to the new school on the Foyle, upon the completion of that building in 1814.

“To the original Library thus associated with the distinguished names of Hopkins and King, additions have been made from time to time, and it is to be regretted that they have not been more exactly recorded. Amongst the chief contributors the name of Gabriel Stokes appears. He was a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and held the living of Desertmartin, in this diocese, in 1805. Himself in reputation as a scholar, especially in Greek literature, his books remain in the Library a lasting evidence of his desire to encourage learning among the clergy. The late James Alexander, Esq., of London, also presented the institution with a pair of large globes, and several maps, handsomely mounted, to which it was his design that philosophical apparatus should have been added. To the late Rev. James Knox, for forty years Master of the School, as also to the present Bishop of Derry, the Library is indebted for the re-binding of many of the volumes, and their consequent preservation. Unfortunately, no funds exist for this purpose, so that the collection, worthy of regard, not from historical association alone, but of great intrinsic value, is seriously suffering from decay.

“Theology occupies the largest space on the shelves, but there is also abundant material for the classical and general student.

“The Catalogue has been prepared under many disadvantages, but will, it is hoped, serve the purpose contemplated by the editor, namely, of facilitating reference, and drawing the attention of the clergy and gentlemen of the diocese to a body of literature which might be still more avail-

able to the uses of the divine, the scholar, and the gentleman, if but a moderate provision was made for repairing the injuries of time, and supplying modern publications.'

"Among the many and curious volumes to be found in this Library, my attention was directed to a '*Biblia Sacra illuminata*' in manuscript, the work apparently of Irish artists, probably monks, of the fourteenth century. On visiting the College a second time, through the courtesy of the Rev. W. H. Parrett, A. M., Head Master, I was enabled to inspect more closely the manuscript, and to procure photographs of its pages for the Association.

"The volume is bound in boards, which have been carefully covered with parchment to preserve them. It is nine inches in length, five inches broad, and three inches thick; it contains 360 pages. The vellum, like that of all Irish manuscripts, is strong, and somewhat rough, differing in this respect from '*The Codex Derensis*,' which is scribed on a material as smooth and pliable as the most delicate foreign note paper. The ink used is in some portions of the manuscript a jet black, retaining its original tint; but in other portions, where an inferior medium has been employed, the fluid has become pale and discoloured through age. It is notable that in those places the calligraphy is by an inferior artist, showing that two, if not more, have been employed on the work. Of the contents of the *Codex Foylensis*, I am enabled to furnish a clear and full account; and the Members of the Society will at once endorse this opinion when they peruse the following description of its pages from the pen of Dr. Todd, S. F. and Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, dated so far back as 1849 :—

"'This is a beautiful and precious copy of the Bible, written in the fourteenth century. It contains the whole of the Old and New Testaments in the Vulgate version; but, what is unusual, at the end of the Book of Psalms, we find the collects for the principal festivals, together with the ordinary or canons of the Mass; then follows the Book of Isaiah, and the rest of the Old Testament, in the usual order, to the end of Malachi; then the Book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus; at the end of Ecclesiasticus follow the *Preparatio Sacerdotis ad Missam*, and the private prayers to be said by the priest during the celebration. Then follows the New Testament, and at the end a very copious copy of the explanations of Hebrew words in alphabetical order.

"'From the occurrence of the ordinary of the Mass in this curious and valuable Bible, it is evident that this was a book intended to be carried about by an itinerant priest, that he might be provided not only with the Scriptures, but also with the essential parts of the Liturgy for celebrating Mass.'

"There is no doubt but that Doctor Todd has accurately and truly pointed out the peculiar purpose for which the *Codex Foylensis* was intended. From the size of the volume, it could be readily carried about from place to place in a leathern satchel attached to the shoulders of the gilly attending on the priest, or slung from the back of the animal on which he rode. Doctor Reeves, in his interesting account of the 'Book of

Armagh,' supplies some valuable information on this custom of the ancient Irish, and remarks that the leathern satchel contained the Irish religious books, not only *in transitu*, but likewise on reaching their destination. 'Book shelves being unknown in the primitive economy of Irish monasteries, all the volumes were suspended in satchels by straps from pins or hooks in the wall.'

"The ornamentation of the Manuscript is neat, but somewhat of a slight character. The colours used are two—vermilion and blue,—the latter having two tints, one dark, the other light. It is wonderful with these simple accessories how pleasing an effect has been produced. The initial letters of each chapter, as is usual in Irish Manuscripts, appear to have chiefly engaged the attention and employed the ingenuity of the artists. On the circular portion of those initial letters much labour has been expended. The circle of the letter is enlarged, and the surface is filled in with vermilion, dotted with blue points. The first glance at this suggests the result as similar to that produced on tessellated tiles of Moorish or Arabesque pattern. A second and closer glance brings out the fact, that what had at first appeared to the eye to be merely a plain red disc interspersed with blue points or dots is actually composed of minute lines or tracings of vermilion, drawn with the utmost elegance, and forming the most graceful and complicated combinations of linear designs. The variety of these designs is well worth a careful study. In some pages the initial letter is drawn so as to form an angle with the double columns of the Manuscript; in others it is extended the whole length of the page, and is even continued horizontally at the bottom of it. In a few instances the termination or stem of this initial letter has been turned by a flourish of the pen into a grotesque human face; but it is evident that this has arisen from a sudden vagary of the artist, and that it formed no portion of the original design.

"Numerous marginal notes, and annotations are traced on various pages of the Manuscript, proving even to a casual observer that the conjecture of Doctor Todd, that the volume was intended for a book of reference, is perfectly correct.

"I have, in conclusion, to add that this interesting Manuscript is carefully preserved in the Library of Foyle College; and that the Head Master, the Rev. W. H. Parrett, promptly affords every facility for the inspection of its pages to all persons who apply to him on the subject.

"In connexion with the foregoing, I have long held the opinion that Ireland is richer in rare manuscripts than she is generally supposed to be; and that hid in the garrets of our old mansions, or overlooked in the neglected shelves of the hereditary bookcase, lie many volumes, which, if rescued from their dust-covered recesses, and made popular through the printed columns of your 'Proceedings,' would prove interesting alike to the general and to the antiquarian reader. Old diaries and family letters frequently throw an unexpected light on the dark places of history. The aid that family portraits render to the artist and to the author is well known. If my humble voice could be heard, I would raise it to call on the Members of this Association, located as they are in all parts of the kingdom, to turn their attention to this subject; and I am confident that in a short time they will find their researches rewarded with a success

they little expected when they commenced them, and thereby an amount of useful matter would be thus elicited which would be, not only full of interest to their comrades of the present day, but would also lay up a store of valuable information for our future Irish Macaulay, from which he could extract those minute details and artistic touches for his historic portraits which can be alone furnished by domestic records, and family archives."

The following papers were submitted to the Members:—

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE COUNTY AND CITY OF KILKENNY.

BY MR. JOHN HOGAN.

(Continued from p. 214.)

I STATED in the opening of the last section of this paper that Cormac Mac Cuilleanan annexed to Munster that part of the present county of Kilkenny south of the King's River, and erected there a royal mansion called "Ucht-na-Roighna," or the Breast of Roighna. At the same period his bards of Cashel describe the plain extending northwards from the King's River to the Dromdeilgy ridge of hills, by its primitive subdenomination of Magh Rath, or the Plain of the Rathes or Forts, which title they appear to have understood of the domestic estates of the king. They also designated this plain for the first time "Gabhran," and confined the name of Raighne to the country south of the King's River, which they had annexed to Munster; and from this arrangement the King of Ossory is now for the first time recognised as "Righ Gabhran," in contradistinction to "Righ Raighne," his ancient title, now ignored by the Munstermen. In the construction of the map which accompanied the preceding section (see p. 191, *supra*), I adopted this subdivision of the ancient territory of Raighne, as I consider it the most worthy of preservation when accompanied by the present illustrations. Yet it must be observed here that this arrangement was only coextensive with the reign of Cormac Mac Cuilleanan; for after the battle of "Bealach Mughna," where he was slain, in the year 909, Flann Sionna, Monarch of Ireland, marched into Ossraigh, and restored that kingdom to its former possessions. Besides what has been here advanced in illustration of Magh Lacha, O'Gloiairn's cantred, and Magh Raighne, some additional inquiries respecting the same localities will be found in "Transactions," vol. iii., p. 378, New Series. The sequel of the present paper shall be confined to the territory variously denominated Magh Rath, Ui-Cearbhaill, and Gabhran.

MAGH RATH, UI-CEARBHAILL, AND GABHRAN.—The Lower Valley of the Nore is the most spacious as well as the most central plain of the ancient Osraigh. Its wide-spreading landscape presents many pleasant prospects ere its distant outlines blend into other tribal lands, or graduate into the lofty ridges which elsewhere form its boundaries. Its variegated surface exhibits the agreeable contrast of light and shade, without its sward being broken by bog or moor; its noble river meanders majestically through the picturesque scenes of sylvan vales and pastoral undulations, receiving in its course the unfailing supplies of its numerous tributaries, which, issuing from the breasts of the adjacent hills, ripple down their slopes in streams of life, and thence wend their respective courses amidst waving crops, and rural gardens, and clustering foliage, beautifying and irrigating the lawns through which they meander, and refreshing the thirsty inhabitants of the vegetable and animal kingdoms that people their banks, thus rendering this fair and fertile tract the most fruitful tillage land in the county. This district, as already stated, extends from the Dromdeilgy hills, two miles above Kilkenny, to the Valley of the King's River about seven miles below it; and from Bealach Gabhran on the east to Bealach Urluidhe on the west, about twelve miles. This central and important territory must have been identified with the leading events in the history of Osraigh in remote times. Towards the spot which from time immemorial has formed its capital converged the great highways from many districts of historical celebrity. Its central position would render it an eligible site from which the feudatory or tribe king could hold in command his subordinate toparchs; it contains the sites of many ancient churches; it preserves in its topographical nomenclature the terms of very remote origin; and over its surface are profusely scattered the ruins of the raths, or earthen mansions, of the original inhabitants of the island. Its now most prominent feature is the city of Kilkenny, in which may be traced the remains of very early institutions. Yet this territory, though thus exhibiting the evidences of its ancient importance, has been supposed to have held no position of distinction in the historical topography of ancient Osraigh. From what has been advanced in the last section respecting the extent of Raighne, the plain now referred to appears to have been comprised in that province, under the subdenomination of "Magh Rath." At a later period it has also been recognised as "Ui-Cearbhaill" and "Gabhran." An inquiry into the origin of these several denominations, with a short historical illustration of the territory to which they were applied, will afford us an interesting vista into the civil and political condition of Ireland during the ninth and tenth centuries.

Of the political institutions of ancient Ireland of which there is any existing record, one of the most singularly interesting in its

details, and apparently civilizing in its influences, was that known as "visitation and refection"—a prerogative claimed by the court of Cashel for the "King of Mumha, if he be King of Eire." This national formulary, as we learn from the "Book of Rights," consisted in a royal excursion through the island being performed by the Munster monarch, accompanied by his nobles, in fifteen months and twelve days, and in the course of which he visited each of the provincial kings, presented to them certain gifts, and claimed in return a right to their hospitality for one, two, or more months, according to their regal grade and territorial importance. We are not informed of the immediate object of these "re-unions," nor of the intervals at which they were to be performed; nor have we the programme of the civil ceremonials and social festivities that accompanied the interchange of royal amenities on these grand ovations; but we have the route of the royal journey indicated, the stations at which the procession halted for refreshment named, the gifts which His Majesty of Cashel presented to the provincial potentates duly chronicled, and the duration of his stay as guest of the several princes formally specified. From Cashel the Munster monarch proceeds north-west through Connaught, where he receives "entertainment for two quarters" at "the pleasant Cruachan," now called Rathcroghan, in Roscommon, the site of the ancient palace of the Kings of Connaught. Thence an escort is sent with "the King and heroes of Mumha" to Tir-Chonaill, a territory nearly coextensive with the present county of Donegal. Here he receives one month's refection, which, it is added, "*in grief is given*;" and then "the King of Conal goes with him *as guide to the stranger* into the noble Tir-Eoghain" [Tyrone]. Here he presents "fifty steeds, with the usual trappings," to the Prince of Aileach at the "Doires of goodly fruit." This place has been Anglicised Derry, and now Londonderry. He next visits successively the Kings of Orghialla and Uíad, between whom, with the King of Aileach last mentioned, the province of Ulster was then divided. After three months' stay in the northern courts he returns towards the south, when "the Ulstermen escort him to strong Teamhair" [Tara]. On "Teamhair's summit" he enjoys one month's refection; and then the men of Midhe [Meath] come with him to the brown Duibhlinn" [Dublin]; from which, after a month's entertainment, "the King of the beauteous ford" accompanies "the hero of Caiseal" to the Leinstermen. Here he enjoys two full months' refection, namely one in "Laighin tuath Gabhair," a district now represented by south Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare. From this he enters "Laighin deas Gabhair," for the position of which see the map that accompanied the last part of this paper.¹ Here he presents his gifts to the "King of Gabhran," and

¹ See p. 191, *supra*.

partakes of his hospitality for the last month of his tour, after which he returned home to Cashel.¹ The following quotation is from the prologue to his journey through Leinster :—

“Thirty ships, thirty steeds, thirty cumhals [bondmaids], and thirty cows, to the King of Laighin [Leinster], and two full months’ refection from the Leinstermen to him—i. e. a month’s from the *Laighin tuath Gabhair*, and a month’s from the *Laighin deas Gabhair*; [to the king of the latter he presents] thirty steeds, thirty coats of mail, and forty swords.”

In modern phraseology this passage reads thus :—The King of Cashel presents to His Majesty of Leinster the ships, steeds, female slaves, and cows enumerated, and in return is privileged to one month’s entertainment in “*Laighin tuath Gabhair*,” where the King of Leinster then held his court; and for another month’s refection in “*Laighin deas Gabhair*,” or the lower valley of the Nore, he confers the additional favours of thirty steeds, as many coats of armour, and forty swords on the King of Gabhran. From the metrical amplification of this introductory passage at page 41, much interesting light is reflected on this subject. After a month’s indulgence with “*Tomar’s chieftains*,” i. e., the Danish lords of Dublin, we quote the following from the entry of the Munster King into Leinster :—

“Thirty ships to the heroes of Liamhain;
Thirty good steeds are sent by him.
There are due to the districts around Carman³
Thirty women slaves, thirty cows.”

And the privileges of the Mummonian monarch are :—

“Two full months’ refection from the Leinstermen.
To the hero of Mumha at *Magh-Rath* [one month’s, and]
A month’s feasting at Magh Brannduibh,
From the race of Conla, above all,”

i. e., from the Osraighi, whom O’Dugan eulogizes as the “race of brave and plundering Conla,” and to whose King the Mummonian sovereign now presents

“Thirty steeds, thirty coats of mail:
To the hero of Gabhran of fair colour,
It was not grooms that lashed them,⁴
Thirty swords for battle.”

The ships are here appropriately bestowed on the King of Leinster, whose territory included the eastern seaboard from the north

¹ “Book of Rights,” p. 33.

² “Liamhain,” now Dunlavin, county of Wicklow.

³ Carman was the ancient Celtic name

of the town of Wexford.

⁴ “It was not grooms that lashed them;” that is, they were trained by chieftains, not by menials.

of Wicklow to the south of Wexford, and for which the King of Cashel requires as his right a month's entertainment at "Magh Brannduibh," a plain so called from Rath-Brann, or Dunbrann, the then residence of the king near Baltinglass. Carman mentioned in the extract was identical with the present town of Wexford, and was celebrated in Irish history for its "fair" or public games;¹ and the "hero of Mumha" having completed his month's sojourn in Leinster, and his enjoyment of the games of Carman, he directs his course westwards through Bealach Gabhran, and on his way takes in the court of Osraigh, recognises the sovereignty of its King, presents to him his gifts of "thirty steeds, thirty coats of mail, and forty swords," and in return requires as his tribute refection and hospitality for this the last month, and at the last station of his tour through the nation. From the quotation we glean the following important details, viz. :—The King of Osraigh is here denominated King of Gabhran; he held the seat of his government in "Laighin deas Gabhair," or Lower Ossory; and the plain within that territory in which his *castellum* or fort was situated was then known as "Magh-Rath." We have now no district or locality in Osraigh retaining this name, or any modification of it. We have inquired from every available source, and ascertained from unquestionable authorities the original denominations of the ancient tribe lands of that kingdom, save that of the one great central tract which we have so frequently described as the Lower Valley of the Nore; and hence even here it would appear probable that this plain and the ancient Magh-Rath were identical; but the "Book of Rights" further informs us that Magh-Rath was peopled by "the race of Conla," on whose fidelity above all others the King of Cashel relied with security. In a note on this line the learned translator observes in the margin :—"Conla was the ancestor of the Mac-Giolla-Phadraig, and his co-relatives who were seated in the ancient Osraigh;" but, if at the period when this journey of the King of Cashel was performed, as we shall now demonstrate, the immediate progenitors of the Giolla-Phadraig, as well as the seat of government and the royal residence of the King of Osraigh, were situated in the plain surrounding the present city of Kilkenny, no further doubt can be entertained that it was the scene of the King of Munster's entertainment in this territory, and by a necessary consequence identical with the plain in the same kingdom at that period recognised as "MAGH-RATH."

The "Book of Rights" faithfully indicates the political designs of the court of Cashel during the period of Cormac Mac Cuilleanan's reign. From what we know of the history of this prince, notwithstanding his reputation for sanctity of life, he appears to have

¹ "The Fayth" (place of assembly) present day; it is now the fair green of outside Wexford is so called to the that thriving town.

been an ambitious statesman, and had this "Book of Rights" manufactured out of much older compilations, for the purpose of advancing on the authority of ancient enactments his own claims to sovereignty over the kings of the nation; hence Victor, the angel of St. Patrick, is made to prophesy "that the grandeur and supremacy of Eire [Ireland] would be perpetually at Cashel;" and, to sustain this supremacy, St. Benean, the contemporary of St. Patrick, is made to address the Danish lords of Dublin in favour of the King of Cashel's right to "visitation and refection" in that city, though "Tomar's chieftains" had not visited Ireland for three centuries after Benean had gone to heaven. Again, the same saint is made to eulogize "Aenghus the wise, and Sealbach the sage," as the conservators of the "privileges of Mumha." Aenghus and Sealbach were Munster bards, and acted as secretaries to Cormac himself, and consequently could not have been living for centuries after the death of St. Benean; but the most unscrupulous anachronism in the book is the address of "Benean the Psalmist" to Cormac Mac Cuilleanan, whom he lauds as the patron "of sages and distinguished Ollamhs," which demonstrates that the book was compiled during his reign; and as Aenghus and Sealbach are declared the preservers of his privileges, and he the patron "of bards and sages," it seems beyond dispute that this "Book of Rights" was the joint production of the three, and was specially designed to establish as far as could be from ancient authorities the claims now advanced by Cormac to the supreme monarchy of the nation. That the right of the King of Munster to political receptions and ovations within the dominions of the other kings of the island was recognised in Ireland before Cormac's time, cannot be affirmed; and from the internal evidence of what is set forth in the "Book of Rights" as his prerogatives respecting "visitation and refection," it is beyond doubt that his tour through the nation, his gifts to the provincial potentates, and his entertainment by them in return, were no more than so many political schemes, devised and organized in Cashel, as expedients to effect a recognition of his supremacy in the other kingdoms of the island. Even his presents so profusely bestowed, and no doubt intended as a *quid pro quo* for the expenses of his reception, did not

¹ It does not appear that any King of Munster attained the supreme monarchy of Ireland before the reign of Brian Borumhe (see a learned inquiry into this subject in the introduction to the "Book of Rights"). Cormac Mac Cuilleanan rose to great political influence, and would most probably have succeeded in his schemes for ascendancy, if he had not been hurried by his advisers into premature aggressions on the kingdom of Leinster, from which resulted the battle

of Bealach Mughna, in which he was slain. The great combination organized for the defeat of Cormac at this battle indicates the anxiety of the native chieftains to effect his downfall. He might have been a deep-thinking politician, and a learned man; and Cashel must have been the most distinguished locality in Ireland during his reign, which was, however, but of short duration. He succeeded to the throne in the year 896; he was slain in 909.

in all cases succeed in securing for him the "*cead mille fálthe*" of an Irish hospitality. The Northern Hy-Níals (O'Neill's) the hereditary enemies of Munsterian ascendancy, whose country nearly corresponded with our present Donegal and Tyrone, received him with such coldness as excited the indignation of Cormac's *Ollamh*, who complains that the "refection from the chiefs of Conal is [given] in grief;" and he does not fail to remind their king that "this is no gratuitous law;" or, in other words, that it is in virtue of a legitimate national right, not as a gratuitous compliment, that the King of Munster insists on hospitality and reception in his kingdom; and the record further informs us that the King of Tyrconnal accompanies his Majesty of Cashel to the next king's dominions, not through loyal attachment to his cause, or fealty or affection for himself; but through mere politeness, as he would act "a guide to the stranger"—all of which proves that what is here contended for in the "Book of Rights," under the name of "the stipends and escorts, the refectations and visitations," as the recognised prerogatives of the King of Cashel, so far from being a national institution, is no other than an incidental narrative of the regal tour through the nation, yet so constructed as to form a precedent for future periodical visitations of the provincial kings by Cormac and his successors. The royal procession through the other kingdoms seems to have been more auspicious, and more worthy of Cormac's dignity than his receptions in O'Neill's country. When he arrived in Osraigh, his entry must have been a public ovation; which so satisfied him of the fidelity of the people, and he relies with such confidence on the friendship of their king, which the bard expresses by saying that he trusts "to the race of Conla above all." But why does Cormac claim such friendship at the hands of the Ossorians? Cearbhall Mac Dunghal, who died King of Osraigh in the year 885, eleven years before Cormac's accession to the throne of Cashel, continually harassed the Kingdom of Munster, as we shall show when we come to the history of his life. Diarmaid, the son and successor of Cearbhall, followed up his father's policy, five years before Cormac's elevation to the throne, viz., at the year 891. He made a great slaughter of the Eoghnachta, or inhabitants of the vicinity of Cashel in the plain of Magh Airbh, near Urlingford. When we come to the historical part of this essay, I shall show that four years after Cormac's accession, and by the intrigues of his advisers, Diarmaid was deposed and banished from his kingdom, and Kelleach, his junior brother, made king in his place. This Kelleach seems to have fully sympathized in all Cormac's projects, and for this object was placed on the throne of his brother; and therefore it is that on his arrival in Osraigh, after his tour through the nation, Cormac confides in the friendship of the king of that territory above all others; but this confidence

could not exist in regard to Kelleach's predecessor, for he was in open hostility with the Munstermen, and by them was ultimately banished from his kingdom. Nor could it regard Kelleach's successor, for he did not begin his reign until after Cormac's death, and therefore we conclude with certainty that the royal procession of Cormac and his nobles through Ireland was performed whilst Kelleach was King of Osraigh, which would bring it within the last nine years of Cormac's life, as Diarmaid was deposed and Kelleach made king in the year 900; and Kelleach and Cormac were both killed at Bealeach Mughna in the year 909. I have thus endeavoured to fix the date of the visit of the King of Munster to Osraigh, because this royal guest was on that occasion entertained for a month in the plain of "Magh-Rath" by Kelleach, the then king of this principality. Kelleach was son of Cearbhall Mac Dunghal, the founder of the Clann Cearbhall dynasty, and he was father to Donnchadh, the ancestor of the Clann Donnchadh, or Mac Gillaphadraigs. Of all the princes of this kingdom, to the memory of none of them has such distinguished tributes been rendered as to those of Cearbhall and Donnchadh; and it is of the utmost importance to the object of our inquiry that we can determine the precise position, the extent, and the boundaries of their domestic estates or family lands. O'Heerin's compilations furnish the most decisive testimony in the matter. Our bardic author descends from the "mountains of most beauteous rivers," i. e., the Slieve Bloom hills, in the slopes of which the Suir, Nore, and Barrow were said to have their respective sources, thence through the delightful "Coill-Uachtarach," now Upperwoods, in the Queen's County. He passes over Ui-Duach, as of inferior grade, and thus sketches the topographical and historical statistics of the lower Valley of the Nore:—

"O'Cearbhaill, for whom the trees are ruddy;
O'Donnchadh of honest aspect,
Whose firm hosts possess the fruitful land,
Are two kings in the same direction."

It will be observed here that our topographer writes in the present tense; yet he is recording events many centuries anterior to his own time. O'Cearbhaill here named was father to Kelleach, who entertained Cormac in "Magh Rath;" and O'Donnchadh was son to Kelleach, and grandson to O'Cearbhaill. They are both said to be "two kings in the same direction," that is, they both lived in the same locality, and held the seat of their governments in the one territory, the outlines and amenities of which are thus graphically contoured by our poetic author:—

"From Cill-Cainnigh, of the limestones,
To Sliabh-g Caithle, of beauteous slope,
Is Cluain Ui-Cearbhaill, for whom the sea is smooth,
Land of the rich green grassy carpet."

Cluain Ui-Cearbhaill, or the sheltered plain of O'Carroll, is here described as extending from Kilkenny, noted for its limestone edifices, or as a limestone district, to Sliabh-g-Caithle, remarkable for its beauteous slopes. Sliabh-na-Caithle was the Celtic name for the Coppennagh hills, which, rising below the town of Gowran, send thence a western branch from Kilsane, by Summerhill, to Ballylinch, where it sinks down to the level of the Nore, but rises again on the western side of the river, forming the high grounds of Mount Juliet, whence they continue south-west to Flood Hall, where they terminate in the remarkable bluff called *Knock-ad-Reighna*, which has already engaged our attention in our illustration of the territory of Reighna. It must be conceded that our topographer makes an imperfect survey of the extent and outlines of the country of "Ui-Cearbhaill." After pronouncing his panegyric on the two most celebrated of its dynasts, he passes on to describe the position of "Magh Mail," the people of which had elected Donnchadh as their king, and he again returns to finish his draft of "Ui-Cearbhaill," and as Coppennagh, or Sliabh-na-Caithle, forms the common boundary of both districts, and its peculiar configuration, which he denominates its "beauteous slope," the most remarkable object in their landscape, he adopts it as the landmark whence to determine the greatest extreme of "Ui-Cearbhaill" in that direction; but the physical configuration of this plain, as scientifically delineated on our map (see page 191, *supra*), enables us to identify this ancient tribe land as being coextensive with the present barony of Shilleloghar, the Liberties of the city of Kilkenny, and those districts of the barony of Gowran, lying at the foot of the Johnswell Mountains, known by the appropriate name of *Claragh*, or the level, with its southern continuation through Dunbell and Tullaherm, where it is terminated by the ridge of hills already described as running eastwards from Sliabh-na-Caithle, through Mount Juliet, to Knock-ad-Reighna, marked on our map as "Ucht-na-Reighna."

Cearbhall Mac Dunghal, from whom this territory took the name of Ui-Cearbhaill, was King of Osraigh from the year 845 to that of 885. Kelleach, his son, succeeded to the kingdom in the year 900. He was the intimate friend and contemporary of Cormac Mac Cuilleanan, then King of Munster. Donnchadh, son of Kelleach, held the seat of his government in the same locality as Cearbhall, his grandfather. He died in the year 974; so that from 845 to 974 "Cluain Ui-Cearbhaill" was the seat of government, and locality of the king's mansion in Osraigh, and therefore must have been the site of the royal residence when Cormac entered that kingdom during the period whilst Kelleach was King. But as the mansion of the King of Osraigh, when Cormac was entertained for a month by Kelleach, is said to have been situated in "Magh Rath," it therefore appears that "Magh Rath" and "Ui-Cearbhaill" are different names for the same place; but as the latter could

not have been older than the time of the king from whom it was derived, it would therefore follow that previous to the time of Cearbhall Mac Dunghall the Lower Valley of the Nore was recognised by the subdenomination of Magh Rath ; but Cearbhall being a man of great force of character, the first of the Kings of Osraigh who attained a position of distinction in the history of the nation, and the ancestor of the *Clann Cearbhall*, his name became identified with the scene of his actions, and thus was the primitive title of Magh Rath superseded by Ui-Cearbhaill, which implies the country or land of O'Carroll.

The prefix "Magh," or Moy, as it is pronounced, is one of the most primitive topographical terms in the Irish language ; it originally did not imply any political subdivision of the country, but the result of the first step the early colonists took in their career of social progress, by clearing the land of its wood, and rendering its soil fit for the purposes of domestic life. Within the "Magh," or open tract, the chieftain and his retainers fortified their position by fosses or ditches. This foundation usually assumed the name of the patriarch or colonial leader, and was called his rath ; and from some such humble origin sprung many of the most celebrated cities of ancient Ireland. The plain of "Magh Rath" did not derive its name from that of any distinguished chieftain, but from a much more significant circumstance—viz., the great number of raths, or earthen forts, erected over its surface, from which it is to be inferred that at a very early period the fertility of its soil and the fitness of its situation for the purposes of a civil and defensive occupation attracted the attention of the original settlers in the Valley of the Nore, and who early studded it over with their innumerable dwellings, whence it was named "Magh Rath," i.e., the plain of the raths or forts, a denomination peculiarly applicable to the plain surrounding the city of Kilkenny. Its sward is yet covered with the ruins of these earthen fortifications ; and its townland titles, though now usually presented to us in an Anglicised garb, imply their original derivation from the prevalence of those mansions of the Celtic race ; and hence we have the townlands of Legat's Rath, Holden's Rath, Bonnet's Rath, Black Rath, Ley Rath, Archer's Rath, Shellum's Rath, Out Rath, High Rath, Cottal's Rath, Dow Rath, Rathduibh, Rathleek, Rathclough, Rathgarvan, Rathbourn, Rathcash, &c., with innumerable Raheens or small raths—Dunfert, Dungarvan, Dunbell, &c., &c. The remains of those original abodes of the Celtic race, and of innumerable others whose names are no longer preserved in our topographical nomenclature, are profusely scattered over the neighbouring townlands, clothed in the greensward of this verdant plain, each of them in the folklore of the last generation respected as the dwelling-place of the spirits of departed heroes. The husbandman regarded them as holy ground ; the evils of the neighbourhood were

attributed to their profanation; and on their summits and down their grassy slopes were frequently seen gambolling in the mid-day sun the ethereal inhabitants of their recondite chambers—all of which is but the romance of local history handed down by tradition and interwoven with the sentimental lore of many a fireside scene. The countless number of these raths in this district and the unusual number of townlands which originally derived their names from raths that now no longer exist, render it beyond doubt that the plain over which they are dispersed was in very remote times a thickly peopled locality, and that amongst their hospitable inhabitants the King of Munster and his train of nobles were cordially entertained for the last month of his tour, ere he returned to his court at Cashel.

The petty principality of Osraigh, as founded by Aenghus in the first century, and originally designated "*Laighin deas Gabhair*," consisted of the two older provinces of Raighne and Feimhin. Aenghus Mac Nadhfrach, King of Munster, seized on the latter province and expelled the Ossorians out of it in the fifth century, after which, and for some period, the kingdom of Osraigh did not exceed in its extent that primitive region known in the dawn of historic life in this island as "*Raighne*." In the beginning of the tenth century Cormac Mac Cuilleanan, in his aggressive policy, proposed to revive the "*eric of Fearghus Scannal*," which guaranteed to Munster jurisdiction over "*Laighin deas Gabhair*," of which the territory of Raighne, then subject to the King of Osraigh, formed the representative. A compact seems to have been effected on that occasion between Cormac Mac Cuilleanan and Kelleach, King of Osraigh, according to the terms of which Munster acquired possession of the country south of the King's River, to which the title of Raighne was now to be confined; and the plain north of this river, and extending thence to the Dromdeilgy hills, is now for the first time, and in contradistinction to that of Raighne, to be called Gabhran, and the King of Osraigh, who there resided, was now for the first time recognised as "*Righ Gabhran*." Cormac now erected a royal mansion in his newly acquired province, which he denominated "*Ucht na Raighne*;" and at the same time he bound himself by a solemn prohibition "not to hold a border meeting in Gabhran," or, in other words, that he should not by any encroachment fix the borders of Munster within the dominion of Gabhran; hence, by the word Gabhran we are to understand a territory, not a town. This is expressly affirmed by Cormacan Eigeas, chief poet of Aileach, in the "*circuit of Muirheartach Mac Neil*," where he describes "*Bealach Gabhran*" as a "*district of glens*," an expression graphically illustrative of the varied scenes and

¹ See "*Transactions*," vol. iv., p. 251, New Series.

² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

sylvan ravines of the western slopes of the Johnswell Mountains. Keating, describing the subdivisions of the province of Munster, gives the length of Ormond as extending from Conamhchoill, near Tipperary, to *Gabhra*n in Ossory.¹ By a glance at the map which illustrates this paper (p. 191, *supra*), we at once perceive from the relative position of Ormond that *Gabhra*n extended from Bealach *Gabhra*n to Munster, where it was divided from Ormond only by the two streams called the Munster and King's Rivers, which appear to have formed the common boundary of the two territories. O'Heerin, as quoted above, assures us that O'Cearbhall and O'Donnchadh

"Are two kings in the same direction ;"

in other words, they both held their mansion in the same locality,

¹ GOWRAN.—Keating's words are—"The second division [of Munster] called Urmhumba, that is, Ormond, extends in length from *Gabhra*n to *Cnamhchoill*, near Tipperary" (vol. i., p. 73). To this statement of Keating the late Dr. O'Donovan demurs, on this ground—"But this we cannot believe on the authority of Keating ; for then the greater part of Ossory would belong to Munster" ("Book of Rights," p. 17, n. a). Now, it is obvious that Keating understood *Gabhra*n as the central district of Ossory, as indicated on the map which accompanies this paper, and that O'Donovan confined it to the present town of Gowran. By Bealach *Gabhra*n was originally implied the pass or opening under the southern declivity of the *Gabhra*n hills. Through this opening led one great roadway from Leinster into Munster ; and as this road was always denominated Bealach *Gabhra*n, so the districts through which it led gradually assumed the name of Bealach *Gabhra*n also. This is advanced by Dr. O'Donovan himself. In his Annotations to the "Annals of the Four Masters," under the year 756, he writes—"Bealach *Gabhra*n, i. e. the road of *Gabhra*n, now Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny. This road extended from Gowran, in the direction of Cashel, as we learn from the third life of St. Patrick, by Colgan." The extract from Colgan begins thus :—"Tunc venit Patricius per *Bealach Gabhra*n ad reges Mumuniensium," &c. "Trias Thaum.," p. 26, c. 60. This road from Gowran to Cashel led through the locality of the present city of Kilkenny. I have myself traced it from the "Butts Green" through the country to Harley-park, on the borders of Munster, where

it entered the ancient Ormond, and shall submit some interesting inquiries respecting it in our topographical illustration of "Irishtown." I have here only to add, that if this road be described as "Bealach *Gabhra*n," any of the localities through which it passed would be also recognised by the same denomination.

The present town of Gowran, formerly called Ballygabhran, can show no grounds either historical or archaeological in favour of a pre-English celebrity. The most important reference that I can find to the ancient Bealach *Gabhra*n is in the ancient poem entitled "The Circuit of Muirheartach Mac Neill," a bardic compilation of the tenth century, and the production of Cormacan Eigeas, chief poet of Uladh, who accompanied his master, Muirheartach, on a royal raid through Ireland, A. D. 942, or, according to the "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 938. We here extract a quotation from the march through Ossory :—

"A night we passed at Bealach Mughna [Ballymoon, Co. Carlow :]
We did not wet our fine hair ;
The snow was on the ground before us,
In the noisy Bealach *Gabhra*n."

Bealach *Gabhra*n here evidently refers to the passage from Leinster into Ossory, under the *Gabhra*n hills, and consequently must have passed close to the present town of Gowran. They continue their march till interrupted by the river, when they encamped for the night.

"We were a night at the clear Flodals (obviously the Nore) ;
We received food and ale,
And hogs were sent to our camp
By the hospitable chiefs of Osrailgh."

The scene of this bivouac was on the

which we have identified as "Ui-Cearbhaill;" but lower down the bard denominates the latter potentate as

"The fine O'Donnchadh of Gabhran;"

hence, if O'Donnchadh held his court in Ui-Cearbhaill, and is still described as "of Gabhran," it necessarily follows that Ui-Cearbhaill and Gabhran are different names for the same place; but the funeral panegyric pronounced over the sepulchre of this same O'Donnchadh eulogises him as

"The great King of Raighne,"

whence we now conclude that this plain, which we have so frequently described as that of the Lower Valley of the Nore—whether it be denominated "Magh Rath," "Ui-Cearbhaill," or "Gabhran"—was situated within the primitive province of Raighne; that "Magh Rath" was one of the earliest subdenominations of that province; that this latter assumed the name of "Ui-Cearbhaill," or the Coun-

bank of the Nore, somewhere between Bennettsbridge and Kilkenny. Muir-cheartach Mac Neill, the leader and hero of this regal tour, had been married to Flann, daughter of Donnchadh, the then King of Ossory, and if he resided in the present town of Gowran, the Prince of Aileach would not fail to visit his father-in-law; but he hastens through Bealach Gabhran to the bank of the Nore; the intelligence of which having reached the palace of Donnchadh, not then far distant, the chiefs of Ossory forwarded presents to the camp, and subsequently visited it themselves. These chiefs of Ossory are all named in the "Annals of the Four Masters." They were the nobles of King Donnchadh's palace, which, as we shall show at the proper time, occupied the site of the present castle of Kilkenny. Yet lower down the poet of Aileach designates the site of Donnchadh's court as "Bealach Gabhran," thus—

"Sabbh of Bealach Gabhran, district of glens."

This Sabbh, or Sabia, was daughter to Donnchadh, the King of Ossory, and subsequently was married to Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, King of Ireland. She is described as of "Bealach Gabhran," which demonstrates that any locality within the district of Gabhran might be so denominated; but the bard distinguishes one Bealach Gabhran from the other. That by which they had entered Ossory is denominated the "Noisy Bealach Gabhran," a characteristic ra-

ther embarrassing to understand, and by no means complimentary to the locality; that which formed the site of the king's mansion is designated a "district of glens," an expression aptly illustrative of the picturesque scenes and verdant vales of the Lower Valley of the Nore. So far, then, we have ascertained that at the period referred to the bealach which opened from Leinster into Ossory, and the district through which it thence passed out to Munster, were alike denominated "Bealach Gabhran."

But it will be fairly inquired if the present town of Gowran is situated in the ancient pass of Bealach Gabhran; and if it has been thus denominated for many centuries, does it not thence appear to have been the head-quarters of the ancient district of Gabhran? It is unsafe to accept of any locality as the representative of an ancient district on the ground that it retains the ancient title, unless this be sustained by some historical identification; or that in its antiquarian remains it preserves unmistakeable evidence of its former importance. A few cases in point will elucidate the truth of this proposition. At the period of the Ordnance Survey the piece of ground lying between Upper Walkin-street and Waters'-lane, and stretching south from New-street to the old road leading from the "Lighthouse" to Rosehill gate, was erected into the townland of "Walkin's Lough." In a century to come, some antiquarian to-

try of O'Carroll, from Cearbhall Mac Dunghall, the most celebrated of its kings; and that the word "Gabhran," in its application to this territory, is of Munster origin, and designed by the statesmen of Cormac Mac Cuilleanan as a contradistinction to that of Raighne, which they now claim as being annexed to Munster, but confined to the country lying below the King's River.

The most singular feature in connexion with our topographical investigation is the total silence of every authority to which we appeal respecting the ancient title of the *bailli*, or town in which the Kings of Osráigh held their respective governments. To the locality of the royal mansion in that kingdom we have innumerable references from the highest vouchers in Irish history; yet in no one instance do we find the town of the king denominated by any recognised distinctive appellation. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," at

pographist will seek for some traces of Walkin's Lough in the townland of that name. Its site is in the townland of "James Green." At the same period the fields lying between the Out-rath and Bohernathounish roads was formed into the townland of "Lough-boy;" whilst, singularly enough, Loch-buidhe (i. e., the Yellow Lough), from which the word is derived, is situated in the townland of Cashel. In the "Deeds of Transfer" between the Earl Marschall and Hugh Rufus, "first English bishop of Ossory," the church of St. Patrick in this city is described as "St. Patrick's church of Donnaghmore;" and in an inquisition taken at Kilkenny, 18th April, 1623, Robert Rothe was found seised of one messuage near the cemetery of St. Patrick, formerly in the occupation of Jac' Martin, who held of the Dean of St. Canice, as of his "*manor of Donnaghmore*." Those manor lands of the Dean of Ossory are now the townland of "Deansground;" and no trace of the ancient Donnaghmore is to be found, save an obscure locality of that name, near Birchfield, in the remote extreme of the parish, which never could have been nearer than it now is to the "Cemetery of St. Patrick," and which did not at any time form the site of the manorial mansion of the Dean of St. Canice; and lastly, as already noticed, the ancient name of the site of the present city of Waterford was "Port Largi," which, in the Anglicised form of Portlaw, is now applied to a locality some seven miles distant. So it was in the construction of parochial districts—an ancient and celebrated name is often found the title of

a modern locality. The present town of Gowran, except its name, preserves no vestige of a pre-English existence. The only architectural memorial of its gone-by importance is the remains of its parish church, a building of the "Early English" style of Gothic architecture, and which, according to some authorities, was erected by Hugh Rufus, first English bishop of Ossory. This church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and is said to have been a collegiate establishment, the patronage of it being vested in the house of the "Knights Templars" in Dublin; from all which it appears that Gowran, like Thomastown, Callan, &c., was a place of neither civil nor ecclesiastical importance anterior to the settlement there of some Anglo-Norman noble, most probably one of the Butlers, in the thirteenth century. As a general rule, the Anglo-Norman chieftains in Ireland always selected and fortified the mansion places of the conquered dynasts for their own baronial residences. It was so in Ossory. Donald Mac Gillaphadraig acknowledged himself a subsidiary of Dermot Mac Murragh. Strongbow marries Mac Murragh's daughter; and Mac Gillaphadraig is immediately ejected by Mac Murragh from the castle of his ancestors. Strongbow then takes possession of this regal mansion; and thence to the present have the representatives of their descendants held their courtly residence in Kilkenny, not in Gowran; whence we conclude that even on this ground the former, not the latter, was the "rath" or fortified residence of the Kings of Ossory.

the year 868, and during the reign of Cearbhall Mac Dunghal, we have a highly interesting narrative of a *raid* made into Osraigh by the Leinstermen, when they attacked "Dun-Cearbhaill," and slew many of the people in the surprise of the assault, but were subsequently repulsed and driven back with great loss, when the people of an adjoining locality, which is designated "Longphuirt," were called into action. The scene of this assault is denominated "Dun-Cearbhaill," *i. e.* the fort or *castellum* of Cearbhall, the then King of Osraigh; and the contiguous hamlet or locality is described under the name of "Longphuirt," which in its derivative etymology implies a fortified place. That "Dun Cearbhaill" was the head-quarters or seat of government in "Ui-Cearbhaill" will not be doubted; but this mansion place of the king could not then have been a place of note or distinction, as it possessed no title by which it could be designated except the name of the king's mansion or fort there erected. About thirty years after this event, when Kelleach, the son of Cearbhall, governed the kingdom, and resided in his father's mansion place, where he entertained Cormac Mac Cuilleanan, King of Munster, for a month, the seat of government would seem to have been still without a name; for in the account of this entertainment the house of the King of Osraigh is said to be in "Magh Rath," the then subdenomination of the northern plain of Raighne, and not of any special locality within it. In another part of the "Book of Rights," and referring to this same period, *viz.*, about the close of the ninth century, the King of Osraigh is declared entitled to certain stipends from the Kings of Cashel and Tara, and which it is stated are to be paid him

"Every year at his baile."

"Baile," according to the "Ogygia," implies "villages, little towns, or cantons."¹ Hence it would appear that at this period the town of the king consisted of no more than some families of retainers who were gradually seating themselves around his mansion, but yet were forming themselves into so many social aggregations as entitled the locality to the denomination of "Baile," *i. e.*, villages or little towns. Again, at the year 909, after the battle of "Bealach Mughna," when Flann Sionna, Monarch of Ireland, marched his army from the scene of action into Osraigh,² for the purpose of restoring Diarmaid Mac Cearbhall to the throne of that kingdom, from which he had been expelled by the Munstermen, and had him crowned with all the rude pomp of the age, the ceremonials of which must necessarily have been performed in the capital or chief town of the kingdom, all is described as having been done in Osraigh; and still

¹ "Book of Rights," p. 80.

² "Ogygia," vol. i., p. 36, Dublin, 1793.

³ Keating's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 127: Dublin, 1841.

later, when King Donnchadh died, in the year 974, in his funeral panegyric already referred to, the seat of his government is designated as "his palace with many approaches." The many approaches imply the numerous roadways which then converged to meet there from every part of his kingdom, and from which is directly to be inferred the growing importance of the place, yet without any reference whatever to its name; all of which demonstrate, on the very highest degree of negative testimony, that the town of the king in the plain of Magh Rath, or Gabhran, down to the end of the tenth century, was not a city of distinction, nor even a hamlet of any publicly recognised denomination. Yet it is indubitably certain that this town, whether it be described as "Dun-Cearbhaill," or the king's "baile," or "his palace with many approaches," constituted the capital or chief town of the kingdom of Osraigh; and, consequently, the next and concluding point of this inquiry demands the site of the royal mansion and seat of government in this historic principality.

As the lower Valley of the Nore, or the plain surrounding the present city of Kilkenny, is identical with that anciently denominated "Magh Rath," *i.e.* the Plain of the Rathes, and as our wonder is every day excited by the ruins of these primitive abodes of the original race profusely dispersed over our neighbouring townlands, that in which Cormac, the King-bishop of Cashel, feasted with Kelleach, the King of Osraigh, should still preserve some trace of its regal superiority. If this was the country of O'Cearbhaill, the most illustrious King of Osraigh, and of O'Donnchadh, renowned for the "honesty of his aspect," does no memorial within it preserve a vestige of their fame? Where was the palace of the king in which the monarch of Ireland crowned Diarmaid Mac Cearbhaill, according to the civil pageantry of the time? where here was the town of the king, remarkable a thousand years ago for its numerous and converging highways, or has every remnant of them been obliterated with its own regal dignity? If this territory lay within the primitive province of Raighne, and if Colman Mac Feradach, king of that region, was the great benefactor and intimate friend of St. Cainneach, the Christianiser of the Valley of the Nore, does no foundation near the royal castle of Raighne perpetuate the memory of their mutual friendship? If I cannot meet those propositions by a direct historical solution, I can produce an amount of indirect and circumstantial testimony, based on existing topographical data, as will leave little doubt respecting the ancient capital of the kingdom of Osraigh.

The epochs and events of past ages are sometimes ascertainable, independent of written history. The geologist tells us that the footprints of time indicate the era of their impressions, and from their phenomena he will read you the several "periods" of his pre-Adamite world. In the vestiges of ancient institutions the anti-

quarry traces the character of the social and civil conditions under which they were produced. To him the earthen rath, the Cyclopean fort, the pillar tower, the crumbling fane, the lonely churchyard, the Norman castle, are not only standing monuments of the progressive development of human skill, but are also the types and testimonials of their respective ages, coming down to us to attest as plainly as recorded truth the characteristics of their several eras, the tale of their ruin, and the original importance peculiar to their respective localities. If, then, within the plain of Cluain Uí-Cearbhaill we find a special locality, not exceeding in its area the square of one of our modern statute miles, still retaining the traces of design, and the remains of inventions of skill, peculiar to generations that have long since passed away—if within this limited enclosure we find one of our mysterious round towers attesting the early Christian, if not indeed, as some would have it, the Pagan importance of the place—if from time immemorial this same enclosure had been furnished with seven stone churches,¹ four of which were parochial establishments at the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion, and which most certainly implies a commensurate civil community—if it be conceded that in the morning of Christianity in Ireland, and whilst the Valley of the Nore was still shrouded in the sylvan gloom of the ancient forests, St. Cainneach found here the home of Colman, King of Raighne, his friend and benefactor—and if in the immediate vicinity of this same mansion we find a sacred spot bearing the name of St. Cainneach, and that the first vista we obtain of this consecrated seclusion through the medium of existing contemporaneous vouchers we discover it to be the site of a cathedral church—and, finally, if to the precincts of this venerable locality we may still trace the remains of ancient roadways wending their rugged outlines from districts of remote importance, and converging to meet here as in their common destination—is not the conclusion irresistible that at some early period in civil progress this locality, like a concentrating focus, attracted to itself and shaped into crude institutions the elements of social life, from the ultimate development of which government, religion, and laws subsequently sent their influence along those ancient highways, to civilize the turbulence, and cultivate the moral and intellectual instincts of the rude and untaught tribesmen in

¹ "Seven stone churches," viz., St. Canice's, St. Patrick's, St. Moel's, St. Riach's, St. Nicholas', St. James', and St. Bridget's. That these were stone edifices appears from the circumstance that Bishop de Ledred demolished three of them, and applied the materials to the erection of his new episcopal palace near the cathedral; and as those taken

down were the least important of the local churches, the superior ones in the same place could not have been built of inferior materials. As the original foundation of this cluster of ancient churches shall form the subject of a future paper, this notice of them is sufficient for our present purpose.

the various clan-tracts of the ancient Osraigh? And if this be established, it will necessarily follow that the site of the present city of Kilkenny constituted the ancient capital of the kingdom of Osraigh, the seat and the centre of its civil and ecclesiastical authority.

(*To be continued.*)

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(*Continued from Vol. IV., New Series, page 224.*)

FROM the significant terms in which Sir William Fitzwilliams had replied to Lord Burghley's first letter in favour of Florence, it is plain that he had a previous distrust to put aside before he could make her Majesty's pleasure entirely his own; but with his usual address Florence had used the opportunities of his intercourse with the Deputy to such purpose, that he dissipated much previous prejudice, gained his good-will, and convinced him, as he had previously convinced Cecyll himself, that Barry was, as his father had been before him, a traitor in heart and action: but far more than anything that Florence could say, did the intemperance of Barry, in charging the Deputy with partiality and injustice in the extending of his lands, provoke that high functionary against him. He was in the active pursuit of this fine, and in contemplation of using Florence's services with O'Neill, when the order reached him to summon Florence before him to give answer to fresh accusations, emanating from the man whose charge against himself had prepared him to put little trust in any accusation he might make against an enemy. Sir Thomas Norreys was called away from his government in Munster to take part in this examination, and it appears that Fitzwilliams expected to receive from him some elucidation of this sudden change in court feeling, and some explanation of the new charges. Sir Thomas declared that *he* had no accusations to make against Florence, nor did he know of anything new that could be brought against him. Barry had arrived from England, and notice was sent to him to repair without delay to Dublin. He lingered by the way; and the Lord Deputy and the Vice-President found themselves in the undignified position of having summoned a supposed criminal before them upon charges of the nature of which they were themselves ignorant; and without an accuser. Some little ill-temper under the circumstances may be excused; some was certainly felt;

for, after consultation, the Deputy resolved to wait till the morrow, and if Barry did not then make his appearance, to send a government pursuivant to fetch him. Happily for his own dignity, Barry appeared within the time, with his charges and his witnesses. What his judges thought of the entire transaction the reader will have little difficulty in discovering.

"1594. June 12. *The LORD DEPUTY FITZWILLIAMS to BURGHLEY :*

"I wrote unto your Lordship in my last that I had receaved Her Majestys l^{tes} for the examination of Florence Mac Carty upon something there informed against him by the Lo. Barry, and that there were no articles or instructions sent whereupon to examine him, but onlie reference to Sir Thomas Norreys who is to ioyne wth me in the examinacōn. I have since receaved another l^{tr} from Her Matie muche to the same effect, w^h geveth me to conceave that somewhat is looked for to fall out. Sir Thomas hathe bene here nowe these four daies, and hathe broughte Florence wth him, as I wrote to him he shold, but knoweth no matter whereupon to examine him. In his way bithurward through Waterford he found the Lo. Barry there nuely landed, and willed him to hasten aftr, w^h he promised to do. He mighte easely haue bene heare two daies since though he made a step home for some occasion he said he had so to do. If he come not this daie I purpose tomorrowe to send a pursewant to hasten him awaie and then soone after Her Ma^{tie} shall, according to her pleasure signified, be advertised from me and Sir Thomas what we find."

"1594. June 17. *The LORD DEPUTY and SIR THOS. NORREYS to my Lo.*

"It maie please y^r Lo. before the winde did serve to carrie the other dispatch that comes herewth from me the Deputie, the Lo. Barry made his repaire unto us, and neith^r I the Deputie, having receaved instrucons thence, as I haue in my oth^r l^{tr} written to y^r Lo. nor I the Vice-p^{rs}ident knowing anie thing wherupon Florence Mc Cartie was to be examined, according to the reference mentioned in Her Ma^{tie} l^{tr}, wee willed him to deli^{vr} us in writing the matters he had to charge Florence wth. The same containing 8 articles, w^h are twoo more then he saith he p^{re}ferred there,¹ togeth^r wth Florence's answers, and the examinacōns of 4 of the witnesses, named by the Lo. Barry w^h are nowe here, whereof 2 his *ownemen*, y^r Lo shall receive herewith to be imparted to Her Ma^{tie} according to Her pleasure signified lately to me the Deputie by 2 severall l^{tr}s of the 3^d & 13th of the last monethe. A numb^r of witnesses more are to be examined, whereof 18 in Mounster, besides the 2 already examined here, and 5 aboute the court there, as by the schedule inclosed shall appere to y^r Lo. But these 4 examinacōns taken here seme not to us so forcible to import, as that wee think it mete to put Her Ma^{tie} to the charge of fetching so manie so farr of, by purseuants, to be ex^{am}ied here; wee haue therefore determined, for the best and spedeist waie, that I the Vice-p^{rs}ident, who am to depart wthin twoo daies, shall upon my coming home send for them, and examin them, taking the assistance of Mr. Attorney Gen^{all} and Provost Marshall of that p^{ro}vince or eith^r of them; and so wth all expedi^{con} send their examinacōns hither to be dispatched over

by me the Deputie, if mine abode here be so long In the meane time wee are to noate to y^e Lo. one suggestion of the Lo. Barries (whitch of forgetfullness or otherwise) *that toucheth him in honor*, concerning the seizure of *all* his lands, to answere the £500 fine given to Florence, where indeede all that was extended for that cause exceedeth not the third of his lands. And so we humblie take leave 17 June 1594.

“W. FITZWILLIAMS.

“THO: NORREYS.”

(Schedule enclosed in the above letter):

“To be examined. All these are of Carbery, of Florence his countrie, his followers, cosens, and kinsmen:—

“Donell M^cCarty, al^r. M^cCarty Reogh; Donogh Oge O’Cullen; Reynold Oge O’Hurley th’ elder; Teigh-en-orsie M^cCarty; Kryrone M^cMoragho M^cSwynie; Teig Oreigan; Moroghoe M^cDermod Oreigan. Dermod, John, and Donell, sonnes to the said Morgho. Teig M^cDonell Icrooly, al^r. Brannagh; Owen M^cDermodie M^cDonell Cartie.”

Before a tribunal the judges of which he had grievously offended by an accusation of partiality, Barry produced the charges which had made sufficient impression on the Lords of the Privy Council of England to cause them to suspend further proceedings in Florence’s favour relative to the fine: that he should have presented such accusations, and that the Ministers should have entertained them, as something new, is incomprehensible; they were but a repetition of the articles laid to Florence’s charge soon after his marriage, and respecting which, by order of the same ministers, he had been examined then, nearly six years before. Upon the former occasion no witnesses had openly appeared against him; the charges had then evidently been hastily made up out of the rumours hovering around the residences of the Vice-President of Munster and the Lord Deputy. It was, perhaps, the offer of Barry *to prove* the truth of these accusations that obtained a reopening of the investigation. So heinous had been the treachery of Stanley, so savage the persistence of Jacques in search of some one to assassinate the Queen, that, could the enemies of Florence have proved against him any intercourse with those persons of late years, his ruin would have been certain. We shall shortly see a far abler, and a less scrupulous man than Barry—no less a personage than the Lord Chief Justice of England—lending himself to collect and lay before the Queen a similar catalogue of charges; and even that wily and skilled intriguer could conceive nothing more damaging to the character of the man whom he wished to ruin than these baneful traditions, still floating about the uneasy homes of the undertakers. The answers of Florence upon the former occasion had been little more than denials of the truth of the accusations made against him—a simple pleading of not guilty. In nothing do his eminent “pru-

dence and wisdom" appear so conspicuous as in the difference between his previous cautious silence, and his present gratuitous and circumstantial explanation of all that had appeared equivocal in his conduct through his whole career. Before judges whom he had accused of injustice, and who had already detected, and laid before the Privy Council, an instance of his want of veracity that "*touched him in honor*," the Lord Barry produced "the Articles," and Florence MacCarthy the "Answers" following:—

"1594. June 17. *Copy of Articles preferred against FLORENCE MAC CARTY by the LORD BARRY.*

1st. "Allen Marten Gent, borne in Galwey, Student of Her Ma^t' comon lawes, being maintained and kept by Florence Cartie, bothe in England and Ireland for a time, till he was sent by the said Florence over to Sir William Stanly and Jaques, wch Sir William and Jaques hath p'ferred the said Marten to the Prince of Parma where he was appointed one of his secretaries.

2d. "William Hurley born in coñ : of Lyñerick, broughte up in Oxenford, professor of the Civill Lawe, was at the time of the apprehension of the said Florence his retainer in this realme employed by the said Florence to the said Sir William Stanley and Jaques, furnished wth money and horse, undre collōr to p'cure a discharge from England for the said Florence, wch Hurley remains there as yet by his direction.

3. "Cormock McDonell M^cFynin Cartie Gent, coosen and servaunt tothe said Florence, being the man that broughte the said Florenceis wife into England, being accompanied wth a brother of his called Callaghan, wch twoo being p'ferred by the said Florence to Jaques, where the said Cormock as yet remaines, and his brother Callaghan died there in the enemie's service.

4th. "Donogh McCartie base brother to the said Florence who went out of this realme into England, in the companie of Donell Grame O'Mahonie, and being sent for by Florence and was employed by the said Florence to the said Jaques ; where he is as yet, and obtained penñion from the king of Spaine either for his brother, or himself.

5th. "Fynin M^cCormack M^cFinnin Cartie of Glanencroem wthin the contry of Carbrie in the Countie of Cork, cozen and retainer tothe said Florence, wch Finin p'tended title to Glanencroem aforesaid, was sent over by the said Florence to Sir William Stanley and Jaques aforesaid, where he serves and remaines as yet.

6. "Gullepatrick O'Cullen (fencer by p'fession) executed of late in England for treason against Her Matie was the only servant and follower of the said Florence, as well long time before his imprisonment or restraint, as also long time in his restraint ; and after sent him over unto Jaques where he continued, till of late he returned where he received according his deserts.

7. "Owen McCartie als Owen Gamsagh, who was likewise in service against Her Matie wth Jaques aforesaid, and came from thence at the time that Cullen above written came into England before XXmas last past,

and from thence came over upon Christmas Holidiaies to this realme to the said Florence, who knowing him to be as aforesaid hath ever sithence kept him in his service, wch Owen was borne in Carberie in the coff of Corke.

8. "It is to be considered beside the rest, that the said Florence and Jaques were sworne brothers &c. &c.

"17 June 1594.

"DAVID BUTTEVANTE."

"1594. June 17. *The Answers of FLORENCE MAC CARTHY to the Articles preferred against him by the LORD BARRY.*

1st. "As for Allen Martyne myne acquaintance wth him was laide to my charge by Mr. Secretarie Walsyngham and others of the Councill wch were appointed to examine me wthin six or seven weeks after my coming to the Tower, for the wch I have sattisfied them then: Having noe acquaintance wth him nor never seene him but in the Innes of courte, where I became acquainted wth him, and where I left him at my coming into Ireland, of whome I never hearde other newes but that at my first libty in the tower about four years past, I heard he died in Fraunce or Flaunders, Before God I knowe not wch: His father and freinds can tell best, but at the tyme I heard that, Jaques was then in the Fleete, whereby I could not send him to him, nor never did send him to him or to anie other, as God judg me; neither doe I knowe when he went, nor whether, but that I left him in the Innes of courte where I found or knewe him first, when I came into Ireland.

2. "William Hurley of the County of Lymerrick havinge studied at Oxford a longe while came into Ireland a litle after my first comeinge out of England, aboute the tyme that I was coffitted by Sir Thomas Norreys at Cork; at wch time I being desyrus to send som agent into England to procure my libty, dealt wth Mich Skiddy of Cork (whoe was Sir Frauncis Walsyngham's man) wth whome I did not agree, for want of money, and the said William Hurley being then com to Cork, I dealt wth him, unto whome I mortgaged or made over some land for goinge thither; whoe being gon and having followed my cause for three or four moneths, as I understood, he was hardlie used by the Erle of Clancartyes man Donoghe Offaylve, whoe made Sir Valentyne Browne to use him hardlie, and to threaten him, and also as I understoode they among them procured Mr. Secretarie to give him verie hard speeches, whereby he was soe feared and terrified that he deputed the realme and went into som forraine country to followe his studies, of whome I never heard since, but that he followed his studie beyond the seas in France or Germany, for whome I have also aunswered Mr. Secretarie and the rest in my last impsonm^t, Jaques being then in the fleete, when I was examined for him.

3 "As touchinge Cormack M'Donell M'Fynine and Callaghan his brother, indeede I must confesse him to be of my countie and name, and somewhat akyn to me as farre off: p'haps, he hath, as I understoode served Sir William Mohowne in Cornewall, and beinge com to London, when I had my first libtie in the Towre, he desired to be admitted to see me,

whoe being brought by my keeper Michell Sibleie, he used afterwarde for a sevenight or a fortnight to com to me at my request to carie my l^{re} to my friends at Courte that sued for my libtie, and having psuaded myself at that tyme that my wyfe would be the fittest suter to obtaine Her Ma^{ty} favour for myne enlargem^t I entreated him to goe into this countrie for her ; having p^{ro}vided him som money and a passport, and having written to her to com ; whereuppon she came into England, and one David Roche, a man of mine being com to the Courte he waited uppon my wife ; and I being still in the Towre and not able to keepe anye, the said Cormuck told me he would goe into Cornewall ; and whether he be gone thither or into Fraunce I knowe not, but that I heard, as I remember, that he was in Fraunce, by an Irish souldier whoe is nowe at Moyalloe, whose name I will learne : his father dwelles at Moyalloe, I sawe him wth Mr. M^cDonoghoe, Dermot M^cOwen, And as for Callaghane his brother I never knewe none such, nor never sawe any ; but my wyfe, & he alsoe told me that he brought over from hence wth him a boy of the edge of twelve yeres or thereabouts, of that name, whoe was his brother by the father ; what is becom of him I knowe not, having never seene him as aforesaid.

4. " Donogh McCarty whoe is, and hath bene still in the countrey taken for my Father's base sonne, came into England in the companie of som of my men, as namely one Edmond Slabagh, whoe is wth me nowe, and whoe broght me som Hawkes, and who alsoe broght the same boy wth him to help him, in whose companie alsoe Donell Gram went over to sue for his lands of Kinallmeky, and the said boy having remained wth me in England afterwards until I came into Ireland, he staid in England against my will, at my coming away, being promyst by litle Teige M^cCarthy my Lord of Ormonds man, to be preferred to som gent there of whom I heard no other newes but that he went wth some English souldiers into Fraunce and Flaunders, and being com from one of those countreyes, back while I was in Ireland, I heard he was sick a long time in England, and when I was sent over by Mr. Chichester I did not see him, being by Mr. Chichester by direction from the Councill delivered the next daie to the Lyvtenant of the Towre, but afterwards about a yere or more after my commitment to the Towre, Jaques being then in the fleete for hurting Michell Apsley, he found the said boy and kept him wth him, and being enlarged and dispatched out of the Realme by Mr. Secretarie he broght him wth him, as I understoode, and where he is, whether he be wth him or wth som other, or what is becom of him, I knowe not since that tyme.

5. " Fynine M^c Cormucke M^c Finin of Gleanoruym beinge gon over by reason of his adversarie Teigenorsy, whoe went over wth Sir Walter Ralieghe to surrendre the said Gleanecruym, and his father being my father's follower and foster brother, the boy came to me to the Towre and told me he had noe frinds nor meanes to followe his cause, whereuppon for Pittie, and contrie's sake, I gave my wordes to one Robert Foster of Towre Streets for his diett, and having putt upp his severall petitions to the Councill, Sir Owen Hopton being removed from the Towre and Sir Michell Blount placed, the said Sir Michell would lett noe prisoner have anie libtie uppon anie warr^t directed to his pdecessore ;

whereuppon the aforesaid Foster, seing me restrained, would not credit the poore yong man for his diet, whereby he was constrained through extreame misery to goe wth som souldiers into Brittainne, where he was about four or five yeres past killed aboute Gingham, as I heard of every-bodie that came from Sir John Merreys, since.

6. "As for Patrick Cullen the Fencer, none of all these have ever beene my man, nor never woare my cloth, but this Patrick onelie, wth whome I became acquainted in a fencing schoole, seven or eight yeres ago, or perhaps somewhat more. He could play well, wch made me desire him to com wth me into Ireland, wch he promist to doe; but I being at the courte, he, for some fray, or som cause or other wch I doe not knowe, went to keepe schoole at Westchester; and I beinge com to London from the courte, I enquired for the said Patrick at the fencing schoole where I understood that he and one Joffrey another man, an Englishman, whoe is here nowe at Dublin keeping a fencing schoole, went to keepe schoole at Westchester, I being wthin a while after determined to goe into Ireland, I desired one Mr. Lucas a Merchant of Waterford to lend me som money, wch I would cause one of my freinds to place in Ireland uppon sight of my l^r. He told me he would goe for som money into Westchester, where his father being an Englishman was born, and that he woulde lend me soe much money as I desired, wch was £55. Whereuppon I, understandinge that he was to goe to Chester for it, and remembring the said litle fencing youth or boy, I desired him to enquire at the fencing schoole for such a one, and to desire him to com wth me into Ireland, accordinge to his promise; whereuppon he came to me wth Mr. Lucas, and came wth me hither, and was wth me while I was restrained at Corke, and here, and went over wth me when I was sent by Mr. Chichester, and being the next day committed to the Towre, he went awaie and served som other, or as I hearde he kepte a fencing schoole in London, and being committed for a robbery, or for some suspicon of som such matter, he went and fledd awaie somewhere, I knowe not whither. All this while after my committment for a yere or more I was still a close prisoner in cold harbert,¹ and this much as aforesaid I heard at my first libtie; he being gon before my first libtie, and Jaques being in the Fleet a good while after: Alsoe the said Culone whoe was never a whole yere wth me, is nowe hanged, and executed, and examined, whereby it cannot be unknowne to the Councill if he could saye anie thing of me.

7 "As for Owen McCarthy or Owen Gamsagh, I knowe him not by that name, but in troth one Owen McTeige MacDonell Oge mett me in the countre where I dwell, nowe of late since my cominge, and told me that he came from Sir John Merehe'sis Regiment out of Brittainne, and being assembled amongst the rest of the countre, when the Sherrif extended som land from me, he went at my request wth some of mine owne men, namelie Molrony O'Croly, and Edward Slabagh to keepe the castle of Tymolaigge for me, for his hire; and since I left him in the countrey, and is there, I am sure to be had if my Lo. or his uncle McCarthy Reough or som other of my Lo. Barries freinds hath not by som meanes put him out of the way, of purpose to accuse me for him: nether was he

¹ Part of the Tower of London, so called.

ever my man, nor doe I knowe that he was ever wth Jaques, or anie-where 'ells beyond seas, but under Her Ma^{ty} Generall in Brittain as he telleth me.

8th. "As for the last article, I avowe it to be merelie false, neither had I ever, or did I ever, by anie signe, or otherwise shewe that I had anie freindshipp wth Jaques but while he served Her Ma^{ty}. Having never wisht him noe better looke then to loose his Lyfe since I heard that he went to the enemies.

"The Aunswers of me Florence M^r Carthy to the Articles preferred by the Lo. Barry to the Lo. Deputy and Sir Thomas Norreys against me the 17 of June 1594.

"By me FLORENCE M^rCARTHY.

"A true Copie

"August 31.

"W. FITZ WILLIAMS,
"THO. NORREYS."

This defence of Florence is one of the most interesting of the many documents he has left us. It will be noticed that the two first articles in his reply are concerning law students. It is impossible to peruse his numberless petitions, to see the supreme address with which was carried on a struggle of half a century about his property, the care with which every legal document concerning it was preserved, the readiness with which, upon occasion, they were invariably forthcoming, and, above all, the consummate skill with which, at the most critical moments of his career, his correspondence was conducted, and not at once conclude that he must, through life, have retained in his employment very wary and learned legal advisers; doubtless the Brehons of Munster were equally made use of in his intercourse with his own followers. That he employed the rhymers, or bards, and knew them to be most efficient instruments in the hands of any one who could use them, we shall have incidental proof at a later, and very critical period of his life; but we should still remain puzzled to conjecture the origin of this extreme wariness, were it not for the presentments made to Sir William Drury, already laid before the reader, and confirmed by his answers to Barry. To his legal friends he owed, not indeed this triumph over his adversary—for these charges had been answered years before, and a mere repetition of his previous replies would have been at least as credible as such testimony as Barry had produced—but the means of pointing every petition in after life with the declaration that "nothing had ever been proved against him;" and the acknowledgement of Carewe to the Council at Dublin, and of Cecyll himself to Carewe, that "all he had done he had brought within the reach of his protections and pardons." There exists amongst Her Majesty's State Papers an official return of "the names of Irish Gentlemen Students of Law in Gray's Inn." This document

is undated, and therefore placed provisionally amongst other papers also undated; but it is conjectured to belong to the end of the reign of James I. In this list occurs the name of Hurley, and the call for this return would seem to arise so naturally from the charges of Barry that it is difficult not to entertain the supposition that the date suited to it would be that of this renewed attack upon Florence. The list may possess an interest of its own, and it is therefore offered to the reader's notice :—

" NAMES OF THE IRISH GENTLEMEN OF GRAY'S INN.

1. "Bradey, who lodgeth in a low chamber at the East end of Mr. William Ellis his building in Gray's Inn, but not in Co^m.

2. "Barnewall G^o. who lodgeth at the E: end of Gray's inn Chappel, but not in Co^m.

3. "Byse; who when he is in Towne lodgeth at one Jacksonne's a Victualler in Holborne.

4. "Hurley who lodgeth in Mr. Fullwood's new buildings.

5. "Ball, who lodgeth at one Stanley's a joiner hard by Staple Inne.

6. "Seagrave James; and, 7, Seagrave Richard, who lodge at Jacksonne's afores^d. but one not in Co^m.

8. Morris John; and 9 FitzWilliam, which are not in Towne.

"Staple Inn. To the Worshipful the Readers of Gray's Inn.

"There hath not been in Commons in Staple Inn, which are as yet of that house, any more Irishmen at any time within these 3 years, but those who are hereunder named:—

1. "Char^r. Ryan Gent: went into Irel^d. (as far as I can learne) about 5 weeks now last past.

2. "Christopher Rerdon Gent: lyeth in this Citie, and eats, as I hear, at Bull's Ordinary, in Fleete Street, most commonly.

3. "Edw^d. Tafe of Cookestown, in Ireland, Gent. I cannot learne whether he be in Eng^d. or in Irel^d.

4. "Thomas Roache, Gent. he lyeth in High Holborne, but hath not been in Commons these six weekes.

" THOS. FREESE, *Principal*."

Florence was evidently well pleased to seize this opportunity of a feeble accusation, to make a powerful, and as he might hope, a final reply; and he purposely went beyond the range of these charges to give explanation upon matters which, he must have known, had not escaped the quick eyes of the authorities, although Barry had not the sagacity to lay them to his charge. The allusion to the story of young Finin of Gleanachrime invites a few words of explanation relative to a dark episode in our family history. The Mac Carthys Duna descended, as did the more historic branch of Mac Carthy Reagh, from Donal God, third in descent from St. Cormac, Bishop and King of Munster, and fifth from Carthach, from whom the sept name was derived. From Dónal Caomh the Handsome, grandson of Donal God, proceeded Donal Glas I., and Cormac

Don; from the former sprung the Mac Carthys Reagh, and from the latter the Mac Carthys Duna, or of Dunmanway. These had their home in the pleasant lands of Gleanachrime, where, from about the year 1300, their chieftains lived in contented submission to their more turbulent cousins, who early assumed the supremacy of the whole of Carbery. In Sir William Drury's time a shocking crime, and an ignominious punishment had brought disgrace upon this family. Cormac Don, a namesake of the first Lord of Gleanachrime, who stood by Tanist law next in succession to the chieftainship, had murdered his uncle and chieftain, in order to possess himself of the lands of the family; the murderer was apprehended, tried by a jury, and hanged in chains at Cork! Had this been the end of the matter, no voice could have impugned the justice of the verdict, or the propriety of the punishment; but this was by no means the end of it, nor indeed was it, except incidentally, any part of the purpose of Sir William Drury to trouble the Queen's officers with any domestic irregularities amongst the Irish septs. "The fixed principle" of Sir Henry Sidney "to dissipate the Estates of the rebel Irish" had quickened the ingenuity of all subsequent presidents, and deputies, and eminently of the Parliaments held at Dublin. At the first of these Parliaments that met after the execution of Cormac Don, this criminal, who had been hanged for the *Murder* of his uncle, was declared to have been guilty of *Treason*, and "Atteynted so as his lands of Glan-y-crime came to Her Majesty." The history of the transaction is curious in all its phases. The elected life-occupant of large sept domains is murdered; the right of succession is, by Irish law, in his nephew, the murderer; the Queen's authorities in Munster, instead of declaring the estates of the murdered man to descend, as by English law they would, to his son, for once acknowledge "the vile and lewd usage of Tanistry," recognise the murderer as the just heir, try him for Murder, execute him for Treason, and by Act of Parliament declare him attainted, and the estates of the Mac Carthys of Gleanachrime to belong, not any longer to them, as by law of Tanistry (now for this once recognised), they did, nor to the son of the murdered chieftain as they would by English law, but to the Queen! Even more curious was the sequel of this effort for the fixed principle; for, whilst "the twelve men at Corke" were, according to their lights, finding it "Murder" in Cormac Don to have killed his uncle, and Cormac Don was in consequence of his sentence expiating his offence on the gibbet, whilst the Dublin Parliament was finding it "High Treason" to have slain an Irish chieftain, and was tracing the rights of succession to his property through the mazes of rival laws, and contending claims, Teig O'Norsie—Teig of the Forces—a name sufficiently suggestive of the validity of Teig's claim, whether against his cousin, or the Queen,—who by Tanistry was justly the successor

to his brother, the murderer, quietly inducted himself into the possession of the contested lands, and the Queen, as complacently, submitted without a word of protest to this annulling of so much parliamentary acuteness, and the disloyal invasion of her rights! It was not until after ten or twelve years' enjoyment of the fruits of his brother's crime that there occurred to the mind of Teig O'Norsie any doubt of the sufficiency of his title; but when the forlorn son of the murdered chieftain, then growing up to manhood, had made his way—probably begged it—to London, and found there a friend, in a man whose energies might seem sufficiently absorbed by his own misfortunes, Teig, with full reliance upon the benignity of the Queen, bethought him of the expedient, always pleasing to Elizabeth, of offering the surrender of his lands to Her Majesty, that he might receive them back, subject to some trifling rent, to be held, for all time to come, by English tenure. He had powerful friends, and repaired with his suit to court. The poor disinherited lad, who had wandered to the banks of the Thames in search of a patron, found there a friendly hand to pen his petition for him, and interest sufficient to bring it under the notice of the Privy Council. The petition of Teig O'Norsie was a discreet and diplomatic document: had it not been for the incident of the murder, the sentence of the Cork jury, and the declaration of attainder by the Dublin Parliament, the petitioner would doubtless have premised his right to the lands of Gleanachrime by Tanist usage immemorial, as did other petitioners in similar circumstances, and have gracefully laid all such claim at the Queen's feet; but these were not recollections to be rashly revived; Teig, therefore, in making his petition, reserved within his own breast so much of the preamble as would have recapitulated the Tanist rights which he sought to surrender. The petition of Finin M'Cormac is a far more interesting and curious document; the hand that wrote it is traceable in every paragraph. The petition contains not a word of any rights accruing to the suppliant by Irish law; by Tanistry Teig O'Norsie was justly chieftain of the Mac Carthys of Gleanachrime; and this Finin knew. The petitioner might, unaided, have thought of accusing Teig of a share, by evil counsel, in the death of his, the petitioner's father, and of the subsequent murder of a cousin who had assumed the protection of Finin; but that Teig O'Norsie had by certain ways other than those leading through the grand antichambers "procured speech of Her Majesty, and was in hopes of procuring a grant of his lands without knowledge of the Lords of the Privy Council; nay, to steal away Her Majesty's letters unknown to their Lordships," was an assertion which it was much safer for this simple suppliant, than for his prompter, to make; as, assuredly, it was a discovery that needed more experience of Court proceedings than it was likely Finin could have picked up during his short abode under the roof of Foster, the victualler, in Tower-street.

"1587. *The humble petition of FYNIN M'CORMUCK to the Right Hon^{ble}. the Lords and others of her Majesty's most honorable Privy Council.*

"In most humble manner, sheweth unto your Lordships, your poor suppliant Fynin M'Cormuck of Glaincrum in Carbury, within the county of Corke gent. That whereas your said suppliant his father Cormuck M'Fynin being as is known to the Right Hon^{ble}. Sir John Parrott, lawfully possessed of the lands of Glaincrim in the country of Carbury aforesaid, was at the instigation of one Teig in Orssy murdered by Cormuck Downe, the said Teig in Orssy his eldest brother, for the which his said brother was by S^r. W^m. Drury, being then Lord President of Monster, hanged in chains at Cork; and afterwards a cousin of your suppliant, named Felime M'Owen pretending to possess the said land, of Glaincrim for, and in the name of your suppliant, was by the said Teig in Orssy in like sort murdered, since which time he doth, as well by reason of his wealth, as by cause of your suppliants tender age, being constrained for the safety of his life to forsake his country since his fathers death, contrary to all equity and justice, possess your said suppliant's father's lands as tenant to S^r. Owen M' Carty, being therein maintained by the said S^r. Owen, by reason that he hath fostered his eldest son, and the better to entitle himself thereunto is now come hither with intent to surrender the said land unto Her Majesty, and for as much as those lands doth of right belong to your suppliant, and that the said Teig in Orssy hath already procured means whereby he hath spoken unto Her Majesty, and preferred his supplications to Her Highness touching the said lands, and being here these six months, ever since S^r. Walter Raleigh came out of Ireland, a suitor unto Her Majesty for these lands, he hath never all that while acquainted any of your Lordships with the matter; whereby it appears that he hath no right thereunto, and that his intent is to steal away Her Majesty's letters unknown to your Lordships, which he had done already but that M^r. Secretary Walsingham, according to your Lordship's former resolution, did hinder it; wherefore he humbly beseecheth your Lordships for God's sake and for the equity of his cause, to be a means unto Her Majesty that his said surrender may not be received, and that there may be a stay made thereof before your suppliants title be tried, which, being found right, that he may be put in possession of the said lands according to equity and justice, and he shall pray, &c.

"The humble Petition of Fynin M' Cormuck to the Lords of the Council."

N. B.—The names are underlined by Lord Burghley, and the following scrap of pedigree is written by him in the margin:—

	Cormock●	
	Downe	
	hanged	
" Cormock●		
M' Fy		
murdered		
by Cormok Down		●Teig
Fy M'		in Orssye."
Cormocke●		

Royal letters were sent to Ireland, ordering inquiry to be made

into the justice of these rival suits. An inquiry was made, not indeed into the grounds of the dispute between Teig O'Norsie and the pauper Finin M'Cormack, but simply for the record of the sentence passed upon the murderer ten years before, and its bearing upon the succession to the lands of Gleanachrime. Record of the transaction was readily found, and it was conclusive:—

“1587. 28 *Eliz.*, *Cap.* 7.

“Cormac Don Mac Carty was executed for Treason by verdict of XII men at Corke in Sir William Drurys time; and after, he was, at the last parliament at Dublin, atteynted, so as his lands of Glan-y-cryme came to Her Ma^{ty}.

“Teig O'Norsey Mac Carty, a younger brother to the said Cormac, who hath occupied the said lands unjustlie ever since his brother's deathe, is nowe a suyer to surrender the said lands, and to retake them agayne of Her Ma^{ty}.

“A cousin of his, named Finin Mac Cormac Mac Cartie, does crosse the said Teig in his sute, for that he pretendethe title to the said lands, but the Right thereof is in Her Ma^{ty} as aforesaid.”

Letters Patent were passed; the country was vested in Teig O'Norsie and his heirs male for ever, and no more would ever have been heard of Finin McCormac but for this reply of Florence Mac Carthy to the charges of Barry. Of the assertions of Barry that “Cormac M'Finin had been sent by Florence to Sir William Stanley,” and of Florence that “the unfortunate youth, constrained by extreme misery, had joined himself with certain soldiers, and gone with them into Brittainne,” the reader may select that which he thinks the more credible, for no proof is offered of either; but that the youth had lost his life some four or five years previous to the date of these charges was, fortunately for him, not exact. In the year 1642,—forty-eight years later than the date of these articles, fifty-two or fifty-three after his rumoured death—Finin McCormac gave such evidence of his existence as Barry would have expected. A portentous list of MacCarthys accused of rebellion was produced at the Assizes held at Youghal, in the month of August of that year: the third name upon this list was that of Finin M'Cormac, of Gleanachrime; the twenty-eighth was Teige O'Downy (the son of Teige O'Norsey, to whom Her Gracious Majesty had given her Letters Patent for the lands of Gleanachrime); the twenty-ninth was Teig O'Norsey (II.) of Togher, grandson of Teig O'Norsie the first; and the thirtieth Dermot McTeig of Dunmanway, another grandson of the grantee. *Eighty-two* more names followed, of gentlemen of the sept, called to account on that day of solemn reckoning!

Of all the charges which the malignity of Barry had collected

against his adversary, the sixth was by far the most dangerous. Respecting this Cullen, Camden writes:—

“The next day was also Patrick Cullen condemned, an Irish Fencing Master, who had been laden with great promises by the fugitives in the Low Countries, and some time since sent privily over, with money to bear his charges, on purpose to kill the Queen. Who as good as confessing his crime, and the same being also proved against him by sufficient evidence, he was taken and executed, when he was otherways ready to die of a languishing sickness.”

Florence met this accusation with the candour of a man who felt that he had no motive for concealment, and no objection that the entire truth of his connexion with this Cullen should be known to the whole world; for he readily acknowledges the curious fact that he had been at some pains to secure his services, that he had taken him with him to Ireland, kept him about his person at the time of his marriage, *during his imprisonment* at Cork, and took him with him to Dublin; that whilst he was under the custody of Chichester he was allowed to retain him, and that it was only when the Tower gates closed between them that they separated. His having had this Patrick Cullen at one time in his service was no greater proof of his conspiracy to murder the Queen, than his acquaintance with Stanley and Jacques had been of his complicity in the surrender of Deventer, on the Issell, to the Spaniards. If Queen Elizabeth could have believed these charges, her subsequent conduct towards Florence would have added to the many claims which this Royal Lady has upon the admiration of posterity, that of a Christian forgiveness of her worst enemies. Had the accusation been made against her principal Secretary, Cecyll, or her Deputy, Mountjoy, or her President, Carewe, Her Majesty might have believed it! for each of these noblemen has left it to posterity in his own handwriting that he had hired men to do murder—the third had himself, with his own hand, done it! Such a man as Jacques de Franceschi might use the weapons of these great statesmen, but the poor Irish fencing master, Cullen, did *not*! Nor—be it said without disrespect to Camden—“did he as good as confess his crime,” but he denied it on his oath; nor was he “convicted of it by sufficient evidence,” though he was sufficiently hanged for it, but he “scrupled in his conscience at doing such a deed.” Her Majesty could not, even had she been disposed, believe this accusation of Barry; for the Lords of the Privy Council had already in their possession a more satisfactory refutation of this atrocious slander than it was in the power of Florence to produce. It will be within the recollection of the reader that the principal

¹ The reader is referred to the article on “State Craft in the Sixteenth Century,” published in the “Journal” of the Society, vol. i. new series, p. 398.

charge against him in his previous examination had been his intimacy with Sir William Stanley and Jacques de Franceschi. Since those days the evil fame of both these men had increased a hundred-fold; the sole object of the life of Stanley had become the invasion of Ireland, and the sole pursuit of Jacques the discovery of some able desperado to murder the Queen. Patrick Cullen, as we have mentioned, was apprehended on suspicion of having undertaken to do it. He confessed that Jacques had proposed it to him, but he declared "that he had had scruples as to the lawfulness of the deed, and that whilst in communication with Jacques he had received a warning from one of his countrymen to be careful, for that Jacques was a cunning fellow, and that as he (Cullen) was known to Mr. Florence Mac Carthy, he would surely forfeit his esteem if he joined in any such practice." This was the deposition of a dying man, made before the Privy Council, and of which Florence could not by any possibility have cognizance.

No sooner had Florence made his reply to Barry's charges than he hurried away to England, to plead his cause in person with Lord Burghley and Sir Robert Cecyll, "whom he had always found his very good Lords, and best friends." His earliest welcome in London was from his creditors, who doubtless had watched every phase of that long enduring contest with interest scarcely less vivid than his own. With the same coin with which he had managed to silence them before he now endeavoured to hush them again. His first suit to his friends was for a renewal of the old warrant of immunity from arrest for debt. This was a species of paper money in great repute, and abundant circulation, amongst gentlemen, who, like himself, were "in attendance upon the Court with suits." The Queen's gift of the fine, far from improving his circumstances, or enabling him to pay off his former debts, had greatly added to his embarrassments; for "in pursuit of it he had already expended £200 in law and otherwise." Before long we shall find this sum rapidly growing into three, and finally into five hundred pounds—the full and precise amount of the fine itself—and had not his succession to the inheritance of his father-in-law, and his political troubles intervened, it certainly would have amounted to as many thousands before my Lord Barry ceased to petition for its remittal, or Florence for its payment. It was the Queen's own change of purpose that stood between the creditors of Florence and their money—it was but reasonable that her warrant should interpose also between him and their impatience:—

"1594. *Sept.* 29. FLORENCE MAC CARTHY to SIR ROBT. CECILL KT.

"It may please yo^r Hono^r to understand; where, at my last beinge here, by reason of the longe continuance of my restraint and troble for

the space of five yeres, havinge both wife and children here at my charges, I was constrayned not onely to morgadge and lease what livinge I had, but also to runn very farr indebted here, whereuppon it hath pleased my very good Lo. the Lord T'ferrer and the rest of the counsell to grant me a warrant that I might not be arrested or trobled untill I had receved som benefitt of the suite wch Her Matie bestowed uppon me for the satisfieinge of my creditors, wch beinge since hindered by myne adversaryeis last beinge here, wherby I could nev' since receiv any benefitt by the same, wherefore I humblie besech yo' Hono' to be a mean that the sayd warrant (which I have sent here enclosed to yo' Hono' to peruse) may be now renewed againe, for the wch I shall think myselfe most bound to pray for yo' Hono'; and even so wth the remembrance of my most bonden duetie I humblie take leue this 29th Sept. 1594.

"FLO. M^CCARTHY."

With his mind at ease, at least upon the subject of his personal freedom, Florence was ready to resume his legal combat. The time occupied in the business of procuring the warrant, and restoring the temper of his creditors, afforded no interval of rest to the mind of the Secretary from this wearisome contest; for the Irish despatches bore their usual burthen of accusations against Florence, and Barry's customary wailing over his poverty and his fine. Sir Robert Cecyll may have been pleasantly surprised for once at learning that his correspondent had generously accompanied his letter with "a present of three Hawck and a coupell of hobbies;" but he could not fail to perceive that, in commenting upon the issue of his recent charges against Florence, Barry was scarcely mending his previous indiscretion, by which he had so greatly offended his judges; his present accusation glanced aside from his adversary, and struck straight at the honour and loyalty of the Lord Deputy, and the Vice-President; for he charged them, in as temperate phrase as he had at his command, with refusing to entertain his evidence, and with partiality to a man accused of treason:—

"1594. Oct. 1. BARRY to CECYLL. *Written from Ireland.*

"R' Hon. Sir my dutie wth moost hartie thancks remembered for your manyfold curtesies and great frendly favors by me ther lately received, wherof sithence I have enjoied the benefitt. Florence M^CCartie hath lately repaired thither, wholly bent yf by false suggestions and practices he may worck my hurt, whath proceedings have bene used against him touching the articels I preferred against him, and the directions made in that behalf to the late deputie, I am not acquainted wthal; butt that I doo know there was no stricte course observed be tacking examinations upon presumptions and surcumstance against him, and yf I have felt any favor extraordinary don to the said Florence, I do in regard of dutifull reverence for so highe authorities omitt to charg any; but I

dare affirme and assure your Hon^{or} that yf Florence be dealt wth on sort as his dissembling and cunning requires, he shall be found, upon tharticles that I have ministered against him, a practiser and conspirator wth the rebels and enemies, of Spain, and also a quocker and sturrer of rebellion here in Ireland by Donell M^cCartie base son to thErle of Clan-care whose rebellious accions have trubled this quiet state chiefly of the English inhabitances in Kerrye, and have brought many subjects to ther end with loss of ther blood of the said Florencis Conspiracie wth the said Donell ; and sturing this rebellion manifest is extant by examinacons takn by Justice Smythes late chife Justice of this pvence of Mounster, wch examinacons ether returned to the late L. Deputie, or elsh remaineth wth the said Justice Smythe's widow, himself being dead; and for as moch as the said Florencis had practises in this traitorous actions do touch ore Sovereigne in the highest d'gree I humbly and hartly beseeche yo^r hon^{or} so to mannage the course of pceeding wth him as Her Ma^{ty} service being circumspectly pvided for, my true informacons may take soch place as my zealous affection hath deservid and expected, and that for my duetifull good meaninge I be not hardly spoken nor thought of; I also besech yo^r Honnor to p'vent such suts as the said Florence may p'ferr against me, for my fyne, the which Her Ma^{ty} granted unto him, and after by yo^r honourable meanes was revokd by Hir Highnes, for I am not able through many losses susteyned by me to paye the same at this time ; and as Hir Highnes hath forboren the paiment therof hitherto that yo^r Hoⁿor so work Hir Highness pleasor, to contynue for tollerating the same till ether my habilitye may afourd the paiment, or Hir Matie be further inclined to remett the same by my good service here. I could not by so well furnyshed for my absence in England that I myght visite yo^r Honor wth soch tokens as my good will could wishe or y^r honourable favor deserve, onely at this tyme I pray your Honor to accept of these thrie Hawck and a coupell of hobbies, wch as a poore remembrance of bounden dutie I do send yo^r Hoⁿor by this berer my servant. I could have sent yo^r Hoⁿor som more hawck, but that Florence, before I came into Erland tock an eary of my hawck, and coffytted many other spoils upon my tenants. So altogether leaving to your honourable favor and frendshipp I humbly take my leave.

“Barrye Courte this 1st of October 1594

“DAVID BUTTEVANTE.”

Few things more curious are on record than the confidential correspondence between Sir R. Cecyll and Sir G. Carew; plain dealing phrases that meant but one thing were of so much more importance to these men than any safer diplomatic ambiguity of words, that we are left in no obscurity as to the opinion of these writers respecting the men who, like Barry now, and the Earl of Thomond a little later, poured out their confidence to the Minister or the Privy Council. What Sir R. Cecyll thought of Buttevant's effusions, and of Buttevant himself, we shall eventually see in his own words.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M. A., M. P.,
WITH NOTES BY REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.; GEORGE
V. DU NOYER, M. R. I. A., F. G. S. D.; JOHN DAVIS WHITE, JOHN
WINDELE, HERBERT F. HORR, AND WILLIAM R. LE FANU, ESQRS.

(Continued from Vol. V., New Series, p. 48.)

BLARNEY¹ Castle—its remains are seen in Muskerey; it belonged to the Rebell Cormock [MacDermond.—J. W.], was conquered by the president of Mounster, Carew, and put into the Gouvernm^t. of Captain Taff, 19 August, 1602.

KILKREY² Castle and Abbey, whose ruins are yett seen six miles distant from Cork city; in the time of Rebellion, 1602, was taken by Captain Francis Slingsby for Queen Elizabth; it is scituate upon the south of the river Lee.

MOCRUMP,³ scituate upon the north side of the river Lee [on the Sullane], is a castle seated in the heart of Muskerey, among

¹ Blarney is a well-known village, castle, and demesne, five miles west of Cork, near the junction of several rivulets. It was until the revolution of 1688 the principal residence of that branch of the royal house of Mac Carthy ennobled under English rule by the titles of Lords of Muskerry and Earls of Clancarthy. The "Rebell" Cormack of the text but little merited that title, as he had in the estimation of his countrymen but too faithfully adhered to the English during his entire life; so much so, that he is described by Sir Henry Sydney as "the rarest man that was ever born among the Irishry." The castle and its scenery are too well known by pictorial representation, as well as by "word painting," to need any description here. The castle has been uninhabited for nearly forty years, and is now unroofed. Its wonder-working "stone" enjoys a universal reputation, and has been kissed and sung "a thousand times repeated."—J. W.

² Kilcrea Castle and Abbey are situate, not on the Lee, but upon the Bride, a tributary to that river, and are distant from Cork eleven miles. The abbey, or more properly friary, a house of the Franciscan Order, built by Cormac

Laidir Mac Carthy, Lord of Muskerry, in the fifteenth century, is a highly picturesque structure, although its architectural details are plain and unornamental. It consists of the usual conventual buildings, a church divided into chancel, south transept, and nave, with a side aisle separated from that compartment by a range of three pointed arches resting on short, round columns. At the intersection of nave and choir stands a light steeple, supported on four semicircular plain arches.

The Castle of Kilcrea stands at a short distance to the west of the friary, higher up the valley; it is a massive quadrangular tower, arched within, having a bawn or fortified area in front, and is surrounded by a moat. This building was also erected by the founder of the abbey, and forms one of a chain of fortalices lying along the valley of the Bride from Macroom to Ballincollig.

An ancient recessed bridge of several narrow arches spans the river between the castle and the abbey.—J. W.

³ *Hibernice*, Magh Chruim, the Plain of Croom, now a moderately sized town, situate upon the River Sullane (not the

Boggs and Woods, belonging to the Rebell Cormock Mac Dermott, was beseiged Aug., 1602. It is 18 miles [24 m. English.—J. W.], from Cork. S^r Charles Wilmot took it September following on y^e 29th day, by an accident, putting most of the ward to the sword, for he was comanded to raise y^e seige. The accident was this: the Castle guârd having killed a Hog for their use, water being scarce, were forced to singe it, which fire by carelessness got into the thatch of a little Hutt next y^e wall, and within y^e Bawne of y^e Castle, the flames whereof mounting high, through a window of the Castle sett fire on some combustibile matter there, and made the rebells quitt it & fly to the Bawne of the castle onely for safety and defence, with small expectaçõs, for that it was ready to be assaulted by the companies of y^e two brothers Harveys, and Captain Tho. Boys, so that the beseiged sallying forth, 50 were killed, few escap'd to y^e woods & y^e castle was taken for y^e Queen.

CORK¹ city; its scituation is such a place that not onely Shandō but every hill and ditch comands it.

[There is a blank of some pages here in the original, evidently intended for a description of Cork, but never filled up.]

[Pages 285, 286, 287 of original are omitted, being copies of Proclamations relating to the Great Rebellion.]

[A view of Kinsale from "Pacata Hibernia" comes here.]

KINSALE² hath been a fatal place to the Spaniards before y^e reign of Q. Eliz. as well as then, reported by Walsingham, who lived in those days, & taken notice of by Hollingshed, that anno 1380 and 4th Hen. 2^d [*recte* 7^m], while the Earl of Buçks was passing through

Lee), some twenty-four miles west of Cork. The castle occupies a site on the right bank of the river, commanding the ancient passage, now bridged over. It was probably built by the O'Flynnas, the original proprietors of the surrounding territory, but subsequently held by their paramount lords, the Mac Carthys of Muskerry. The structure is still inhabited, and has been much enlarged in modern times in a style and taste but little commendable. Its exterior presents to the eye a combination of ivy and weather-slatting.—J. W.

¹ The ancient walled city of Cork was built upon a number of low islands formed by the River Lee. The intersecting channels have been long arched over, and the walls taken down. Modern Cork has much outgrown its original limits, and spread away over and beyond its encircling hills. As a military fortress it never had any pretensions. It derives its importance from its fine commercial position at the head of the safest,

the most capacious, and magnificent harbour in the world. It is girdled around by scenery of surpassing loveliness, justifying its proud and favourite title of "the Beautiful City." Cork may also boast of its literary and artistic distinction, as the birthplace of Maginn, Mahony (Father Prout), Sheridan Knowles, Haynes Bailey, Callanan, James Roche, and Lindsay; Barry, Forde, and MacIise, painters; Hogan, the sculptor; Forde, the musician, &c. Its description and fame would fill a volume. These are overmuch for a brief note.—J. W.

² Kinsale lies close to the sea, at the *embouchure* of the Bandon River. It possesses a safe and easily accessible haven, and yet it has not advanced with its time. Its streets are narrow and sinuous, and crowded with population; but it wants trade and manufactures. Several vestiges of its former state and consideration remain, civil and ecclesiastical; chief of the latter is its old

the realm of France the French & Spanish Gallies did much mischief on the coast of Englād, but about y^e latter end of June, by a fleet of English of y^e West, part of y^m were forc'd to retire & take harbour in an haven in Irelād call'd Kinsale, where being assail'd by the English and Irish they were vanquisht, so that to the number of 400 were slayn, & their chief Captains taken, &c., foure of their Barges wth a Ballenger & 21 English vessels recovered.

After y^e failure again of this Town, viz., 1602, the ensigns of magistracy were redilivered to it by Carew, president of Mofister, viz., unto the Burgesses their Charter, &c., amongst which there was a fair large standard of Damask carying the Arms of England which [] was first deliver'd to them in Henry y^e 8th time by S^r George Carew, Cousin German to y^e president of Mounster of s^d name, who not long before y^e seige of Bollogne was Admiral of some of that Kings ships. In S^r. George Carews hands it was left when y^e Spanrds arrived there, and the rarity is this, that by the same S^r. G. Carew by the comand of Queē Eliz. it was delivered unto those of Kinsale again.

KINSALE hath a famous modern Fort worthy the sight of the curious Traveller, & the most remarkeable of this Kingdome, it is comanded at this time by S^r. Nicholas Armorer.

The Spanyards landed here in the Reigne of Queen Elizabth. 23 Sept^r 1600 in y^e haven having 25 colours flying, marched towards the Town, when y^e Townsmen sett open the Gates, and the Souveraigne which is in y^e nature of a Mayor, with his white rod billeted for the souldiers more readily than if they had been her Mat^{ies} souldiers.

The scituation of the Town is on the side of a river [the river Bandon, J. W.] environ'd with hills, & at that time without any manner of defence.

On the north side before the Town is an Hill called the Spittle, about a quarter of a mile, a little more than within shott.

In a sally made by the Spanyards & [*sic*] Spanish Captain was slayne, & Mr. Hopton in office under the Lord Deputy Mountjoy died of a wound 10 Nov^r. 1601.

RINCORRAN castle flourished anno 1601, upon Kinsale River less than half a mile from Kinsale Town, the Spanyards under Don Juan de Aquila possess'd themselves of it; 30 Octob^r 1601 it was beseig'd for the Queen, the 31, battered by the President of Mounster Carew. Don Juan perceiving a distress, thought to relieve it by boats, but was beat off by S^r Richard Piercy, Colonel.

parish church of St. Multose, a building giving indications of original ante-Norman construction, but in the main belonging to the pointed period. A few years since it preserved internally much

of its ancient condition, in pointed arcades, &c.; but the fell spirit of churchwardenism came upon it, and it now presents a melancholy spectacle of modern renovation.—J. W.

That the Lord President of Mounster was an experienced Canonier as well as master of the Ordnance observe this—like a master Gunner making some shott, that the artillery might play as well by night as day, himself did take and score out his groundmarks, and with his quadrant so took the true levell, that darkness was no hindrance, in performing whereof he fairly escaped two musquett shott, as he was buzy, the one lighting upon y^e muzzle of y^e cannon and the other upon the carriage close to the Trunnions.

KINGSALE in the hands of Don John d' Aquila, 2 Dec^r. 1601, there was this bold attempt of one of our English serjeants wherein he was slayne; whilst our men were breaking ground, a serjeant of Captain Blanyes Company drew out 7 or 8 musqueteers, and suddenly fell into a trench that was y^e Spanyards, whose number were ten, of which y^e serjeant killed two with his own hand, and the rest, every one [killed] one; not being contented with this, [he] was killed in another daring attempt very honourably.¹

PHILIPS TOWN—So called² being the shire Town of the Kings County is 21 miles from Carlow, & 14 from Athye. Is all founded upon a meer Bogg, that the very passing of Horses or Truckles, small Carts so called, make the whole Town to tremble, and in lower floors boarded, through an auger hole, or where a knott of y^e wood is out, one may thrust a stick of three yards up to the head.

This Town was built here for to defend a considerable passe.³

From CATERLAVGH to LIMERICK, another way.

From Caterlaugh to ABBEY LEASE is twelve miles. It is in the Queens County. A Town and Estate of 800£. p annū bestowed by his Ma^{ty} upon S^r Edward Massey K^{nt}. he died the 23 May 1674, and is entered in the Parochial Church here, after having been in his life time Governor of Gloucester, & a Major G^ratt at Worcester Fight.

A very good Inne hereto belonging, & where we dined, is at the signe of the Cock, Anthony Hunters, a Yorkshire man, whose wife is very remarkeable for her Dairy, her Butter and Cheese being the best I mett with in any Inn of Ireland.

From Abbey Lease to Aghabo,⁴ an old Abbey with Inscriptōns = 4 miles.

From thence to Burroughs in Ossory Earldome⁵ 3 miles, in the

¹ The above is from the "Pacata Hibernia."

² After Philip of Spain.

³ This passage through O'Conor's Country was, doubtless, the principal one by which depredators from the West made their inroads into the Pale, and through which they returned with their booty.—H. F. H.

⁴ The Dominican abbey here was

founded by the Mac Gillaphadrig about 1250. There are remains of the church as rebuilt in the fifteenth century, but no monumental inscriptions extant.—J. G.

⁵ Now known as Borris-in-Ossory. The district of Ossory embraced the entire of the diocese so named, including the county of Kilkenny. It gave a title to the Earls of Ormonde.—J. G.

way to which on the right hand is seen a fair house called Rush-Hall,¹ belonging to the Lord Monrath.

From Burroughs to Roscrea 5 miles, where wee lodged at the signe of the Red Lion. Here neer the Town is seen the Remaines of an old Abby, and the Ruines in the Town of a large Castle² belonging to his Grace the Duke of Ormond.

From Roscrea to THE SILVER MINES twelve miles. These are at the Foot of high Mountaines, as touch't off on the other leafe.



H. The Work of the Mine. T. The melting houses. S. The Water that turnes y^e Wheele. K. A new work beginning 1681. O. The new Inn at the mines. M. The old Inn y^e signe of y^e Holy Lamb. A. The Road to Limerick. D. The Mountaines.

Note by the way, that within fifteen miles of this place 28 miles distant from Limerick, and twenty miles distant from Philips Towne, is seen the Navel of Ireland a stone of about a foot diameter in sight yet part of a Rock, which is naturally hollow, so that the longest souldiers Pike may be thrust into y^e Rock, this is seen a quarter of a mile from Burr or Parsons Town in y^e Lane, y^e road to Dublin, where Serjeant Isaac an Inkeeper at y^e White Hart conducts you to the sight of it.

Lord of this Town is S^r Lawrence Parsons' where there is such plenty of Ewe-Timber, that of his House the Windows, Staircases, Window Cases, Tables, Chaires, Benches, Stooles and Stooles [*sic*] are formed therewith. Here is sayd to be the fairest staircase in Ireland.

¹ The ruins of this large seventeenth century mansion are extant.—J. G.

² Roscrea was one of the earliest built castles of the Butlers. A large square thirteenth century keep, and the walls and towers of the outward defences remain. It is now a barrack.—J. G.

³ Ancestor of the present Earl of

Rosse. The staircase alluded to by Dineley suffered by the fire which destroyed Birr Castle, June 25, 1832. The balusters and handrail were saved, and, with some pieces of the ancient yew furniture, may be seen in the present building. My informant is T. L. Cooke, Esq.—J. G.

Parsons Town or Burr in the King's County is 20 miles from Philips Town, 16 from Ros Creagh [Roscrea], and one way from Limerick to Dublin.

The silver mine¹ was found out by an Englishman a little before the late Rebellion, who observing a sheep killed in the shambles to be extream yellow, enquired where it grazed, who told him upon the afore described mountaines, whereupon he concluded in that Place to be, and discovered the Silver mine. The soyle is short and crumbling, not a clay though of a clayish colour in some almost of a bright yellow, in others darker. It abounds with yellow Oker and Amber, which burnt in a crucible turnes to a red, this the Proprietor sells as such; Whilst it produced silver it was held by Pattent. It is now possessed by Henry Pretty Esq^r who onely rayseth Lead. Concerning the Veinea, the flakey and shining is best for silver, the glittering and sparkey next, but the white crusted with Oker is the best for Lead, this last the Workers in the Mine call Catts Teeth, and with a blow pipe cole and candle will melt into plain lead, it is very weighty and resembles white enamell or glass. The melting houses and Mill marked with T hath a large Water Wheele by whose motion a Great Forge bellows is lifted up and blown.

There was a want of Water which caused the worke to stand still, because of the Dryness of the season. The best time for digging the minerall, though not for working it up into metall [

From thence to Limerick is [] Miles. The Dismall blackness of the Melting-house Utensills and Workmen of the place, puts me in mind of a paragraph or two of Spencer's in his *Faerie Queen* Canto VII. page 89, who ingeniously describes a Work-house for Melting of Oare, in his ancient *Termes and Spelling*. Parag. 35 & 36 where Mammon led the Elfin Knight.

[Here follows the quotation from Spencer.]

¹ The Silver mines district is about five miles in extent from east to west—the most productive portion occurring to the west, over an area of about one mile and a quarter square, formed by an irregular isolated cake of rock resting on the lower Silurian slates, and measuring about two and a quarter miles from east to west by one mile and a quarter from north to south—the beds dipping to the northwards at angles from 5° to 20°. These lie on the north-west slope of the Silver Mine Mountains, the summits of which vary from 1274 feet to 1607 feet above the sea. The general strike of the lodes is north, 5° to 50° west, or directly across

the bedding of the sandstone. To the east of the principal workings, and close to the village of Silvermines, a sulphur lode occurs along a fault striking in an east and west direction, which, by a downthrow to the north, brings the lower Carboniferous Limestone abutting against the lower Silurian slates to the south of it—here the limestone is metamorphosed to a pale brown dolomite, called Sandy Limestone by the miners. It is very unusual to find such a variety of mineral wealth comprised in one small district as we have at Silvermines. The ores comprise—gold (on the southern side of Glen Colloo, on the north-west slope of Keeper Mountain)—

From LIMERICK to CATHERLAUGH or Carlow journeyed another way.

From Limerick (scituate upon the side of the River Shannon) to Abby Ony is 5 miles. This belonged heretofore to the Walshes, S^r Edmond Walsh as appears by Inscriptōn in the ruines of a small neat chappel before it. This Estate of Abby-Ony forfeited by the Walshes in y^e Rebellion of 1641, is now in the hands of Joseph Stepney of the Middle Temple London Esq^r.

Thence to Bilboa (in the County Palatine of Tipperary), belonging to Gamaliel Walters, Esq^r., one of his Ma^{ties} Justices of y^e Peace, is 4 miles.

Thence to Goulden bridg¹ is 9 miles, this is a fair stone Bridge consisting of [] Arches crossing the River Shore.

silver, lead, zinc, copper, sulphate of iron, sulphate of baryta, with gossan and flookan. The lodes in the Old Red Sandstone consist of argentiferous galena in a gangue of sulphate of baryta; but those veins which occur at the junction of the Old Red Sandstone and lower Silurian rocks, or of the Carboniferous Limestone with the latter rocks, are composed of argentiferous lead ore, copper ore, iron pyrites (sulphur ore), and blende, indiscriminately mixed together, and all enclosed in a gangue of sulphate of baryta, or sometimes in a fine siliceous breccia of sandstone fragments with quartz veins.

The following are the names of the principal workings:—Shallee Western stopes (a term generally applied to open cut or deep surface workings), Lackagh stopes, Shallee East stopes, with some small intermediate workings—Gortena-dine mine, Kinkeen mine, Ballynoe mine, Knockeenroe mine, with the Calamine and Sulphur mines near Silvermines village.

At Shallee mine the stopes are 14 in number, opened on as many galena lodes, which are 8 inches wide; these open cuts extend in some instances for the distance of 100 yards, with an average depth of 11 to 12 yards, and from 3 to 6 feet in width.

The lead contains from 50 to 55 oz. of silver to the ton; and the gangue of sulphate of baryta, in which the lead is found, contains 66 per cent. of lead to the ton. The whole of the Shallee workings contain at least 40 small veins of argentiferous galena; and some of these veins, which are only a few inches in width, are utilized.

At Shallee East the "stopes" are 17 in number. The deepest shaft in East

Shallee is 40 fathoms, in the Old Red Sandstone; the ore here contains 72 per cent. of lead, which yields from 45 to 50 oz. of silver to the ton; the value of this ore is £19 10s. 10d. per ton.

The largest and most important lode of the whole district is that at Gartena-dine mine—it is vertical, with a width of 40 feet in some places; but its average is about half that bulk. This lode has been traced for the distance of over half a mile, and it is probable that it extends for a further distance of one mile and a half towards the village of Silvermines.

At the "stream shaft" the dolomite, or magnesianized Carboniferous Limestone, contains a thick bed of calamine and "gossan" (electric calamine, or silicate of zinc).—See Professor Apjohn's paper on this mineral in the "Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin," vol. viii., part ii., p. 157; also, "Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Ireland," explanation to sheet 134, one-inch Ordnance Map of Limerick, by A. B. Wynne, Esq., F. R. G. S. I.

There are many "old men's works" observable on the whole of the Silvermines district, and these may be of remote antiquity, zinc having been known to the Romans in the first century of our era, as is proved by the discovery of this metal coating the basin of a fountain at Pompeii; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, if the Romans went to Cornwall for tin, they trafficked along the south-west coast of Ireland for zinc.—G. V. D.

¹ This ancient viaduct, still called "Golden Bridge," remains; I am in-bly J. Davis White, Esq., that it has ten arches. There is a view of it in Hall's "Ireland," vol. ii., p. 90.—J. G.

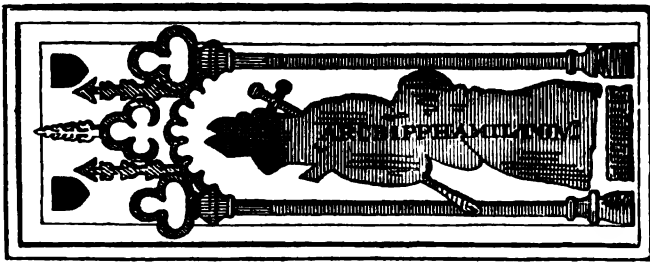
Thence to CASHEL. A citty and Archiepiscopall See is 2 miles. The citty is neat.

Its Cathedral is scituate upon a very high Mount, comandng it and the countrey about.¹ It was taken by a storme by the Earle of Inchiquean. In it, among the ruines of sundry other monuments, is read this Inscriptiōn upon the Tomb of the Archbipp Milerus Magrath:—

“Hic ubi sum positus, non sum, sed sum ubi non sum
Non sum in ambobus, sum sed utroque loco.”

Hic ubi sum positus (viz.) quod ad corpus, non sum (viz.) quoad animam, Sed sum (viz.) quoad animam, ubi non sum quoad corpus. Non sum in Ambobus (viz.) quoad totum hominem: Sum sed utroque loco (viz.) quoad partes.”

[The drawing here engraved follows in this place; it most probably represents the monument of Archbishop Malcolm Hamilton, who died April 25, 1629, and seems to have been the matrix of a Brass.²]



Hence to Kilinall is 6 miles, in the way to which is seen part of à Bogg called Monealy of 60 miles in length. From Killinall to Lismolin is 3 miles; from thence to Burnt-Church⁴ is 6 miles.

Thence to Bennet's Bridge⁵ is 8 [4] miles; this Bridge con-

¹ The ecclesiastical remains here are well known; see "History of the City of Cashel," by J. Davis White, Esq.—J. G.

² This distich is not correctly given, and is but a small part of the inscription. See "History of the City of Cashel," p. 22.—J. G.

³ This monument is not now at Cashel. A tomb, arms and inscription defaced, with only the motto, *PASCE OVES MEAS*,

remaining, is now commonly believed to be Archbishop Hamilton's.—J. D. W.

⁴ In the county of Kilkenny.

⁵ There was a bridge here in 1393. On the 25th of April in that year John Middleton, guardian of the chapel of St. Mary upon the bridge of St. Bennet received license to fortify the bridge. This ancient viaduct was destroyed by the great flood of 1763.—J. G.

sisting of [] crosseth the river Nore, thence to Goron [Gowran] is 3 miles.

Thence to Loughlin-bridg is 5 miles. This is a fair bridge of stone of [] Arches,¹ with the Ruines of an Ancient Castle and Abbey belonging to his Grace the Duke of Ormond. Under this bridg runneth the River Barrow which we crossed.

Here is a fair Inn of brick² with very good accomodaçõn kept by one Mr. Carpenter after the English way.

Thence to Catherlaw or Carlow is 5 miles, through this town runs the river Burren, which you also cross in this Journey, and which pours itself into the Barrow on the other side towards the Queen's County, w^{ch}. the Barrow parteth from the County of Carlow. From Cashell to Kilmallock is above 20 English miles.

SLEWPHELIM is a large mountain in y^e County palatine of Tipperary belonging to his Grace y^e D. of Ormond, in summer it is in condiçõn to travel over, but in winter so wett and boggy that no horse or carriage can pass it, this is towards the river Shannon, and from thence to direct your course into the county of Limerick the passage is through a strait neer to the Abbey of Ownhy.

CROME³ was a fair seat twelve miles distant from Abbey of Ownhy belonging to the Fitz Gerald's Earles of Kildare.

JAMES TOWN, in the county of Letrim, is considerable for its strength and trade, but neither populous nor handsome. It took its name from King James, the first founder. Its outside is fairer than within, the Walls exceeding the buildings. Its scituation is upon the river Shannon, navigable for flatt bottom boats and barges from thence to Killalloe city, which is eighty miles, only with a small lett at Athlone bridge.

ATHLONE, is a Castled Town⁴ divided by the river Shannon, onely that communication is made between the two parts by a fair bridge with stone Arches erected by Queen Elizabeth of ever blessed

¹ This bridge has probably been altered and widened, but retains much of the ancient work of its builder, Maurice Jakes, a canon of Kildare. It was erected in 1320.—J. G.

² The old "Royal Oak," famous in posting times, when horses were changed here as the first stage from Kilkenny to Dublin, is probably the very house kept by "Mr. Carpenter."—J. G.

³ Hence their war cry, "Crom-a-boo."

⁴ The ancient bridge of Athlone was extant until a few years since, when it was taken down to improve the navigation of the Shannon, and a new bridge erected on the old site. See a view of

the old bridge and castle, from a seventeenth century drawing preserved at Kilkenny Castle, in Cane's "Williamite and Jacobite Wars," p. 228. Steamers now ply on the river. There was an older bridge here, built by John De Gray, Bishop of Norwich, where he erected a royal castle at the ford on the Shannon called by the Irish *Ata-Luain*, during his chief governorship, A. D. 1210-13. This prelate considered Athlone, from its military position, of so much importance, he deemed it expedient that the Viceroy should reside alternately at Dublin and Athlone. Gilbert's "Viceroys of Ireland," p. 76.—J. G.

memory;' the Province of Connaght side of the town, whereon is seen the Castle, is fortified with a strong mudd wall & bulwarks.

The Armes of St. Edmund Walsh als Grace³ Knight
and his wife Ellice Walsh als Grace who erected this
Bridge after the Deatly of hir husband for Debotione and
Charitie prayinge passengers to praye for the rest of their
Soules in Heaben.

[There is a drawing of the arms here—per chevron gules, argent, and ermine, three pheons erect, impaling a portcullis between three lions rampant; crest, on a helmet a swan sejant proper.]

1621. Patricius Kearing³ me fabricabit.

A Family of the Welsh² in England give, as here wrote, Azures six mulletts, three, two and one Or.

[There is a drawing of the Arms here as thus blazoned.]

In blazoning of Mulletts of this forme you need not number the poynts, because it is the usuall shape of a mullet in bearing, but if they have more poynts than 5 then you must especially observe their number.

Concerning the Territory of LIMERICK.

And first of that on the county of Limerick side of the city, so fertile a soyle that no part of England exceeds it for so much, not being forc'd ground, it bears corn without manuring or dunging, which it is sayd it would prove the worse for, and produce little but straw. The Grazing Grounds, though, are a great Cheat, as hardly to be overstock'd in summer, yet in winter will starve the 4th part of the numbers, so that those Grounds are but just fitt for y^e Grazier.

First, y^e Town of Ownhy⁴ heretofore inhabited by y^e OMul-Rjans a fragment of whose Inscription is seen upon a monument in

¹ The inscription on the old bridge stated that it was built "by the device and order of Sir Henry Sydney, K^t. who finished it in less than one year, bi the good industrie and diligence of Sir Peter Levis [Lewis], Clk., Chantor of the Cathedral Church of Christ, Dublin, and steward to the said deputy." Where is this inscription now? The castle of Athlone was a very ancient one, and is famous for the stand made there by the Irish against de Ginkle. Its ancient characteristics were entirely obliterated by the military authorities, it having been occupied by the Government shortly after the rebellion of '98. Part of the keep, greatly shorn of its height, still stands.—J. G.

² Sic; a slip of Dineley's pen. He gives the knight's name correctly lower down. See p. 279, *infra*.—J. G.

³ Patrick Kearing was a noted monument maker; besides those mentioned by Dineley, he carved the tomb of Archbishop Miller Magrath at Cashel, and of Walter Bourk at Glankeen church, Borrisoleagh.—J. D. W.

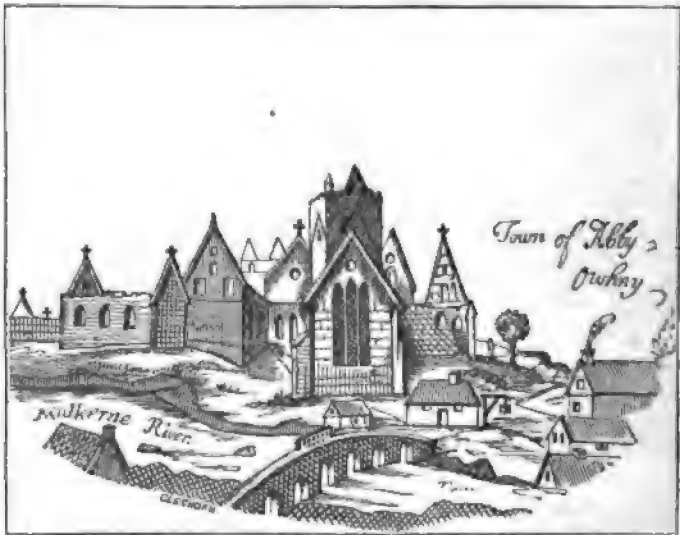
⁴ The only portion of the abbey now remaining is the small roofless chapel, containing the monument of Sir Edmund Walsh: some ten or twelve years ago, when I last saw it, the monument was in fair preservation, and most of the inscription still legible. In a mound of rubbish, my brother thinks that portions of some of the other monuments might

y^e ruines of the Abby following, the inhabitants of this p^t. of Munster, called the OMul-Rians Country, were in y^e Reigne of Q. Eliz. an^o. 1600, esteemed most notorious traitors, wherefore this Town & several castles & being^{sic} [sic; q^r. buildings] about it were almost layd even with the ground, & the Traytors putt to y^e sword.

Neer this is the country of the White Knight (taken notice of in an Inscriptō. in y^e Abby of Owny), who then being also a traytor and related to y^e Archtraytors Tyrone & Desmond, who sought by S^r George Thorneton to be received into the protection of the Queene, & was not denied, by which means the faggot began to unloose which combin'd y^e Rebellion in Munster.

Four or 5 miles from Limerick worthy the sight of y^e curious are the

RUINES OF ABBY ONY.



ABBY ONY als OWHNY anciently an Abbey of the Order of

be found, as he remembers, on a small portion of it being dug, the two little pillars represented in the drawing of the Barry mausoleum were found, quite in good preservation. He was a few years ago looking for a portion of the Barry monument, and a richly carved stone, both of which he had seen used as head stones; but the churchyard had become so overgrown with grass or weeds, that he could not find them, but he and I both perfectly remember them there. The present bridge of Abington

is not the one shown on the drawing of the abbey; the ancient bridge probably stood higher up, but below the weir; the inscribed stone was removed from that bridge, on the top of the parapet of which it seems to have been raised to its present position, built into the parapet of the present bridge, which I think has but five arches. The present village of Abington is a quarter of a mile from the church, and consists of only four or five houses. Abington church is about nine statute miles N. E. of Limerick;

Saint Bernard¹ (in going to it is crossed a stone bridge of six arches over y^e river). Att the West end whereof is a small Chappel unroof'd belonging to the Walshes, as appears by a fair Monument of black Marble and Inscriptōns there. Over the Door at the entrance into it is read as follows under his Armes, dated 1619:—

[The arms, here drawn, are the same as those given with the inscription on the bridge, given at p. 277, *supra*.]

The Armes of Sr Edmond Walsh Knight,
And hys Ladye Ellice Grace.

In the next leafe I have touch'd off the monument and wrote the Inscription on the monument as it is there found.

[The drawing in Dineley's MS. shows the monument to be of the mural form usual in the 17th century. Over it is a shield with the Walsh arms somewhat different from those already given, viz., a chevron ermine in chief three pheons erect.]

The Letters show what Images are thereon engraven:—

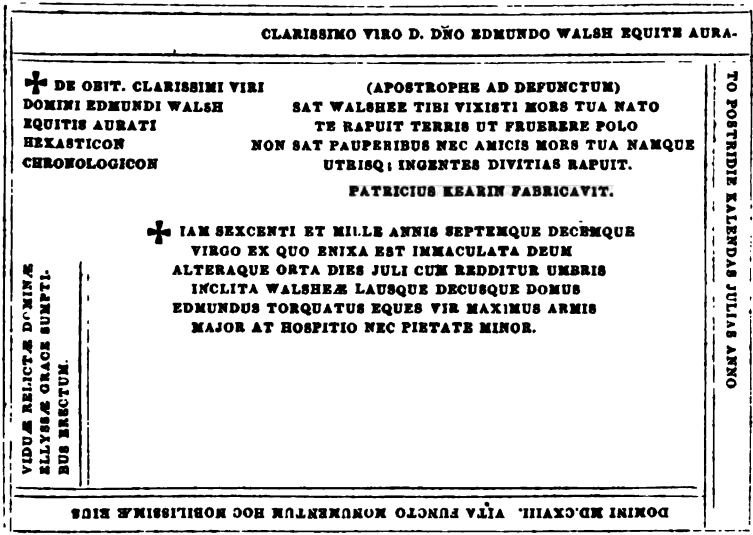
B. St. Peter.

R. Sancta Maria Mater.

D. St. Bernard.

S. Maria Magdalena.

The Inscription at large is after this manner:—



Pallase, now called Pallas or Pallas-green, is about six miles S. E. of Abington; Hospital, at which town is now held a great horse fair, lies about the same distance S. E. of Pallas. The abbey of Owney was taken down by the Stepneys,

and Abington House built out of the materials; this house I remember almost all standing, but it has now nearly totally disappeared.—W. R. Le F.

¹ Owney, now called Abington, was founded in 1205, for Cistercian monks,

[Next is given a drawing of the Barry monument, being of the mural and table forms combined; on it is a shield bearing the arms Barry (apparently of six), argent and gules, a crescent for difference with the date 1633. The crest is rudely drawn, but resembles a castle, possibly the Barry crest—out of a carte argent a wolf's head sable.

What is wrote in this last monument is all in Roman Capitalls. It is erected on the left hand, in a Chappel going up to y^e Altar of y^e Abbatial Church.

Inscription on the Barry monument:—

“NOBILIS ADMODUM DULAMUS BARRY
IN HONOREM SUORUM PARENTUM SUI IPSIUS
UXORIS JOANNÆ BOUECK ET FILIORUM
SUORUM HOC SEPULCHRUM FIERI CURAVIT.
ANTIQUA GENITUS BARRI DE STIRPE DULAMUS
QUIQUE APOLLINEA DOCTUS IN ARTE VIGET
QUIQUE FIDE PLENUS NUSQUAM LANGUENTIBUS ÆGRIS
DEFUIT ET PATRIAM QUALIBET AUXIT OPE
HÆC PIUS EXTINGCTIS MONUMENTA PARENTIBUS AFFERT
QUÆ SIBI QUÆQUE DEUSINT [sic] MONUMENTA SUIS
TU QUI CERNIS OPUS MORTIS MEMOR ESTO FUTURÆ
DIC PRÆCOR [HAC VI]VANT QUI TUMULATUR HUMO.”

This last Monument and Inscriptiōn are seen in the little Chapell without the West end of the Abby of Owghny, or Anthonys Abby.¹

Now to returne again into the Ruines of the Abby, observe the following Monument with these Inscriptiōns also in Roman Capitall Letters, this is erected on the right side the High Altar, on the top whereof read:—

STEMMA AMINÆ GIBBON ALS GERALD FILIÆ MILITIS ALEI.

Some read it Stemma Aminæ Gibbon Fitz Gerald filiæ militis albi. The White Knight, the knight of Kerry so call'd, was a descendent from Desmond.

by Theobald Fitz Walter, Chief Butler of Ireland. The founder was buried here, as was also Theobald, the fifth of the family of Butler. Elizabeth, *anno* 5^{to} *regni*, granted this abbey with its appurtenances to Peter Walsh, Esq., in *capite* at an annual rent of £57 2s. 3d. Irish; he was also to maintain one horseman. It is evident from this sketch that the greater part of Theobald Fitz Walter's early English structure was standing in Dineley's time. Probably this ab-

bey was not totally ruined till 1647. In that year a party of Lord Inchequin's forces, acting for the Parliament, stormed "the garrison of *Owney*, belonging to the heires of Sir Edward Walsh," and burned the abbey. "Letter from an Officer of Quality of the Parliaments Army in Munster," &c. Cashel Diocesan Library.—J. G.

¹ This derivation is erroneous: *manncipium uicthne*, is the reading of the "Four Masters," *sub an.* 1600.—J. G.

There was also another Knight of this Kingdome who went by y^e name of y^e Grey Knight.

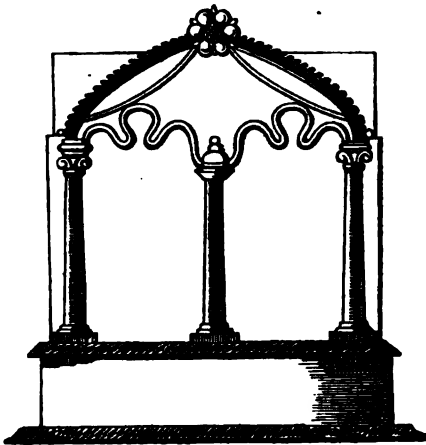
[Here follows a drawing of a monument of mural and table form combined bearing the above line, and first words of the following inscription:—]

In Roman capital letters { NOBILISSIMUS DÑUS GULIELMUS RIANI PATRIÆ SUÆ
DE OWNHII NEC NON ANTIQVÆ RIANORUM FAMILIÆ CAPUT
ET PRINCEPS SIBI UXORI ET LIBERIS SUIS HANC SEPULCHRI
MOLEM ERIGI CURAVIT.

All in Roman Capitall Letters. { POSTERITATIS HONOS MAJORUM LAUSQUE SUORUM
HOC GULILM⁹ OPUS STRUXERAT ARTE RIAN
NOBILITAS HEU QUANTA TOGA BELLOQUE PROBATA
SANCTA FIDES VIRTUS ET DECUS EXIMIUM
HAC RIANORUM CLAUDUNTUR MOLE SEPULCHRI
SI CLAUDI QVÆ NON SUNT MORITURA QUERUNT
OSSA TEGUNTUR HUMO TANTUM, SED CÆTERA MORTIS
NESCIA PERPETUOS SUNT HABITURA DIES.
LAUSQUE RIANÆ VIRTUS & GLORIA GENTIS
SEMPER HONORATO NOMINE VIVET HONOS.

{ Año Dom. MDCXXXII.

On the left side the sayd altar, & opposite to the former is seen this monument,² but without Inscription:—



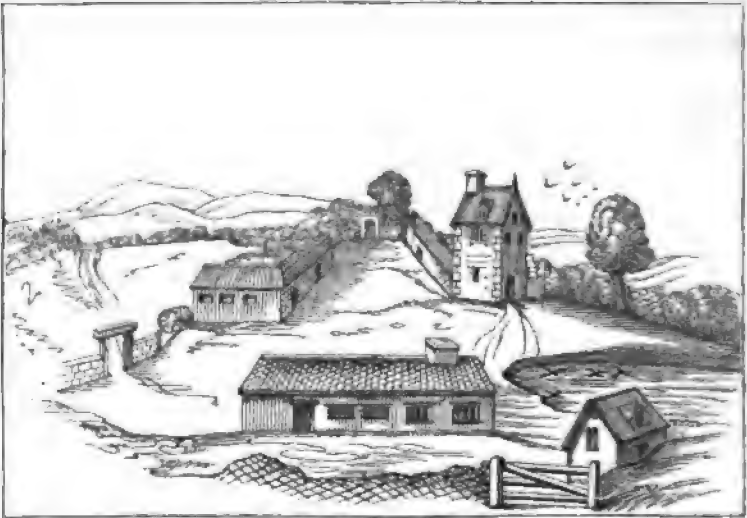
The WHITE KNIGHT was one of the 3 naturall sons of Earle

¹ The preservation of this inscription of the "caput" and "princeps" of the O'Mulryans is very interesting, and shows the value of this work of Dineley.

It were to be wished that he was equally industrious in other places.—J. G.

² This was possibly the tomb of one of the Fitz Walters. It seems to bear

Desmond, the other two were y^e Knight of the Glin & the K^{nt} of Kerry.



BALLYNCLOUGH.

From Abby Owny to Ballyneclogh, a seat belonging to Jason Whitrow Esq., one of his Ma^{ties} Justices of the Peace for y^e county of Limerick, is 5 miles. The Etimoligy [*sic*] of Ballyneclogh is Stone Town, *clogh* signifying *Stone*, & Carrigg Rock.

Ten miles from Ballinclough neer Kilmallock in the road to Cork City a Mountain (adjoining and part of Clanorphy in the county of Limerick, formerly the estate of Sir Edward Fitzharris,¹ whose son was executed as a Traytor at Tiburne 1681), about

(as well as Dineley's inaccurate sketch will let one see) some of the characteristics of the early English style.—J. G.

¹ Sir Edward Fitz Harris, Bart., was a younger son of Matthew Fitz Harris, or Fitz Henry, Esq., titular Baron of Kilkeran, in the county of Wexford, as appears by the will of his brother, Mark, in the Prerogative Office, Enniscorthy. The Baron was "knight of the shire" for this county in 1584. We know not what were the services performed by Edward Fitz Harris that were rewarded by a fine estate in the county of Limerick, and by a baronetcy. His grant is printed in the Calendar of James I., page 111. Another of his sons (Edward) was killed

by George Hore, Esq., who obtained a pardon from Charles II. for the fact [Records, Rolls Office, 28 Car. II. No. 63]. It appears by the ensuing letter from Lord Mountjoy, that Sir Edward was a loyal, and therefore valuable, subject in Munster during Tyrone's rebellion:—

Carew MS. 615, fol. 102.

"From the Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Lord President, in behalf of Edward Fitz Harrys about his castle, with his petition concerning the same, in April 1600.

"My good L.

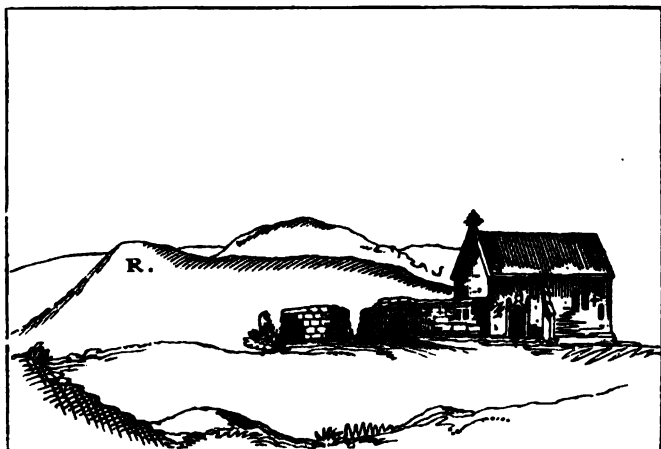
"By this enclosed petition you may perceive this gentleman is desirous to take the advantage of the White Knights absence for the repairing of his castle,

february 1680, before¹ parted in sunder sending forth as it were a river of Water. This estate was forfeited, and is now by allotment in the hands of Captain Oliver.

From Ballyneclogh to Grayne-Church is a small mile; here is seen a Monument belonging to the Mac Briens of Bally Tarsney. And another Tombstone underneath the Pulpitt, which I have touched off below marked D.

[Here is given in the MS. a sketch of a plain cross slab.]

GRAIN CHURCH.



R. An hill called Knock a Graine.

on the other side of Knock Graine, w^{ch} signifies hill of the Sun, being singular good Land as any in Ireland. This adjoines to a Town called Pallice, remarkeable for a neat mount anciently a Danes Fort, and upon which hath bin also anciently a Castle, this is in

which without some assistance from the forces neereadjoining he is not able to do. Wherefore, if without prejudice to her Majestys service it may be done, I would desire your L. to give orders to the next garrison to assist him with such a competent proportion of souldiers, and for such time as your L. upon more perfect consideration of the circumstance thereunto belonging shall think meete, wherein referring him to your favour, I most heartely comitt you to God. From Dublin, 11 April, 1600.

"Your L. assured loving friend,

"MOUNTJOYE.

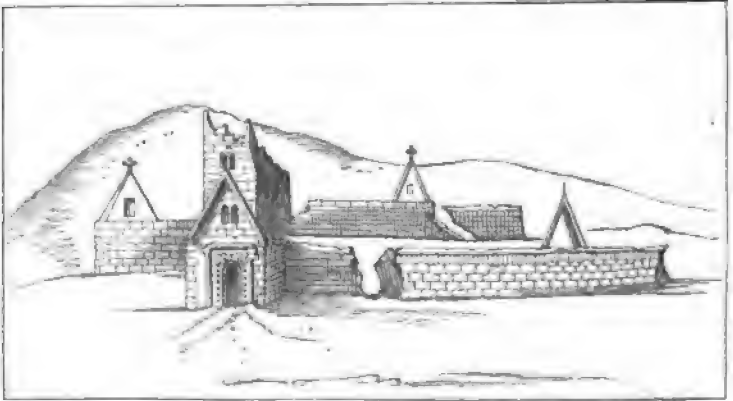
"The petitioner craving also an allowance of some few men in his Castle in ward, with a strong condition (as I

take it) whereto notwithstanding he is content to be bound, namely, that in lieu of such warders as shall be allowed him in paie, he will of his own charges maintaine elsewhere in the province as manie horse to serve her Majesty. The consideration of which request of his and of the condition he offereth I wholly referre to your Lordship: nether doth he desire anything more at my hands, which I cannot but find a very reasonable suyt."—H. F. H.

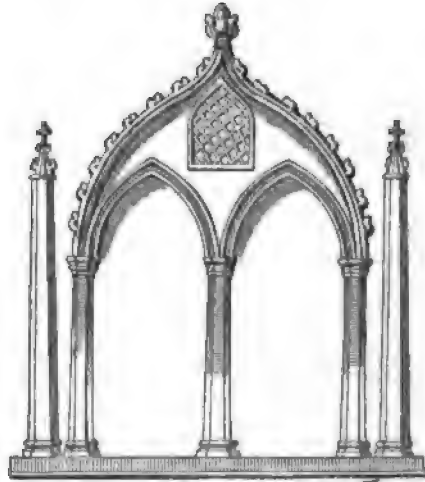
¹ The word "before" is interlined in the MS., and indicates that Dineley was not sure of the precise date of this phenomenon. For the igneous origin of portions of the county of Limerick. see p. 287, *infra*.—J. G.

the hands of Mr. James English. From Pallice to Mil Town Abbey¹ is two miles.

MILTOWN ABBEY Ruines.



This Abbey was in ancient times a Monastery of Carthusians.



MORINES MONUMENT

It hath nothing besides its Ruines but the Remaines of a monum^t against the wall, s^d to belong to the Morines.² From Mil Town

¹ This abbey is situate in the barony of Connagh, Co. Limerick. Only the foundations of the walls now remain. Archdal ("Monast. Hib.") says it was founded by Nellan O'Molloy for Carme-

lite Friars.—J. G.

² "Morine" is the common pronunciation of "Mulryan." The O'Mulryans were chiefs of the country surrounding this abbey.—J. D. W.

Abbey to a fair Seate call'd the Hospitall¹ is two miles & half. This Hospital belongs to Thomas Brown² Esq^r.; a very worthy Gentleman, adjoining to which is an ancient parochial Church with two monuments of Knights Templars in Grey Marble.³ From the Hospitall to Emly Cathedrall is two miles.

IMOLAGHUM, OR EMLY.



EMLY⁴ was an ancient Cathedrall sayd to be the metropolitane of the Province of Munster, and so taken notice of by Bishop Usher & Ware the antiquary, though now it hath no Bishop, but as united to the Archbishoprick of Cashell & its Cathedrall at 12 miles distant.

¹ Called in the Records, The Hospital of Any. A commandery for Knights Hospitallers was founded here by Geoffry de Marisco, Chief Governor of Ireland in 1215.—J. G.

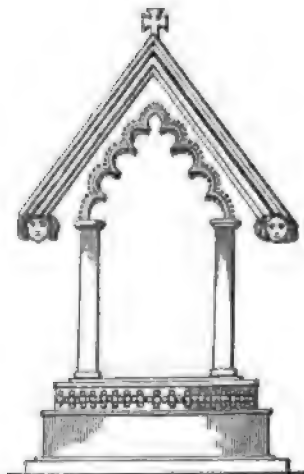
² The first family of Browne of Awney Hospital probably sprang from the house of their name seated at Mulrannan, county of Wexford. John Browne of Rathwirc, county of Limerick, died whilst in rebellion with Garret, 16th Earl of Desmond [*Sir. G. Carew, in MS. No. 635, Lambeth*]. His wife was daughter of Deremod O'Hernan. His heiress, Annabel, was married first to William Apsley, an English captain; secondly, to Thomas Spring, Constable of Castlemang, whose daughter married Stephen Price, of Dingle, ancestor of Lord Monteagle; and, thirdly, to John Delahyde. By her first husband she had two daughters, who were coheirresses, one of whom married Sir Thomas

Browne, third son of Sir Valentine, and brought him the Hospital; the second daughter married Richard Boyle, afterwards first Earl of Cork.—H. F. H.

³ These monuments were, perhaps, of Knights Hospitallers, whose order succeeded to the Templars in their possessions.—H. F. H.

⁴ Of the ancient cathedral of Emly (Imleach Iubhair), in the county of Tipperary, this sketch of Dineley's is the only representation extant. There is now no vestige standing, all having been destroyed when the present church was building. A few carved stones, evidently corbels, with human heads on them, are built into the churchyard wall. And there is inserted over the vestry room door a large stone carved with a crucifixion, in bold relief. The Hurley monument is inserted in the outside of the wall under the large window. Emly was united to Cashel in 1568.—J. D. W.

Emley sheweth nothing but three monuments, one whereof is of Grey Marble arch'd, on the left hand going up to the altar, the



second is this on the right hand sayd to belong to the Pillins, a family now extinct; and the third adjoining to this belonged to Maurice Hurley, Esq^r.

[Here is given a drawing of a 17th century mural monument with a shield bearing a bend charged with 2 mullets and a hand, between 6 crosses pateé].

This Monument is seen at the East end of the Abbey Ch. on the left hand of the Altar and opposite to the Pulpit with this Inscription in Roman Capitall Letters on black marble whereof the whole monument is made.

PERILLUSTRIS DNVS DNVS MAURITIUS HURLEVS ARMIGER
MONUMENTUM HOC SIBI SUIQ' CHARISSIMIS CONJUGIBUS GRAINE HOGANÆ
& GRACIÆ THORNETONÆ TOTIQUE POSTERITATI POSUIT ELABORARIQUE FECIT.

HIC JACET HOSPITHI COLUMEM PIETATIS ASYLUM, A. D. 1632.

INGENIO CLARUS, CLARUS ET ELOQUIO

LAUS PATRIÆ, LITUM SUPPRESSOR, PACIS AMATOR,

REGULA JUSTITIÆ, RELIGIONIS EBUR,

HOSTIBUS HURLEVS FUIT HOSTIS, AMICUS AMICIS,

MAURITIUS MODERANS TEMPORA TEMPORIBUS

FAX FIDEI, FULCRUM MISERORUM, GEMMA VIRORUM,

STEMMATIS ANTIQVÆ GLORIA MAGNA SVÆ,

HVIC DECUS, HVIC PROBITAS, SORS CORPORIS INTEGRÆ, MILLE

NATURÆ DOTES, UNICUS OMNE CAPIT,

VIXISTI MUNDO, VIVES IN SECVLA VIVIS

FORTUNA FELIX. PROLE PEREXIMIA,

ERGO VIVE DEO, VIVE CUI VIVERE VITA EST

SIC TIBI DANTE DEO VITA PERENNIS ERIT.

Underneath this read also in Roman Capitals,

SUMPTIBUS HURLÆI FABRICARUNT HOC MONUMENTUM
PATRICIUS KEARING NICOLAUSQUE COWLEY.

John Fitz Gibbon, younger son of the White Knight afore mentioned in an Inscription 20 Aug^t. 1600, by misunderstanding encountered one of Qu. Elizabeths Captains, Roger Harvey, and was by him defeated after having lost 60 men among which was Garret Mac Shane who was the procurer of the fight, The White Knight was much displeas'd & ag^t. it.

LOUGH-GURR, or LOUGH GUYRE,¹ is an Island and Castle of

¹ Lough Gur was one of the Earls of Desmond's best strongholds, being rendered so by its insular position. It is to be regretted that Dineley's sketch of this important castle has not been preserved along with his Tour. The lake, recently lowered, has proved a rich mine of antiquities of various ages.—J. G.

Lough Gur lies at an elevation of 252 feet above the sea, and the trappean rocks which occur over the hilly ground to the north of it are of three well-marked varieties:—The bedded, or that deposited contemporaneously and interstratified with the limestones; the intrusive, which cuts across the bedding of these rocks; and the volcanic ash, or beds of coarse and fine conglomerate, and breccia, formed of angular, and sometimes rounded lumps and small fragments of basalt, limestone and grit, and crystals of feldspar, the enveloping paste consisting of washed up sandy *debris*, of traps and limestone, or calcareous matter, of a greenish or a purplish colour. As these beds have been deposited under water, they resemble an ordinary sandstone in their mode of occurrence, and lie at the base of the bedded or contemporaneous basalts. To the unequal weathering of the traps and limestones is due the varied and picturesque outline of the hills north of Lough Gur, which rise to the height of about 300 feet above the lake, or 532 feet above the sea.

The Lough Gur basalt is in colour a dark greenish or purplish grey, compact in texture, though sometimes vesicular and amygdaloidal, with disseminated crystals of feldspar, when the rock becomes a porphyry: in the amygdaloidal portion the vesicles are filled with carbonate of lime, due to infiltration from the limestones above. One variety of this porphyritic trap exhibits large

crystals of feldspar, of a reddish tinge.

The intrusive variety of trap, or that which is known or seen to cut through the bedding of the limestone, is quite columnar in structure, though not so ponderous a stone as that forming the Giant's Causeway, or the mass of the basalts in the county of Antrim.

At the distance of a mile to the south of Lough Gur, the hill of Knockdirk rises to a height of 486 feet, having a large boggy flat at its western base, at an elevation of about 250 feet above the sea. This well-marked eminence is formed almost entirely of reddish and brownish basalt, containing specks of dark green hornblende, with crystals of pink feldspar and quartz, which may, therefore, be classed with the Syenites. The trap to the N. E. of Lough Gur occurs in two broad distinct basin-shaped deposits, separated by a band of grey (upper) limestone. The upper trap has the lower coal measure shales of Mountminett House resting on it, while to the south of Mountminett the basalt in some instances is intruded amongst the coal measures.

Any one looking at the Geological Map of Ireland cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable fact, that between Limerick and Tipperary there occur, in the upper as well as medial portions of the carboniferous limestone, very many bosses and wide-spread basin-shaped deposits of basaltiform trap associated with that peculiar rock formed of igneous materials, re-deposited under water, and recognised by geologists as volcanic "ash."

The only other districts in Ireland where igneous rocks of a similar character, especially the basalt or "greenstone," are found in connexion with the carboniferous limestone, are at Croghan

great strength environ'd with a deep large Mote or Lough, its breadth is in the narrowest place thought to be the shot of a Caliever over, to do any execution; upon the edge thereof neer the present Bridge is seen the Castle, as toucht off on the other side, wth y^e late buildings erected for the conveniency of the present Inhabitant Mr. John Bayly.

This is five miles distant from a Town called Kilmallock,¹ the usual refreshing place and halt for Travellers between y^e citties of Limerick and Cork, and which gave great trouble to y^e passage between Kilmallock & Limerick, anno 1600.

It was held agst Queen Elizabeth by the Rebel John Fitz Thomas, its Cattle were first seiz'd on as they were grazeing abroad by Capⁿ Franc. Slingsby, April 29th. 1600 for y^e Queen.

It was surrendered by Owen Grome of the North, who was left in charge thereof by John Fitz Thomas & who upon his pardon and threescore pounds reward deliver'd it up to her Ma^{ty} use 25 May A^o Dñi 1600, hence John Fitz Thomas rode towards the Fastnes of Arlogh.²

The 30th of May 1600 the Queens army marched towards, and took the Castle of Ballitrarsnie, Mourough Keoughs place who was one of the Brians,³ this was scituate neer a great security in a very commodious passage between y^e city of Limerick and Archbishopric of Cashell and a considerable Post to hinder the Rebels for coming out of Kilquige' into Conniloghe.⁴

Note that the above nam'd Capt: Fra. Slingsby was comaunder of the then Lord president of Munsters foot company, and the garrison at Kilmallock, A^o. 1600.

May 30, 1600, the Queens army marched to BALLITRARSNY Castle belonging to Mourough Kewghe of y^e family of the O'Briens,

Hill, in the King's County, and to the north of Dundalk, in the county of Louth, and along the southern flanks of the Carlingford Mountains. A few beds, however, of green vesicular ash occur in the carboniferous limestones to the N. W. of Mallow, and were described some years since by their discoverer, Sir Denham Norreys, in the "Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin." At the first named localities the true intrusive character of the basalt is clearly perceptible, while the period of its injection amongst the limestones most probably synchronizes with that of the basalts at Rowley Hill, and Dudley, in the South Staffordshire coal field.

For a full and interesting detailed account of the trappan rocks of the county of Limerick, see "Memoirs of the Geological Survey," in explanation of

the four sheets of the One-inch Map, Nos. 143, 144, 153, and 154.—G. V. D.

¹ Kilmallock is, archæologically speaking, one of the most interesting spots in Ireland, retaining as it does to the present day the greater part of its mediæval walls, gates, and mansions. Kilmallock was a town of the Earls of Desmond.—J. G.

² Eataplach, Aharlagh, a remarkable glen about four miles south of the town of Tipperary.—J. G.

³ i. e. the O'Briens Ara—a branch of the O'Briens of Thomond.—J. G.

⁴ Coill-na dúiceib, i. e. the wood of the Province. This wood is shown on old maps a short distance to the south of Kilmallock.—J. G.

⁵ Now the baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, in the county of Limerick.—J. G.

& took it. Its situation was near a great Fastness, a Post very convenient both to make free the passage from Limerick to Cashell city, and to hinder the Rebels for coming out of Kilquig into Connilogh.

The remarkable RIVERS which I cross'd in my Journey from DUBLIN to LIMERICK and the County of CLARE :—

LIFFY.—1. The Liffy descending from a Mountaine in the county of Wicklow and serving the city of Dublin with plenty of Salmon, Trout & Eeles, discharging itself into St. Georges Channel.

2. { BARROW, } These 3 rivers are called sisters' emptying
3. The { NORE, } their selves into y^e river of Waterford, &
4. { SHURE, } all into the Sea called St. Georges Channell.

Of these 3 last. The first passeth through the county Town of Catherlaugh or Carlo.

¹ So called by Spenser in his "Faery Queen." These three rivers rise from the slopes of the range of hills which extend from Templemore to Monastereven, all anciently known as Sliabh Bladma. The Nore and Suir take their rise from the same marsh on the shoulder of Barnan Ely, over Templemore. The Barrow rises in Glenbarrow, on the north-western slope of the mountains to which the name of Sliabh Bladma, or Slieve Bloom, is now confined, and which are separated from the Barnane Ely range by the broad valley in which the town of Roscrea is situated.—J. G.

² *Navel of Ireland*, see p. 272, *supra*. It seems that in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis ('Topog. Hib.', distinct. 3, c. 4), the town of Birr was reckoned to lie nearly in the centre of Ireland, and that there was then a large stone here which used to be pointed out as the Navel of Ireland. Ussher ('De Eccl. Brit. Primordiis,' p. 453), mentions that it was shown here in his time. His words in writing of some long stones near Naas, in the county of Kildare, are—'Ubi lapidem quendam suo tempore Giraldus extitisse notat quod umbilicus Hiberniæ diceretur (quasi in medio et meditalio terræ positus), pro quo tamen umbilico, Birre in Comitatu Regis alius quidam excavatus lapis hodie ostenditur.' Sir William Petty, in the 'Down Survey,' marks the church of Birr as the Umbilicus Hiberniæ." See "Picture of Parsonstown," published A.D. 1826, by T. L. Cooke, p. 158.

It is to be observed that Dineley relates, 'this is seen a quarter of a mile from Burr or Parsons Town, in y^e

lane y^e road to Dublin,' which seems to designate that part of the townland known by the name of Seffin, near where the terminus of the Great Southern and Western Railway stands at present (1865).

At this spot, on a slight eminence, was to be seen within the last thirty-two years a globular-shaped limestone boulder. It was about five or six feet in diameter, and bore marks resembling the letter V, and crosses similar to those seen on the Pagan rocks at Clonfinlogh, in the King's County, and Glenacummer, in the county of Galway. It also bore on its face various depressions or cavities, which the peasantry used to say were the marks of Fin MacCoul's thumb and fingers.

Sheffin is written Seffin in a rental of 1685, and Sheefin in a rental of the Incumbered Estates Court published for the sale of the place in 1855. The stone itself was taken in December, 1833, from its ancient site, by the late Thomas Steele, Esq. (O'Connell's Head Pacifictor), on a truck drawn by eight horses, and was by him deposited at Cullawn, near Tulla, in the county of Clare, where it is believed to be still. I am indebted to T. L. Cooke, Esq., of Parsonstown, for the above information, which came to hand too late to be inserted in its proper place.—J. G.

Since this paper has been put in type, two of the gentlemen who kindly supplied illustrative notes—Mr. Herbert Francis Hore, and Mr. John Windle—have been removed from amongst us. The sad catastrophe which, in the case of Mr. Hore, deprived the Society

The second through the city of Kilkenny, and the 3rd through Clonmell the county Town for y^e county Palatine of Tipperary, all affording Salmon Trout Pike and Eele in good store.

5. The SHANON affording besides Salmon admirable Lamprey Breme &c.

of a zealous associate and an indefatigable working Member, has thrown a gloom over a wide circle of friends. They lament the loss of a high-minded and accomplished man, whose place cannot easily be supplied. Mr. Windele was one of the original Members of the Society, and a zealous and enthusiastic supporter of its interests by his pen and his wide personal influence. It is with deep sorrow we record the death, by paralysis at the age of 59, of the able,

genial and kindly John Windele.

What a store of antiquarian and historical knowledge, garnered up by the untiring and disinterested labours of these two men, perishes with them! How sad the feeling that the pitiful want of sufficient funds, sternly limiting the printing power of the Society, has doomed to the oblivion of the grave the accumulated knowledge and experience of two such able labourers in the field of Irish Archaeology and History!—ED.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April 6th, 1865.

The REV. CHARLES A. VIGNOLES, M. A., Rector of Clonmacnoise, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell Mollan, C.B., Newtown House, Thomastown : proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D.

William Anderson, Esq., Barrister-at-law, 47, Dawson-street, Dublin; and John Gibson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 198, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin : proposed by C. H. Foot, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

William E. Pratt, Esq., Upper Mallow-street, Limerick; and Robert B. Guinness, Esq., The Strand, Limerick : proposed by Henry James, Esq.

William A. Mahony, Esq., Manager, National Bank, Ennis-corthy : proposed by George C. Roberts, Esq.

John Barden, Esq., Coolcliff House, Foulksmill, county of Wexford : proposed by J. Kennedy, Esq.

Samuel F. Lynn, Esq., 10, Warwick-place, Warwick-square, London : proposed by the Rev. John Lymberry.

Bryan Mullally, Esq., M.D., Templemore : proposed by Michael Mullally, Esq.

James Petit, Esq., 4, Cabra Terrace, Phippsborough, Dublin : proposed by Mr. Prim.

The Treasurer reported that several of the Members included in the published list of those provisionally struck off for non-payment of their subscriptions, had since applied to be restored, paying up their arrears. The names were as follows :—The Rev. Milward Crook; the Rev. P. Meany; P. J. Byrne, Esq.; E. M. Dillon, Esq.; Thomas Hart, Esq., J. P.; Rev. Stephen O'Halloran; Mr. Patrick M'Gragh; Surgeon J. A. P. Colles; and S. C. Hall, Esq. Mr. Patrick Durnan had also honourably paid his arrear, but had retired from the Society.

The Chairman stated that at the late King's County assizes no trial had taken place in the case of the wanton injury of monuments at Clonmacnoise, the Government having declined to prosecute a second time. The Committee of the Society had incurred some preliminary expenses in the matter, but did not consider it advisable to take any further steps, feeling that enough had been done to vindicate and make known the law, and prevent a recurrence of such wanton outrages. The Committee proposed, with the sanction of the donors, to apply what remained in hands of the prosecution fund to the reparation, as far as possible, of the injuries sustained by the monuments at Clonmacnoise.

This proposition received the full sanction of the meeting.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Philological Society: their "Transactions," 1854-64, inclusive, ten volumes.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," Nos. 83 and 84.

By the British Archæological Association: their "Journal" for March and June, 1865.

By the Surrey Archæological Society: "Surrey Archæological Collections," Vol. III.

By the London and Middlesex Archæological Society: their "Transactions," Vol. II., Part 6.

By the Royal Institution of Cornwall: their 47th "Annual Report," and "Journal," No. 3.

By the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society: their "Magazine," No. 26.

By the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society: their "Proceedings," No. 18.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," for December, 1863, and March, 1864.

By the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: their "Annual Report," 1863-64; also a Lecture "On the Early History of Leeds," by Thomas Wright, Esq., M. A.

By the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire: their "Report," 1863-64.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: "A History of the Parish of Horningsey, in the County of Cambridge," by W. Keatinge Clay, B.D.

By the Banbridge Literary and Mutual Improvement Society: their "Prospectus," 1864-65.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1145-1158, inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for January, February, and March, 1865.

By Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq.: "The Reliquary," No. 19.

By the Author: "Memoir of John Stearne, Founder and First President of the College of Physicians," by T. W. Belcher, M. D.

By the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, M. A.: "Annals of Sir Patrick Dunn's Hospital," No. 1.

By the Author: "Scela na Esergi: a Treatise on the Resurrection, now printed for the first time from the original Irish." By J. O'Beirne Crowe, A. B.

By the Author: "The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland." By John P. Prendergast, Esq.

By the Rev. G. L. Shannon, "Theologica Tripartita Universa." This book is locally interesting, as containing at page 160 of Tome III. a most interesting description of the Market Cross of Kilkenny, and a contemporary account of its defacement by the soldiers of Cromwell.

By the Dean and Chapter of St. Canice: a specimen of the original mural decoration of the Cathedral of St. Canice preserved on a portion of the old plaster from the chapel at the south side of the choir of the cathedral. This chapel having been vaulted at a period long subsequent to its original erection, it was determined by the Chapter in the course of the restorations at present taking place, that the vault should be removed. In this removal the original mural decoration against which the vault had been built was brought to light, and proved to be of the same character as that of a fragment which had been previously discovered in the North Chapel. The decoration consisted of a border of flowing foliage at the top of the wall, the rest of which was covered with a simple masonry pattern in black lines. The foliage was executed in black and red colours, and was well preserved. A large portion of the plaster containing the foliage pattern having been loosened from the wall by damp, Mr. Robertson, the Hon. Curator of the Museum, had been enabled to remove it entire; and having subsequently "backed" it with plaster of paris, he had so preserved it as that it will form an interesting object in the Society's Museum.

By Mr. R. Malcomson, on the part of Mr. Bower, C. E., County Surveyor of Carlow: an ancient instrument of torture, now totally disused—the brank, or "scolds' bridle," devised for the punishment or restraint of "vulnerable" females. It was constructed of iron bars, formed in the shape of a helmet, with a large piece of roughened iron, to be inserted in the mouth and keep down the tongue. The bars of the back were hinged, and so fashioned as to be reduced or expanded, according to the size of the head, locking behind by a nut

and screw. Several specimens of the brank, occurring in England, have been noticed and engraved in archæological publications in the sister country; but this appears to be the first instrument of the kind discovered in Ireland. Mr. Malcomson communicated the following observations respecting the brank from Mr. Bower:—

“My father left it amongst a lot of curiosities, coins, and antiquities which he had collected, chiefly in the county of Down; and the *tradition*, in my mind, which he handed down to me is, that it was given him by the governor or some other officer of the old gaol of Down, at the time of the removal of the prisoners from the old prison to the new gaol, in the year 1832, or thereabouts; and that it was used as a mode of punishing *loquacious ladies*, whose powers of speech could not be got under control by any other mediæval contrivance. How long since it was so used I cannot tell; but that it *was* used for that purpose in the place named there can be no doubt.”

By Mr. Richard Culley: a collection of modern copper tokens and foreign coins.

By Mr. Edward Benn, Glenravel: three flint implements, accompanied by the following paper on flint implements found in the county of Antrim:—

“Many years ago I was aware that in certain localities of this neighbourhood were to be found great numbers of flints of a small size. On mentioning the circumstance to an eminent geologist, he said they had been brought here by what he called a drift. This I took for granted, and these objects were for a time unnoticed; but afterwards, some of them having come into my hands which showed evident indications of art, I determined to investigate the matter. I intimated that I would give some pence to those who brought quantities of flints. When this new industry was discovered, the children rushed to it with an eagerness only surpassed by their seniors at the gold diggings, and in about a year more than twelve thousand specimens were collected. From a careful examination of these I do not hesitate to say, that there is not a stone found that has not been brought here by human agency, except the natural basalt stone of the country.

“The examination of these stones is a matter of great interest; through them we obtain glimpses of the domestic habits of our remote ancestors; for, notwithstanding that many immigrants have at different times entered the country, there seems to be little doubt that the present inhabitants of these islands are the descendants of the ancient Britons, and that the words they used are the words in use at this day. The word remains, and the idea it conveyed remains; the object has, with altered circumstances, changed. About fifteen per cent. of these flints are of little interest—they are the remains left after striking off the objects to be afterwards finished, and pieces struck off not applicable. I include in this a considerable number of flint pebbles greatly smoothed by friction; I call these fire stones—they may have been used for procuring fire by friction; this is uncertain; but it is the only way I can account for their polished appearance.

"The great bulk of the remainder may be described as pieces split off, and used as knives; they may be described as about one and a half to two inches long, by one inch in breadth, with a sharp edge, and thick back; they are polished at the top, where the fore finger was placed; by seizing this with the finger and thumb of the right hand, for which purpose there is generally a hollow place well adapted for holding fast, then placing the forefinger on the smooth place at top, a piece of flesh, held firmly with the finger and thumb of the left hand, might easily be cut into convenient pieces for the mouth: they are also well adapted for skinning small animals, scraping, or other useful purposes. Not long since two men, having caught a hare, skinned and divided it very neatly with one of these flints. It is only by being very carefully looked at that their use can be determined. On a first glance they appear such fragments as are produced by breaking a large flint; a few were found about four inches long, by two or three in breadth; they might have been used for skinning or cutting up a cow or other large animal.

"The objects on which a greater amount of labour was bestowed consist of—

- "1. Small spear-like instruments;
- "2. Long-shaped knives;
- "3. Spoons or pounding instruments;
- "4. Objects, the uses of which for the most part cannot be determined.

"The spears may be divided into two classes. Those of the best finish are spear-shaped, very neatly made, about two inches long by one inch at the base, sharp on both edges, and having a very sharp point. These I call hand spears, as there is invariably a place at the base for holding by the finger and thumb. Such a weapon would not be of any effect except when very closely engaged. Those of the second class are far more numerous, not so well finished; often sharp on only one side; frequently with an indentation on the edge for the purpose of receiving a ligature, which was commonly very thin, judging from the smallness of the indentation—this was generally near the point; sometimes two of these indentations are found both on the same side, very rarely one on each side; these would appear to have been fixed on the end of a stick which would have made a most effective weapon. This instrument must have been in very general use, judging from the number found; it seems to have been the great weapon of antiquity, and was known by different names; probably its oldest name was a club—*cly ab* signifies a stone-headed thing; it required a combination (a number united) of these stones to form a club. In Lancashire, a collier who joins a club or combination is called a *knob stick*—this is another form of expression for the same thing. This ancient weapon was also called a loggerhead; *lia gar* signifies a sharp or hooked stone. This weapon was easily made by splitting a stout stick, and inserting the stone in the cleft, afterwards binding with a strip of hide. The most simple form would be to place six in a row on one side; this would not be so effective as would three on opposite sides; still better would be the same number of six arranged with two on one side, having on the opposite side two others, and in the middle space two, one on each side; this arrangement is what we find in the bronze clubs; besides the points fixed in the side of the stick, it is most probable that in some cases a longer and sharper stone was fixed in the end, to act as a spear; thus some

clubs would have six stones, and some seven. Would this account for the singular phrase of people when quarrelling being said to be at *sizes and sevens*? The phrase commonly employed to describe an assembly quarrelling, seems to be derived from this instrument, as when they are said to resort to club law, or raise obstacles, or go to loggerheads.

"The knives vary from four inches long to an extremely small size, generally straight, and neatly made; they are in general very fragile, many are found broken; some have a little handle, formed by cutting off a part of the blade; none appear to have been fixed in a wooden handle; there is generally a place at the end for the finger.

"The spoons are most singular objects, and have been but little noticed. From the great number found, they must have been in very general use; they have a round head, with a projecting handle; many have been formed by splitting a round or long-shaped flint nodule; this was done so as to give a graceful ladle-like curve; the head was then chipped neatly round the edge; the handle was then formed, in which was always made a place for the finger and thumb, as from its many uses it required to be held very firmly; they vary in length from three or four inches to an extremely small size; they appear to have been as much used for pounding or bruising as for supping, the end being round and thick. Some were found thin on the edge, very neatly made, which might have been used for feeding invalids; and some very small and thin, seemingly for feeding infants; in many cases the handle is sharp on one side. When this was used, it became, instead of a spoon, a *ken-ieve*, or knife; the spoon is very smooth, as if prepared to be licked when the food was led to the lips. The Irish word *liach*,¹ a spoon, as well as the English word ladle, signifies a stone instrument; the latter word, *lia d'el*, intimates that it is a long stone thing. From what has been stated, it is evident that the most important use of this instrument was pounding or bruising. What description of food was used becomes a very curious question; it may have been animal food, preserved by drying. This instrument was called a *moel*, which signifies any long thing with a round end; it is the precursor of the mill; with it our progenitors pounded or moulded the meal of meat; the Highlander grinds his snuff with a *mull*, the painter grinds with a *muller*; the farmer pounds furze with a *mell*; and a great house with many huge stones revolving is a mill, and it prepares meal for the million. Some have been found wanting handles; these were *moo-lers*, or round stumps; they were also used for pounding or bruising, but were not so convenient.

"This word has come down to us in many more forms:—this little stone, three inches long, is a *moel*; the painter uses a maul stick; the window has a mullion; a long artificial walk is a mall; a great wall to enclose a harbour is a mole; and the great peninsula of Cantyre is a mull, by some called a mool, by others a moyle. The first occasion on which a *moel* was used was identical both in idea and act with proceedings we see every day. *Moo-el* literally signifies the round end of the arm; thus an arm with a fist on the end was a *moel*; to strike with fists is to maul; a fight with fists is a mill; a general fight is a *melée*; the local troops are the militia—

¹ Although this is the common name in this neighbourhood call it spon, that for a spoon, those who understand Irish is a sup-en.

the national troops are the military. It is the origin of many other words—as, to mulct, from the toll levied by the miller, called *mooler*, or *multer*; to moyle, from the laborious work of grinding with a handmill.

“A number of objects were found, such as I have not found noticed elsewhere. From the great number found, they would seem to have been in general use for some purpose that I cannot explain. They are from one to two inches long, by about an inch in breadth; thin pieces of flint of a pearl-like appearance, of one general type, less than one-eighth of an inch in thickness; out of this is cut, with extreme neatness and precision, a semicircle of less than an inch in diameter; some are found with a much smaller semicircle. I enclose one of these curious objects, also a small knife and spoon.

“The number of arrow heads found was much less than might have been expected, not being more than twenty or thirty; among them were found some very singular varieties. It must be remembered that much of the land in which they were found had been long in cultivation, and many may have been picked up and dispersed. The stone celts, called thunderbolts, were far more numerous; perhaps fifty were collected—a few very rude, but generally neatly made, about four inches long by two in breadth, formed of different kinds of stone, none of which is found here. Among them were some beautiful varieties, about two inches in length, and one only an inch long, the smallest I have ever seen. These celts seem to have been used for splitting wood or other things, as would appear from the great number found broken, in many cases into fragments, as if they had been struck with great violence; they are far more numerous, and more generally diffused than the arrow. There were also collected a good many stones cut for use, not flints; the most general were pebbles of quartz, split so as to produce a sharp edge, besides a few cut into spoons or pounders; the cutting of these is not so neat as that of the flints; it is a stone far more difficult to manipulate; several knives and spoons were found cut out of black, close-grained stone, such as was used for making the celts; what is remarkable about them is, that some of them have something of the curve that is assumed naturally by the flint.

“It is singular, when we consider the extraordinary skill shown in cutting stones, that nothing of an ornamental kind was found, except a beautiful stone ring. No stone beads were found, although they are not rare. A very neatly cut triangle of hard black stone was found, having three nearly equal sides of about two inches each, by about half an inch in thickness; it was probably connected with some superstitious or religious idea.

“A considerable number of lucky stones were found. These are nodules of flint, having a natural hole; many of them have a brown polished appearance, as if they had been kept in smoky houses. The lucky stone is a very ancient superstition, and one that is hardly yet discontinued. They would also appear in size to have had reference to the rank of the holder. The poor people in this locality were content with a stone varying from the size of a gooseberry to that of a small apple; some of these may be even yet found doing duty in remote localities. The royal family indulged in a large boulder, which is still preserved under the coronation chair.

"The tooth of the great horse so frequently found in this county would also appear to have some superstitious idea connected with it, as many of them are found brown and polished, like the lucky stone. If this was the tooth of a horse, it must have been a very singular variety; they are as thick as the tooth of a large horse of the present day, and about twice as long, and slightly curved; some are found no longer than the tooth of our present horse, and of the same depth, but only half the breadth; they are found singly, and are called by the children, giants' tusks.¹ Many other things were found, which it would be difficult to describe; several mullers were found, some neatly cut, but much smaller than those generally used by painters, some extremely small and rude; one was a round nodule of hard black stone, on one side of which a flat surface had been made for bruising or grinding; it was the size of a large orange; a few flat flints, about as large as the palm of the hand, and about as hollow, seemingly used for pounding or bruising on; these were probably used for preparing some superior article of food—the general bruising could have been done on a common flat stone; this was a *mool brud*; baking was formerly done on what was called a mould board.

"I now come to speak of the circumstances under which these stones were found. This district is somewhat elevated, lying along the slopes of low mountains, and nearly all were got within a circle of two or three miles; they are not found scattered indiscriminately, but confined to certain localities; wet lands and places much exposed were avoided by the old inhabitants, and no flints are found in such places except an occasional one, seemingly dropped or lost; nearly all are found in places sheltered from the north and west, and having a dry soil. Such places are generally rocky in a small degree, small rocks or large boulders being scattered through them; these were called *doons*, signifying *black stumps*, a name perfectly descriptive; no heath grows in such places; the grass is short and sweet, and in the wettest weather it is dry under the feet; such lands are now called downs. In these dry sheltered spots the dwell-

¹ A very singular find of these teeth occurred in 1849. A pier being to be built, to procure stones for the work a quarry was opened in the face of a rock at a very short distance from the sea; on this occasion a cave was broken up, situated about thirty feet above the sea level; this cave was about thirty feet in length, rather narrow, and such height as a man could walk in by stooping. Its existence had been known, but from difficulty of access it had not been much visited; on entering, stalactites were found on the ceiling, and the floor was covered with stalagmites, on breaking through which there was found rich earth about two feet thick, in which were discovered, scattered without any order, a great quantity of bones, many of them human, including about twenty skulls, all in good preservation; besides some much

decomposed, considered to be bones of fish; there were also found three bronze celts; ten or twelve small silver coins, said to be early Saxon; two of the large teeth already referred to; and two *to-bacco pipes*. The celts and coins were taken possession of by the officers of the Board of Works; the bones were buried, and could perhaps be recovered by any one feeling an interest in the subject; the teeth and pipes were lost; they did not differ from the large teeth already described, and the very short small pipes commonly found in this country. I did not see any of these things, but I believe the statement to be correct. My informant is Mr. Dennis Black, of Cushendall, a very accurate observer, who was employed as overseer of the works, and who made a note of the circumstance.

ing of the people were made; the chief lived on a large isolated rock, called the *doon*, or town; traces of the houses are very numerous, they appear to have been made of wattles, as few stones are about them; no accumulation of ashes is found, as if they had not continued long in one place. It is difficult to say anything as to the age of these houses, as even to a comparatively recent period a sort of nomad life existed in many parts of this country; neither is it possible to say anything as to the period of time that has elapsed since these flints were in use; it was probable that some of them were used at a much later period than was generally supposed. There was no bronze knife found; there was no knife found between the thick-backed flint knife and the thick-backed iron knife frequently found in crannogues, which is of no great antiquity. In a country where the flesh of animals must have formed a large portion of the food of the people a knife of some sort was absolutely necessary, and the sharp flint would be a very convenient substitute. A person brought me a beautiful arrow head, and a small bronze ring, which he assured me were dug up in the same spadeful.

"But little light is thrown on the subject of the period at which these flints were used by examining the circumstances under which they are discovered. They are at no great depth in the land; never in the subsoil, but generally near it. An occasional one has been found at the very bottom of a deep bog; indeed, objects of antiquity are very rarely found in bogs,¹ except in such bogs as had at one time been lakes having crannogues; about such places they are very abundant, but of no very high antiquity. It is stated that in the North of Europe flints and bronze objects are found in bogs lying in different zones or strata; I have never heard of any such cases in this country. Different strata certainly are found in bogs, but it is a subject more for the naturalist than the antiquary. Fire was the agent by which the bogs were in many cases produced. A wood of oak was burned; on the ruins of this grew a wood of pine; this was burned, and was followed by birch, willow, or alder, to be succeeded, as we see, by mere heath and moss. The timber found is chiefly pine—a very superior timber, perfectly sound, which is to be attributed in the first instance to its having been charred on the outside. Branches are not found; they, together with the underwood, formed a strong fire at the root, which burned nearly through, causing it to fall with a storm.

"Much more might be said on this subject; but enough has been written to show what interesting results would ensue, if a number of persons residing in different localities far removed from each other would pursue the same course. The investigation is attended with very little cost of money or time. Directions should be given to collect everything that appears different from common stones; many interesting things might be found—I believe there are few localities that would not produce more or less. I caused search to be made in different localities; in one case, fifty miles from this, the number received from distant places was

¹ A singular exception occurred here a short time ago; a man, cutting turf in a high and remote part of the mountains, found deep in the moss three beautifully

formed spoons, made of bone. They were smaller than the smallest teaspoon, with a straight handle four inches long and as thick as a goose quill.

too small to form conclusions, but such as I got seemed inferior in workmanship to those found here; I am of opinion that the best finished specimens were not made here."

By Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan, Londonderry: photographs of the coin and medal described in the following communication:—

"Through the courtesy of Mr. Pearsse, I am enabled to send to the Society photographs of a curious medal, or dollar, in his possession, and which, he informs me, was found at the foot of Mulliyash Mountain, in the county of Monaghan. It is made of an inferior kind of silver, clipped round the edges, and is in size the same as the photograph. On one face is represented a knight in full armour, mounted, and at the charge, the right arm brandishing a sword. Beneath this effigy, in a kind of small shield, is a mural gateway, flanked by two towers with peaked roofs, surmounted by weathercocks: between the towers is an open gate, with a drawbridge lowered. This I consider may be intended for the Mint mark of the city where the coin was struck. Around this face of the coin, close to the edge, is the following inscription:—

MO : NO . ARG . CIVIT . CARPENSIS.

On the obverse the coin bears a shield of arms, surmounted by a crown closely resembling the English royal one; above this crown the figures 1668; the supporters two lions rampant and crowned; the shield on its field bears another lion rampant—one paw holding a sword above its head, the other, an object much defaced; the motto—*PARVÆ CRESCUNT CONCORDIA*.—is placed, as in the other instance, around and close to the edge. I trust that this description, rough as it is, and the photograph sent, may induce some of the members, skilful in such matters, to favour the Society with their opinion on this interesting coin or medal, now 197 years old.

"Some years ago, a servant, in cleaning the ceiling of a lumber room in an old house in Kinsale, knocked down with the brush a small piece of plaster. On taking this up, she found embedded in it a silver coin, of which I send photographs, of the size of the original: it is pure silver, and thinner than a shilling. On the one side it bears the shields of England, France, Ireland, and Scotland, arranged as a quatrefoil, with the motto *ANGLORUM. NULLI . HACTENUS*; on the other side it has, in a square tablet, the inscription given in the margin, proving it to be a commemoration medal, struck in that year to celebrate the birth of an heir to the English throne, afterwards Charles II.

"This medal has been since its first discovery in the possession of Captain Coppin, of Derry, from whose son, Mr. J. W. Coppin, I received the account of its singular find."

HONOR PRIN
MAG. BRITAN:
FRANC ET HIBER
NAT. 29 MAI
ANNO 1630 ;

The photographs above alluded to having been submitted to Aquilla Smith, Esq., M. D., he communicated the following observations:—

"There were three small medals struck to commemorate the birth of Charles the Second on the 29th of May, 1630.

"The type on the obverse is almost identical on the three medals, viz., four shields, bearing the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, with a star radiating from the centre, behind the shields. Legend—'HACTENVVS . ANGLORVM . NVLLI.'

"Reverse of the first variety, within a scroll almost circular, the following words in *five* lines:—

IN HONOR — CARO : PRINC. — MAG. BR. FRA. — ET. HI' NAT'. 29—
MAY. 1630.

"The second variety has the following words in *eight* lines, occupying the entire field of the reverse:—

MEM. — CAROLI · PRIN — MAGN BRITANN. — FRANC. HIBERN. — NATI .
XXIX · MAY — BAPTIZ · XXVII — IVN · MDCXXX. — S —

"The third variety, with the inscription within a square, is the one of which you sent me a photograph. It has not the *star* behind the shields. The legend—'Hactenus Anglorum nulli'—alludes to Charles being the first prince (excepting one that died an infant) that was born heir to Great Britain.—See 'Evelyn on Medals,' p. 121.

"The legend on the obverse of the dollar (?) is *moneta nova argentea civitatis CARPENSIS*. The only clue I can find at present to the name of the city is '*Carpis, Carpen.*, op. Pannoniæ infer. in Hungariâ apud Danubium inter Strigonium et Budam occurrens.' *Vide* 'Dictionarium Historicum Geographicum, a Carolo Stephano.' The arms on the reverse are not sufficiently distinct to make out the details."

By the same: several photographs of Celtic remains, near Saumur, in France, in reference to which Mr. 'Geoghegan said that no doubt many Members were aware of the existence in France of numerous Celtic monuments, some of them in almost perfect preservation, especially those in the department of Maine and Loire. A French nobleman of Irish extraction, Le Viscomte O'Neill de Tyrone, residing at Saumur, in the neighbourhood of one of the most celebrated of these erections, called the Dolmen of Pontigne, had forwarded to him, to be submitted to the Society, a description and photograph of the singular monument referred to; both of which he (Mr. 'Geoghegan) had great pleasure in laying before the meeting, and further in moving that the Viscount be elected an Honorary Member of this Society:—

"Within one mile from the town of Saumur, on the east, is situated the village of Bayneux. Beyond its crossroad we observe the most beautiful *Dolmen* that exists in Anjou, where there are a great number of primæval Celtic remains. It is of an oblong form, about 23 feet in breadth, and 62 feet in length. Measuring from the outside to the roof, its height is about 9½ feet. It is composed of 15 stones of a greenish-grey colour; nine

are sunk in the field (four for the side, and one for the extremity) ; two others are standing, one at the entrance, which serves to close the opening, while the other supports the largest of the flat stones which form the roof. The roof itself is composed of 4 stones of different sizes, the largest 24 feet in length, and about 23 feet in breadth, and in thickness varying from 2 feet to 2½ feet. The stones which form the Dolmen are not placed vertically, but incline inwards and towards their upper side; but those which are at the entrance, and that which supports the roof, are perpendicular. The celebrated Dolemieux, officer of Carbineers, was in the garrison of Saumur in 1779, and had the curiosity to have the Dolmen examined and trenched to ascertain the size and strength of the immense blocks which composed it, as well as to discover some indications of its original design ; but unfortunately he was unsuccessful in the latter, as nothing was found which would throw any light on the subject. He, however, ascertained that the stones were sunk into the ground to the depth of about 10 feet.

“About a hundred steps from the great Dolmen, towards the south, there is a single upright stone, evidently of Celtic origin, which seems to have been connected with the extraordinary erection which I have described; this stone is in height 7½ feet, and terminates in a point.

“All these immense blocks, as well as those which compose similar erections in Anjou, are of grey sandstone, of which there is a great quantity in the district.

“We observe likewise, on the border of the road, three hollows leading to the River Thone. At a distance of one mile from Saumur, near Riou, there is another of those singular primæval erections. This Dolmen is of a parallelogram shape, and is composed of six stones ; three form the north side, one the west, and another the south ; the sixth forms the roof. The entire length of this *pierre couverte* is 19½ feet, its breadth 11 feet.

“At about 500 steps from this, there are in a vineyard the ruins of another large Dolmen, which was 52½ feet long and 31 feet broad; of this only three stones are standing. In one of them is a hole, giving evident proofs that the monument has been at one time exposed to the action of fire.”

The Rev. James Graves said he had much pleasure in seconding Mr. Geoghegan's motion for the election of Viscount O'Neill de Tyrone as an Honorary Member of their Society; not only on account of the interest of his communication, but also because he felt much good might arise from cultivating a connexion with the descendants of ancient Irish families settled in France.

The Viscount O'Neill de Tyrone was then unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

Mr. Malcomson sent for exhibition, from the library of Robert Clayton Browne, Esq., of Browne's Hill, “An Abridgment of all the Public Printed Irish Statutes,” published by Andrew Crook, at Dublin, in 1700, accompanied by the following paper:—

“The volume appears to have originally belonged to families named

Rossell and Galbraith respectively (who formerly resided at Old Derrig, in the parish of Killeshin, in the Queen's County), and seems to have been made a sort of family record, containing as it does entries of the births of several of the former (Rossell) family from 1691 to 1700; and of the latter (the Galbraiths) from 1716 to 1721, as follows :—

“ ‘ Mary Rossell was borne at Dublin on Wensday the 14th of Octo^r about six of the clock at night an^o 1691.

“ ‘ Elizabeth Rossell was borne at Old Derrick on friday the 27th of Aprill about three of the clock in the morning anno 1693.

“ ‘ Jane Rossell was borne at Old Derrick on Saturday the 18th of Aprill about eight of the clock in the morning anno 1695.

“ ‘ George Rossell was borne at Old Derrick on Wensday the 15th day of May about nine of the clock in the morning anno 1700.

“ ‘ Mary Bar: Galbraith wass borne the 26th day of nov^r 1716 at Old Derrick att ii a clock 36 minitts att night.

“ ‘ Joseph Galbraith was born on Sattirday morning at 4 a clock Decem-ber the 21th 1717.

“ ‘ Sam^u Galbraith born at Courran good Friday about 12 a clock att [sic] 1719.

“ ‘ John Galbraith Born att Carlow Ester Sunday 1720 att 10 a clock in the morning y^e 17th of Eapril.

“ ‘ George Galbraith was born at Carlow y^e 10 of November 1721 a friday at half an hour after six in y^e evening.’

“ On the last page appears a note, apparently of a contract of marriage, as follows :—‘ M^{rs} Elizabeth Galbraith of Clonmore in the Queen's County gentlewoman am holden and firmly bo^d unto George Rossell of the same town and County.’

“ But the most interesting entry of all is that made on the fly-leaf pasted down on the inside of one of the covers, evidently written in a contemporary hand :—

“ ‘ Munday y^e 8th Day of March, 1704. That day the Steeple of Killisshan undermined & flung Downe by one Bambrick imploied by Cap^t. Woolself In Three Dayes Worke.’

“ And then, as if the foregoing was not thought a sufficiently exact record of this act of Vandalism, it is repeated :—

“ ‘ 170³ 8th March, at 3 of y^e Clock in y^e afternoone y^e Steeple fell to y^e Ground being measured it was 105 foot highe or in Length.’

“ That the destruction of the *round tower* of Killeshin is recorded in the foregoing manuscript notes, there can be little doubt. Not a vestige of it now remains, though Killeshin is pointed out in history as the site of one of these towers. The name ‘ steeple’ was commonly applied to these structures, of which we have an instance in ‘ Kellestown Steeple,’ county of Carlow, which, like Killeshin, is known to have formerly boasted of its round tower, and like it suffered from destructive hands, towards the beginning of the present century. The ‘ Captain Woolself,’ under whose employment the tower was ‘ undermined and flung down,’ was probably the hero of the Boyne of that name, whose son or grandson subsequently obtained a baronetcy. Whatever may have been his object, it is certain that, at the present day, the destruction of a round tower, ‘ 105

foot highe,' on the classic and hallowed ground of Killeshin, would not be tolerated."

Mr. Prim referred to the Society's "Journal," Vol. iii., p. 402, where in "A Journey to Kilkenny in the 1709, from the MS. Notes of Dr. Thomas Molyneux," edited by the Rev. James Graves, the then recent destruction of Killeshin Round Tower was noticed, and large fragments were described as seen by Molyneux lying on the ground, and retaining their tubular form. The entry in the book kindly sent for inspection by Mr. Clayton Browne through Mr. Malcomson furnished the further interesting information of the exact height of the round tower, and the date of its destruction, and, by a just retribution, after the lapse of more than a century and a half, gave to public execration the names of the persons engaged in that barbarous deed.

Mr. Prim informed the meeting of the discovery of two interesting sepulchral monuments in the course of carrying out the arrangements for putting up a new heating apparatus in the parish church of St. Mary, Kilkenny. In sinking a trench for the main pipe, in the south transept, and near the great transept window, at the distance of a few inches beneath the recent flooring flags, the workmen came on an altar tomb, from which, however, the covering stone had been at some former period removed. On digging at the sides, it was found that the tomb rested on the original floor of the church, which was more than three feet lower than the present, and it was, no doubt, standing in its original site. The tomb was full of clay, which was not removed: however, it is more than probable that at the time when the covering slab was taken away—at least a century since—the remains in the tomb were disturbed. But, be this as it may, whatever sculptures the missing covering stone may have borne, the supporting stone at the head of the tomb bears an inscription which affords information about two of the persons for whom the monument was erected. This inscription is in raised old English characters, as follows:—

*Hic Jacent Walterus Archer filius Joh'is
quond' burgen ville Kilkennie q̄ oblit p'mo die
Decembris A. D. 1575.*

*Et Johana Packet uxor ejusdē Walteri q̄
oblit 16 die Septembris a. d. 1565 qorū
aiab' propiciet' de' Amē.*

Walter Archer fitz John was one of the two Portreeves (corresponding to the modern municipal sheriffs) of the Corporation of

Kilkenny, in 1528 ; and he was probably the same Walter Archer who was elected Sovereign, or chief magistrate of the Corporation, for the years 1542 and 1544. His father, John Archer, was elected Sovereign of Kilkenny for the year 1499 ; and there is a particular interest attaching to him, inasmuch as it appears he fell in battle, doubtless heading the inhabitants of the town, under the banner of their feudal chief, the Earl of Ormonde. Sir James Ware, (*" Works,"* edited by his son) in the *Annals of the Reign of Henry VII.*, thus records the fact, under the date "*Anno Domini 1499, et Anno Regni XV.*":—

" At this time the affairs were very troublesome in Connaught : and therefore the Earl of Kildare led his Army this year into that Province, where he took and garrisoned four castles Whilst these things were doing in Connaught, a battle was fought in Munster between Peter Butler [Earl of Ormonde] and Tirlagh O'Brian, who, the year before, had been elected Earl of Thomond, by the death of Gilduff ; at first they fought stoutly on both sides, but at last Butler and his men were put to the flight, and many were slain, of whom the Sovereign of Kilkenny was one, for so at that time the city magistrate was called ; what may be the cause of the fight I cannot for certain affirm ; some do avouch this dissention to have taken its first rise about certain lands and limits, which each of them claimed to himself."

A mural monument of another Archer, under the great window of the south transept, and neighbouring the newly discovered tomb, would serve to indicate that portion of the church to have been the burial place of this ancient and respectable Kilkenny family. Johanna, the wife of Walter fitz John Archer, was probably a daughter of Nicholas Hackett, who was Sovereign in 1526, and whose monument may be seen in the Cathedral of St. Canice. By the side of this tomb, and also on the level of the ancient floor of the church—but broken into three pieces, and the central part sunk deeper in the earth, as if at some time borne down by a great weight being placed upon it—was found a much more ancient and curious monument, although perhaps not so interesting, in the absence of present knowledge of the history of the persons whom it was intended to commemorate. It was a coffin-shaped slab, bearing a female effigy, the body in very low, but the head in high relief. The lady wears on her head a kind of flat cap and fillet, and the hair is gathered into a bunch, like the Edwardian curl, at either side of the face. The right hand and arm are placed across the breast ; the left, extended by the side. The robe is confined at the waist by an embroidered girdle, the end of which hangs down in front. The execution of the figure is very indifferent throughout. Running along the right edge of the slab and turning round at the end under the feet is to be seen an inscription in Norman

French—the letters in the incised old Lombardic character—as follows:—

✠ HELEYNE LA FEMME WILIAM DE ARMATL GIT ICI DEU DE SA ALME
EIT ME'.

This tomb, now placed in the church-yard, appeared to belong to the latter part of the thirteenth century. Who William de Armayl was, Mr. Prim said he was not at present able to say. He had not met with the name in connexion with Kilkenny in the olden time.

The following papers were submitted to the Meeting:—



IRISH MEDICAL SUPERSTITION.

BY THE LATE JOHN WINDELE, ESQ.

A HIGHLY interesting series of papers illustrative of the still existing vestiges of the ancient Paganism of Ireland might be written even now, notwithstanding the many changes from various causes which have been effected amongst us within the last quarter of a century. We have ample material in our old literature and the abundant current folk-lore of the country. It is now, doubtless, too late to disinter from such deposits the whole system of the Irish Pantheon, but a sufficiency remains accessible to elucidate a very considerable portion of it. We know that the progress of Christian conversion was by no means so general or so rapid as many would suppose. There reigned Pagan kings in Ireland subsequent to the alleged establishment of the new faith by St. Patrick; and even so late as the eleventh century we have evidence of the prevalence of the old religion in the remoter districts, and in many of the islands on our western coasts. The public worship of Heathen deities no doubt had ceased amongst the mass of the population, but many privately practised it with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. It is singular that, whilst the memory of the *Dii magni* appears to have died out in the lapse of ages, the full belief in the minor powers—the *Dii minores*—firmly maintained its hold despite every effort to eradicate it. Reason and the immense authority of the Church have in vain opposed this baneful error. The popular mind has sought to reconcile this creed with the doctrine of fallen angels, and thus to harmonize it with Christianity. The baffled missionary had tacitly to abandon the contest; and where he found ancient sites and monuments of the old faith still drawing upon the popular veneration, had to yield to it, and, by adoption and reconsecration for

Christian uses, rest content with little more than a partial conversion. Hence the number of sacred localities still resorted to, such as lakes—the imagined abode of mythical serpents, holy wells, and other places of ancient pilgrimage and devotion. Many of the secondary doctrines of Druidism hold their ground at this very day as articles of faith, assumed to be grafted upon *quasi* Christian opinions: fatalism, and a belief in the metempsychosis, will be found concurrently with a superstitious veneration of the elements of fire and water. The celebration of the annually recurring festivals of the May-day and St. John's fires—the former under its original name of Baaltinne, the fire of Baal—are too well known to need further remark; and the "patrons" and pilgrimages held at sacred lakes and holy wells are equally notorious. Connected with these practices is the vivid memory still retained of once universal *ophiolatria*, or serpent worship; and the attribution of supernatural powers and virtues to particular animals, such as the bull, the white and red cow (*Bo fine* and *Bo ruadh*), the boar, the horse, the dog, &c., the memory of which has been perpetuated in our topographical denominations. These animals are well known to have been objects of worship in the earliest times amongst nations far removed from each other.

The belief in the existence and attributes of the *sidh*, fairies or good people, answering to the *eumenides* of the Greeks, is as strong at this day in town and country as it was twelve centuries back. These constituted the *Dii minores* of the ancient Celts. The *ban-shée*, the *phuca*, the *lianan*, the *fetch*, and the *cluricaun*, have not lost any of their old potency. Credulity in their regard is excused or palliated by professing Christians on the ground that these beings are the fallen angels of Scripture. For a full elucidation of the whole system of Irish fairy mythology, the curious inquirer may be referred to the popular pages of Griffin, Carleton, and, above all, to the pleasant "Legends" of Crofton Croker.

A plentiful and rank crop of other superstitions, the bequest of pre-Christian ages, forming the popular creed of our peasantry, with all the various accessories of witchery and enchantments, attest the unaltered permanence and dominancy of ancient error, and the general credulity.

Druidism was an artfully contrived system of elaborate fraud and imposture—effective to act upon the fears, the feelings, and grosser passions of an ignorant and sensual people. Its priesthood were a compound of the juggler, the knavish hypocrite, and impostor. What scanty knowledge belonged to their period they monopolized, and succeeded by their pretensions to engross to themselves all the power, influence, and emoluments of the state. To them was intrusted the charge of religion, jurisprudence, and medicine,

the professions of which belonged to them exclusively. By pious frauds, as well as by superior intelligence, the result of long and profound study, they acquired and maintained an influence and authority, unquestioned and undisputed. To astonish and excite the awe and the wonder of their adherents was a part of their policy. They certainly well studied the book of nature, were acquainted with the marvels of natural magic, the properties of plants and herbs, and what of astronomy was then known; they may even have been skilled in mesmerism and biology, and in the work of deception have turned their knowledge to useful account, enhancing thereby their reputation for the possession of necromantic and prophetic powers. The marvels of Houdin in Algeria, the jugglers of India, or of the Siberian shaman muttering his incantations in his tent—in fact, of every knavish sorcerer “who studied in a cup,” as Hood expresses it—would seem to have been prefigured under the old Druidic system. There can be no doubt that the vast majority of the superstitions in practice and belief which have descended to modern times have had their origin in those dark periods when the corruption of the Heathen world had superseded the earlier lights of the patriarchal religion, and the reign of darkness had become almost universal. The study of these fragmentary remains of primæval error would at this day possess no inconsiderable interest and value to the historian and ethnologist. Like language, they might afford beacons to indicate the “pedigree of nations.” Thus analogies or similitudes in Ireland and India, which to the superficial might seem to possess no importance whatsoever, would to the reflective inquirer offer subjects of most interesting speculation, and become landmarks in the track of real knowledge.

In the distribution of professions amongst the Heathen hierarchy the Irish *Fear leighis*, or “Medicine Man,” held a very important position. On the fall of the Druidic order, the change of religion but little affected him. He retained his endowments; the profession remained hereditary in his family; and medical science, such as it was in the days of the last Druid, continued without change and with small improvement to be practised down to the middle of the seventeenth century by the O’Sheils, the O’Hickeys, O’Lees, O’Callinans, O’Cannovans, O’Ferguses, O’Cassidys, O’Donlevys, O’Maras, and other hereditary *olavs* of the healing art, who physicked and held their estates by long-established usage, and under the Brehon laws were entitled to sundry other emoluments, until the changes of the disastrous seventeenth century left them landless and impoverished.

Many of the medical works which emanated from this school of physic have survived the fall of their order, and are still extant in MS. They are spoken of by Edward O’Reily as “valuable rem-

nants of ancient Irish learning, as well on account of their language and beautiful penmanship, as for the testimony which they bear of our ancient physicians being at least as learned, and having as much skill in their profession as any of their contemporary physicians in any other nation" (MS. Catalogue, in the Royal Irish Academy). This is not claiming a very immoderate distinction. The progress of medical science throughout the whole ancient world was of a very humble character. No matter how refined or civilized in other respects, ignorance, superstition, and error pervaded this department of knowledge everywhere—India, Egypt, Rome, and Ireland were alike pretty much on a par.

The whole medical system was a tissue of ignorance and charlatanism, combined with a small amount of useful knowledge of the real medicinal virtues of some plants and substances, but with a larger attribution of superstitious properties. The popular credulity as to talismans, amulets, necromancy, sorceries, fascinations, &c., was zealously encouraged by the professional orders, and has survived every change, political and religious, even to the present time, when we find it pervading the minds of the populace in rank vigour in the midst of our boasted civilization and enlightenment—not openly, it is true, but covertly, running in undercurrents through the lower strata of society; but in more ancient times all this was openly taught and encouraged. It was inculcated as truth in the schools, and proclaimed in the high places. The phylacteries of the Jews were sustained upon the authority of Scripture. Christianity itself, which had emanated out of Judaism, inherited and was infected by these superstitious tendencies. The early sect of the semi-pagan Gnostics, especially the Basilidian offshoot which so vigorously flourished in the second century, stands out remarkably in this respect. These heretics combined with the faith, as modified by them, the old Heathen belief in magic and witchcraft, and retained the worship of Serapis and other Egyptian deities, as well as that of *Abraxas*, a Syrian god, supposed the same as *Mithra*, or the sun (Selden, "*De Diis Syriis*," p. 44). To this name, arranged in the form of a triangle, they attributed talismanic virtues. In like manner they used amulets, of which we have a prodigious number figured in Montfaucon. These were generally of an oval form, frequently composed of black Egyptian basalt, and bore inscriptions in Coptic, Hebrew, or Greek, containing the names of Jehovah, angels, and saints, and figures of Isis, Anubis, the phallus, animals, birds, serpents, and especially the scarabæus, or beetle—a symbol of the sun and the world, as well as of generation. These were worn suspended from the neck, and were deemed preservatives against the cramp and other diseases. In the same manner was worn the *Abracadabra*, a talisman of similar character, derived from the former. The term was magical, and in its use was deemed an an-

tidote against agues, fevers, and other diseases, when written on parchment and worn about the neck.

“ Talia languentis conducunt vincula collo,
Lethales abigent, miranda potentia ! morbos.”

Of the superstitions of the Greeks and Romans, it is quite unnecessary to speak. The bulla alone represents a class of amulets as common to the latter as those of any other form were universal to the Oriental nations, the Egyptians and the western Celts and Teutons. There was no limit to the range of variety of these objects. They hung talismans about the necks of children as preservatives against envy, or the evil eye, according to Macrobius, lib. i., cap. 6. Varro tells us that they similarly suspended from the necks of boys amulets of an obscene character, as like preservatives against evil; the same practice still prevails in Southern Italy.

Medicine, in its earliest professional character, we have seen to be closely connected with religion. The most eminent and successful cultivators of the science in various countries in ancient times were raised to the rank of divinities by their grateful countrymen after their decease, as in the case of Esculapius and Chiron amongst the Greeks and Romans—the one was regarded as the son of Apollo, and the other of Saturn; and the Tuatha de Danaan, *Dian-ceacht*, was venerated as the *Dia na h-eci* (*Deus salutis*) of the Pagan Irish, according to the Glossarist Cormac. The practitioners combined with whatever real knowledge they possessed from training and experience a pretended correspondence with the invisible world, which produced an unlimited confidence in their superior skill and power. This faith was the more undoubted when it was most sedulously inculcated that most bodily ailments and infirmities were produced by the malevolence of demons, and their evil disposed human accomplices, and were only to be remedied by those specially privileged to commune with or control them. The Druid physician claimed this as a right from long-established prescription and hereditary succession. To him exclusively were known all the occult virtues of the whole *materia medica*; and to him belonged the carefully elaborated machinery of oracles, omens, auguries, æromancy, fascinations, exorcisms, dream interpretations and visions, astrology, palmistry, the qualities of vegetables useful for medicinal or religious purposes—the mystic secrets of the mistletoe (all-heal), vervain, selago, and samolus; the proper times and seasons for collecting them, and all the ritual ceremonies proper to their use or application. But, mixed up with many absurdities and impositions as all this was, there still existed a large amount of really useful knowledge, and especially of the curative properties of vegetable productions. They read the book of nature with profound attention, and devoted much time to the study,

therefore, of botany as a prime necessity in their training, and the foundation of all real natural science. In modern professional education this branch of knowledge has become of very secondary importance; and the reliance upon the sanative virtues of herbs and simples has been transferred to the fairy doctor and the *pishogue* women, the last degenerate representatives of the old professors, so that the laborious teaching of former ages has become the maundering superstition of modern times. But the growth of genuine medical science, and the emancipation from the trammels of ancient error, have been a work of slow progress, and vestiges of its influence may still be traced in the empiricism of the present day. It is not alone amongst the uninstructed vulgar that we find the lingering vestiges of ancient error; for even the better educated manifest occasionally strong leanings in this direction, as we find evidenced in the encouragement given to charlatanism of every description under such titles as animal magnetism, mesmerism, biology, spirit-rapping, table turning, &c. Indeed, it is not much over a century since believers in the philosopher's stone and the transmutation of metals were found amongst men otherwise learned and sagacious, and when alchemy had its cultivators in a Boyle and a Newton, who were not above the general credulity of their age. It is not saying too much that the treatment of our old physicians was at least fully equal in value and success to that of the universally advertised and patronized pills of Professor Holloway, the Balm of Gilead, the Essence of Sambuco, Du Barry's "delicious Revalenta Arabica," or La graine de Moutard blanche de santé of M. Didier, of 32 Galerie d'Orleans, concerning which, "Plus de 200,000 cures authentiquement constatées justifient pleinement la popularité universelle." Down to the opening of the present century, faith in the *bezoar* stone as a preventive against the effect of poison, and its efficacy in various diseases, was so firm amongst medical practitioners, and it was held in such high repute, that spurious imitations of it sold at fabulous prices. It had a place amongst the most important medicines in the pharmacopœias. This was a calcareous concretion found in the stomach of animals of the goat kind, and was originally introduced into medicine by the Arabians, who pretended that it was a gum generated from the tears of stags.

To the simple-minded portion of the community the "science" of the Middle Ages would seem as much entitled to credit and confidence, as all the lofty pretensions put forth in the vast mass of professional literature which incumbers the shelves of our great public libraries. Let us not too severely condemn the popular credulity, gross as it is, which we find so prevalent, until we are enabled to offer something more reliable and trustworthy for general acceptance, seeing this avowed snail's progress which medical science has accomplished in the second moiety of the 19th century; nor

need we be much surprised that the uninstructed masses everywhere, not only in Ireland and in Asia, but even in France and Britain, still cling to ancient absurd practices and ridiculous nostrums, and attempt to justify their adherence and confidence by alleged benefit from their use.

For our present purpose it is sufficient to say, that facts establish this state of things :—The occult and supernatural virtues of plants and amulets have still a world-wide class of devout believers. We find that in India the treatment of the sick by native doctors consists chiefly in charms and superstitious observances, in addition to a few vegetable medicines. This addiction is as old as the time of Strabo, who says, (l. xv. ch. 1), the Hylobii (the physicians of India) apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man. "They are," he says farther on, "able to cause persons to have a numerous offspring, and to have either male or female children, by means of charms." In practice this very ancient people observe many customs analogous to those of Ireland, one of which is the cultivation of *smuhi* (euphorbia) on the housetop, which protects the inmates against sin and disease, just as the *Lussera an theotanc*, the house leek, secures the Irish peasant dwelling against fire and misfortune. In both France and England talismans in the nature of "Gospels" and charms have fully preserved their ancient repute. The "Gospel" charm, no doubt, had its origin amongst the Hebrews. "There was hardly," observes Lightfoot of that nation, "a people in the whole world that more used or were more fond of amulets, charms, mutterings, exorcisms, and all kinds of enchantments." The "Gospel," in its present developed condition, is but a Christian modification of the original Israelitish practice. It is the adoption of sacred texts consisting of passages from the Old and New Testament, such as the commencement of the Gospel of St. John, &c., or of actual blending of magical formulæ with the sacred text. In an old Irish manuscript, hereafter to be more particularly referred to, a "charm for a sprain" is given, which may serve as a sample of this questionable species of literature :—"Christ went upon the cross; a horse's leg was dislocated; He joined blood to blood, flesh to flesh, bone to bone; as He healed that, may He cure this. Amen." In "Notes and Queries," we find a French "charm" of the current time, which consists of the *Pater* and *Ave*, and is worn about the neck. It purports to cure fevers and jaundices, as well as agues. The eminently sceptical country which patronizes such productions is, as to a large portion of its population, a believer also in witchcraft. Within the present year a trial took place at the court of assize of the Maine and Loire of two *sorcièrs*, on a charge of attempting to poison eight persons at Villedieu, in that department, which resulted in the prisoners being found guilty. The same work just quoted ("Notes and Queries") shows that the no less

superstitious peasantry of England carry about them, suspended from the neck, written charms sewn up in little bags. "The amount of ignorance and superstition amongst the mass of the people," says a writer in this useful periodical, "relative to supposed remedies for different diseases, is quite amazing amongst the comparatively well-informed and intelligent in many respects."

Ireland neither was, nor is she at present, more or less devoted to these superstitions than her neighbours. Ancient medical works, and modern traditional belief and practices, attest her full share in the once universal credulity. A manuscript preserved at St. Gall, which has been printed by Zeuss, and the "*Mathair an Leadhdoir-eachta*," herereinafter quoted, as well as many other old authorities, fully prove this. The former work contains several curious charms against strangury, headach, &c. In the incantations occur the names of Goibhnean the smith, and Diancecht the physician of the Tuatha de Danaans. The extracts hereafter given from the "*Mathair*" will further bear out this statement. Old English writers, from Cambrensis down to Sir J. Harington and Fynes Moryson, would, however, represent the Irish as pre-excelling in their proneness to superstition. Sir John Harington speaks of the idle faith of the Irishry in magic and witchcraft as something extraordinary; and Lady Fanshaw, a capacious believer in the supernatural herself, naïvely remarks on the superior number of ghosts in Ireland! In the period of those enlightened censors, the statute book and public records might reveal to them, could they look at home, a state of ignorance and fatuity, as regards the popular creed in magic, witchcraft, ghosts, goblins, and fairy elves, which might well challenge comparison with any other nation in the universe.

Charms, whether ancient or modern, were of every variety of material and character. They included animals, trees, shrubs, and herbs, minerals, stone, wood, glass, the human hair, jet, amber, coral, and all kinds of precious stones (the diamond and ruby excepted), such as agate, cornelian, sardonyx, amethyst, and chalcadony. To the natural properties or virtues believed to appertain to many of them was added the increased efficacy arising from preparation by astrological rule, by consecration, and the engraving of mystical figures or cabalistic, Runic, or Ogham inscriptions upon them. They were worn generally suspended on the breast, or even occasionally as earrings, and were believed to be protective of men and animals, houses and localities. They averted injury, pain, and disease; secured health and good fortune; were antidotes against evil, and misfortune, and demons; noxious animals and reptiles had no power over their wearers. Amongst the extraordinary privileges which they conferred were invincibility, invulnerability, and even invisibility.

One of these amulets, consisting of an amber bead inscribed

with a short Ogham inscription, was found a few years since in the county of Limerick, and afterwards purchased by the late Lord Londesborough. An engraving of it has been published in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," and is a curious illustration of a class of ancient amulets very much prized. Amber, probably from its comparative rarity, was always esteemed a particularly sacred material for talismanic purposes. This precious material was regarded as the indurated fecal discharge of the spermaceti whale, and was only found floating on the surface of the sea in the Baltic, the German Ocean, and along the western shores of the Irish coast.¹ Formed into beads, and worn upon the person, it was regarded as imparting special protection against injury and disease. Amongst the Orientals it is carried about as the most common of all charms, especially amongst the Turks, by whom it is worn upon the forehead, and manufactured for that purpose by the Marabouts and Arab sheiks. It was in primæval ages constantly buried with the dead, and is met with commonly in barrows and other ancient graves. In the excavation of the round tower of Ardpatrick a few years since, by the South Munster Antiquarian Society, a fragment of amber of considerable size was found low down in the sepulchral chamber of that building, having been, undoubtedly, interred with the original tenant of that most ancient structure.

Similar researches in ancient tumuli have brought to light other vestiges of the superstitious credulity of the old population—rings and pendants, beads and gems of every kind, being most common amongst the funeral relics discovered, and having been interred, no doubt, as trusted protectors in life, and as reliable safeguards against the invisible enemy in death. Frequent amongst the more precious materials has been the turquoise, a highly endowed gem; and no wonder, since, according to Fenton, an old writer of the sixteenth century:—"It doth move when there is any peril prepared to him that weareth it." This had also the property of removing enmities, and reconciling man and wife; it was an unerring indication of bodily health, looking pale or bright, according as its wearer was in good condition or otherwise.

"True as Turkoise in the dear lord's ring
Look well or ill."

BEN JONSON.

Charms contained in some rings were of such sovereign efficacy, that, if the words which expressed them were pronounced in the ear of an epileptic patient, he was at once healed; others were effective against poison.

Good, the Oxonian ex-priest, who supplied Camden with such

¹ Boate's "Natural History of Ireland," p. 146. Pliny, l. xxxvii., s. 38.

prejudiced information concerning the Irish of his time (*temp. Eliz.*), speaking of a distemper called *Esane*, inflicted by fairies, says, that the remedy is by whispering in the sufferer's ear a short prayer, joined with a *Pater Noster*. By putting some burning coals into a cup of clear water, they are enabled, he says, "to form a better judgment of the disorder than most physicians."¹ The Irish at that time, according to the same authority, believed that women had charms, effectual against all complaints, divided and distributed amongst them; and to them persons applied, according to their several disorders; and they constantly began and ended the charms with a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*.²

It was chiefly against the malign influence of the "good people," or fairies, that the aid of spells or charms was invoked. Many of the diseases incident to men and animals were believed to be produced by these dreaded beings, for which it was essentially necessary that remedies should be provided; and the fertility of expedient of Druid and wizard, as well as of the skilful leech, was ever at hand in providing means of counteracting the baneful enmity of these powers.

For the ordinary diseases that flesh is heir to, natural remedies were abundantly at hand; but for those arising from demoniacal action supernatural means had to be employed. With these the long-transmitted traditions and experience of trained practitioners had rendered them familiar. Mysterious formularies, incantations, and charms of tried efficacy, and the occult virtues of plants and various other substances, formed a barrier against the invisible foe which all his power was not proof against. To be sure, this plenitude of endowment and knowledge was frequently as potent for evil as for good. In the hands of the malevolent it might be used mischievously; and so it happened in the instance of the birth of the renowned Cathal Crove dearg O'Connor, which was retarded like that of Hercules, and the sufferings of his mother, Gearrog ny Moran, prolonged by means of a powerful spell, consisting of an apparently harmless bundle of hazel twigs, tied with a magic string, knotted with nine knots, and suspended against the gable of the house. But for sanative purposes the influence of particular localities, the marvellous virtue of certain herbs and plants, or other productions, or even ordinary and familiar actions, applied with mystical intent, were all-sufficient to ward off evil and insure safety. Thus Lough Neagh, besides its well-known petrifying qualities, was also believed to possess healing properties,—superior, in the king's evil, even to the "royal touch." Another lake, in the county of Cork, *Lough a dereen*, in Carbery, cures by its waters the "fairy stroke or dart," as I was informed on the spot. The rites

¹ Gough's "Camden," iv., p. 470.

² Good in "Camden," p. 470.

here are quite similar to those observed by Captain Burns at a sacred lake in Cabul. A night spent in one of the "seven churches" at Termonbarry, near Lough Ree, was certain to cure every malady, mental or physical. Another night at Gougaun Barra, the source of the Lee, in the well-known *claish a cuinne* beside the weird old thorn tree, by a wedded pair whose union has not been blessed with issue, proves as effective in removing barrenness as did ever the prolific shadow of Rabelais' "Abbey steeple." Again, *Leac-na-Cineamhaine*, in *Baoi-Bearra* (Berehaven, county of Cork), is a remarkable rock, overhanging the sea at a point inaccessible. Could any one stretch himself out upon it, he is sure to obtain all his wishes; but, unfortunately, the feat is an impossibility.

A simple preservative against witchcraft and ill luck is spittle. Pliny has recorded his testimony to its efficacy; and pugilists at the present day spit upon their hands before commencing a fight, in hope of a favourable issue,

There is scarcely any fascination more injurious than that of the "evil eye." It was as dreaded in ancient Rome as in modern Ireland:—

"Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinet equos,"

exclaims the great Latin poet; and our remote forefathers have recorded their sense of its malignant effect in the legend of Balor of Tory Island, a glance of whose baleful eye could convert everything it looked upon into stone. Against an influence so malign, spittle afforded a certain safeguard. Thus, praising any object without accompanying the praise with a blessing was an act of *overlooking* by the evil eye; whilst the remedy is to spit three times upon the victim, uttering at each time the necessary "God bless it." But there are exceptions to this useful property of the saliva. The Four Masters relate that, in A. D. 734, Feargus Gleet, chief of Cobha, died. It appeared to him that wicked and destructive people used to cast spits in which they put charms in his face, which was the cause of his death.

The *horse shoe* has also similar protective properties. If accidentally found, it averts ill luck, and guards against evil spirits as well as witchcraft. Sailors at this day nail it to the masts of ships, and trust to it for safety from all the dangers of the sea.

But the vegetable remedies known to cunning herbalists of both sexes are perhaps the strongest and surest auxiliaries to such mystic safeguards, because "the good people" are powerless against them, when used by skilful operators. Many of these highly endowed productions of nature are not always of easy attainment, or to be obtained without great risk. The fairies do not unresistingly resign their power into mortal hands, to be used against themselves. Accordingly, they jealously watch over and guard these treasures, and

rigorously punish those who would lay unhallowed hands upon them. Thus the mandragora, or mandrake, must be drawn from the earth in which it has its growth by means of a dog. The juice of this vegetable was in high repute, as being believed to excite amorous inclinations, and was used for love potions or philtres, at least in the East. The Irish notion of its origin is, that it is to be found under a gallows, and is produced from the drops which fall from it on the earth. Its roots are supposed to resemble the human form. Placed under the head of a patient, it excites sleep. That very quaint and amusing old botanist, Caleb Threlkeld, in his "Synopsis Stirpium Hibernicarum," tells us, that another plant, the equisetum, or "horse tail," must be pulled with prayer, lest the fairies run away with the sorceress, which is, he gravely assures us, an abuse of God's holy ordinance of prayer. In the Irish manuscript work entitled "*Mathair an Leadhdoireachta*," the mother of healing, said to have been compiled at Salamanca, by Thaddeus O'Cuinn, in 1139, there are various herbs mentioned which protect those who possess them against fairy aggression. To remove these from their place of growth, as in the case of the equisetum just mentioned, is highly perilous, inasmuch as the invisible powers who guard them resent the act as a sacrilege against themselves. For the extraction of one of these from the earth with safety, such as the *Trein tuibh* (herb of power), a particular recipe is given. The least dangerous way, it informs us, to accomplish this is by the top. For this purpose a cat or dog must be got: a strong thread is tied to the animal's leg, and about the stump of the plant, and by this means only should it be removed, for mortals are prohibited from otherwise attempting it. Many are the virtues of this herb, "and having it about the person is a protection against disease." Even amongst the ancient Romans it was deemed prudent that some herbs, when gathered for necromantic purposes, should be drawn up by the roots, as in the case wherein Horace (Epod. 5), describes Canidia requiring for her unholy purpose that the wild fig tree should be pulled up from the earth.

In India some medicinal plants are also supposed to be under the guardianship of demons. They should be gathered at prescribed periods, and the act accompanied with certain prayers. "Before a medicinal plant is collected in the morning," writes Dr. Wise, in his "Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine" (p. 116), "a prayer should be said by the person, with his face to the north. The following is such a prayer, which is supposed to remove any devils which may be hiding near: "O God, if any devil be lurking here, begone, whether it be vital, Peshaca, Rakshas, or Shri sarpa" (the devil of serpents). As the shrub is being gathered, the person should say, "O shrub! as Bramha, Indra, and Vishnu plucked

you, for the same reason I now remove you." In illustration of this curious superstition in Ireland, a friend informs me, that a farmer neighbouring to his residence having occasion to possess himself of the "Trein luibh," got a large dog, and, tying a string to the herb and the leg of a dog, he in that manner drew up the herb, whereby a person afflicted with falling sickness was cured; but the poor dog on the following day was attacked with convulsions. The animal was thereupon hanged, and left for dead; but, strange to relate, on the next day he stood alive at his master's door. In the course of a few hours, however, the dog was again attacked, and again hanged and left for dead; but he once more recovered. Again, on the morning following his second execution, he was once more found alive, but, relapsing in the course of the day, a wise neighbour advised that the animal should be allowed to get out of his fit, and then put to death; this advice was approved of and acted on, and this time the operation was found effective.

Amongst other sanative virtues of a supernatural description attached to herbs may be noticed, from the same instructive manuscript, that attributed to the columbine, which, if carried about the person, or being rubbed with it, serpents or mad dogs can do the bearer no injury. Another plant, the *lussera an sparain* (*Bursa pastoris*), being put under the necks of sheep, *wolves will not see them*. This herb must be akin to the fern (*Filix minor longifolia*), whose seed, according to Shakspeare, had the secret of invisibility for the human *sheep*. Threlkeld adverts to the same important and desirable gift:—"A great splutter," he says, "has been made about fern seed, and several sauntering stories feigned concerning its collection on St. John's eve, or the summer solstice, which are mere trumpery."

Ladies bathing themselves in a decoction of the *Turcan* (*Cardionis benedictus*) shall only bear sons! This superstition is germane to that of the ancient Hindoos already noticed, on the authority of Strabo. Another species of bath is reported in the "Agallamh na seanorridhe," which had the virtue of reviving the vanished love of their husbands, two sons of an ancient king of Fermoy, to their unfortunate wives, about to be divorced by them. Caoilte, upon a promise of reward, undertook to restore the love of the two inconstant husbands to the sorrowing ladies. He gathered for the purpose the full of his right hand of various fairy herbs (*losaibh sidhe*) which the Fenian ladies were accustomed to use. On these he caused a bath to be made, in which the slighted fair ones bathed, and thereby was restored to them the love of their fickle spouses. The Irish, in truth, were never wanting, and indeed what nation in the world ever was, in the invention of love philtres and stimu-

lants. Shakspeare alludes to a pansy called "love in idleness," of which he says—

— "the juice on sleeping eyelids laid
Will make a man or woman *madly dote*
Upon the next live creature that it sees."

Midsummer Night's Dream, Act ii., Sc. 2.

The *fairy stroke*—whether known as the *Müllteoracht*, when resulting in abscess, or in epilepsy, a disease always supposed to originate from the fairies—has a variety of remedies applied to it, the laurel amongst others; but the digitalis—Irish, *Meracanna sith*, or fairy thimble—is regarded as the principal. Its utility is greatest where this infiction is productive of disease of the bones, &c. The *Scamp Crainn* (*polypodium*) or polypody of the oak, infused in water, was also considered beneficial.

The "*Fugo demonium*" (*Bith Nuadh*, or new life), is so called because it banishes demons from the persons of those who carry it about them; and he who has it in his hand will have the gift of eloquence, which places it in rivalry with the Blarney stone!

The yarrow, or milfoil (*Aithir Talmhain*) has a kindred but more limited faculty of endowing with this coveted eloquence. Placed under the foot in shoes, it also imparts fluency of speech, but only for a single day.

The child who wears the *Cruach Padruig* (*Barba filicana*, or plantain) on his neck, is insured full protection thereby, and shall not suffer hurt or injury from the fairies.

Threlkeld, himself no believer in the superstitious virtues of plants, nevertheless notices the popular credulity in his time regarding some of them. Of the antirrhinum, or snapdragon, the Irish *Sriumh na Laogh*, he says:—

"There are many frivolous superstitious fables which are reported of the power of this plant, and some others, against spectres, charms, and witchcraft. The only true remedy against such abominations as spring from observers of times, inchanters, witches, charmers, consultants with familiar spirits, wizards, and necromancers, is to hearken to that prophet, the Lord Jesus Christ, before whose faithful ministers Satan falleth as lightening from heaven."

Again, of the hazel (Irish, *Coll*), he observes:—

"That a divining rod of this wood should be used to find out metals, is owing to the impostures of Satan, whose design is to abuse the creatures with vain amusements under the old colour of knowledge more than is fit for man."

This wand is still believed to possess the power of indicating hidden treasures. It turns, in obedience to an extraordinary instinct, in the presence of such treasures, or of water.

The rowan, or mountain ash tree, was always regarded as a repellent of serpents and evil spirits, and as averting fascination; for this purpose, in common with other trees and shrubs, such as the laurel, &c., it was planted around dwellings. Some of its fabled virtues are given in the tale of "Diarmuid and Graine," page 119, where the eating of three of its berries preserves from all disease; and those thus feeding feel from it the exhilaration of wine and the solace imparted by old mead, and, however aged, would become rejuvenescent—the centenarian would again resume the prime of manhood. A "Druidical ordeal" was undergone by a female suspected, as mentioned in the Brehon laws, by her rubbing her tongue to a bronze adze heated or reddened in a fire made either of the rowan tree or of the blackthorn.¹ Crosses formed of mountain ash twigs are still placed over the doors of the houses of the peasantry, by attaching them to the thatch, as a protection against witchcraft, evil spirits, and fairies, not only in Ireland, but in Scotland. The fairy thorn, on the other hand, was sacred to those supernatural beings, and was consequently held in dread veneration. It was specially prohibited to men and animals to profane or injure it.

To the willow a singular property belonged. Whilst with us, moderns, it is associated with sorrow and mourning, it was believed of old to inspire an uncontrollable inclination to practise on "the light fantastic toe." The recipe to produce this agreeable effect was as follows:—Take a willow rod, pared to a quadrangular figure, and write upon it the words, "sator, arepo, tenet, opera, rotas;" place this over the lintel of a door, and it will cause all the inmates incessantly to dance. In another case, a sprig of the *Attin Muirre* (furze, or gorse), carried in the button hole of a garment, secures the wayfarer against straying on mountain or moorland.

But, of all the surpassingly distinguished, prized, and endowed materials appropriated to the uses of ancient superstitious medicament, crystal and glass were pre-eminent. Rounded crystals and glass beads occur amongst the most frequent forms of amulets found either in common use or in ancient sepulchres. Of the latter material was the universally celebrated *Ovum anguinum*—*Gleiniau Nadred* (Welsh), *Gloine Nathrach* (Gaelic)—adder stone, or serpent's egg of Celtic archæology. Davis² calls it "the splendid product of the adder," shot forth by serpents; and the learned Jacob Bryant³ regarded it as an emblem of the ark, and informs us that it was held in equal repute by Persians, Syrians, and Celts. Of its production by serpents, Pliny in his "Natural History" (xxix., c. 3), has left us a marvellous account, sufficiently well known to the general reader. Indeed, few products appertaining to an-

¹ "Catalogue of Antiquities, Royal Irish Academy," p. 523.

² "Mythology," p. 577.

³ "Analysis," vol. ii., p. 319.

cient Druidism have obtained a notoriety more remarkable than this wonder-working crystal. Its fortunate possessor was believed by its means to obtain the superiority over his adversary in every kind of contest, whilst it was also gifted to obtain for him the friendship of eminent men. In Scotland the adder stone was believed to be good for sick women in their travail, and "until lately" was used for alleviating the pains of parturition. It was for such purpose placed under the bolster in the bed, or tied about the knee of the patient.

A gifted stone of this genus is spoken of by Martin, in his account of the Hebrides, where he relates that a globular stone, about the bigness of a goose egg, was preserved in the island of Arran. This, he says, was in former times thrown amongst the enemy in battle, and gave victory to the Mac Donalds of the Isles, its owners. In Martin's own times its virtue was to remove stitches from the sides of sick persons by laying it close to the place affected; and if the patient does not outlive the distemper, they say the stone removes out of the bed of its own accord, and *é contra*. The natives use this stone for swearing oaths upon it (Martin's "Western Islands," p. 225).

Another stone of the same class, but of an annular form, was exhibited at the meeting of the Archæological Institute in Edinburgh, in 1856. "It had been strung along with a seal of fine topaz on the skin of a snake, and was highly prized by the family of the lady to whom it belonged; and it had been resorted to, even in recent times, for the cure of the diseases of children."

A writer cited by Higgins, in his "Celtic Druids," p. 290, says that, in Cornwall, "Beasts bit and envenomed, being given some water to drink wherein this stone had been infused, will perfectly recover of the poison."

Water thus consecrated by the immersion of sacred relics or other objects retained, in the popular estimation, its supposed efficacy in Christian times as fully as it did in Pagan ages. The Venerable Bede¹ instances this amongst his Saxon countrymen of his own period. A portion of a cross, erected by King Oswald previous to a battle² being, as he tells us, immersed in water, restores ailing men or cattle to health. A like virtue was supposed to reside in Irish MSS., scrapings of which, being put into water, and this given to drink, have expelled poison. Coins, even, thus immersed had the like remedial effect. The cow doctor, amongst his large store of recipes, according to Cæsar Otway,³ produces a drink made on certain herbs in which *three halfpence* had been boiled; and we have lately read in the "Northern Ensign," a Highland newspaper, that a cow having become diseased by the *overlooking* of an *evil eye*, its

¹ "Ecclesiastical History," iii., c. 2.

² Ibid. l. i.

³ "Erris," p. 381.

owner borrowed two gold rings and a few pieces of silver from a neighbour, and deposited them in a dish of water. The liquid thus medicated being given to the animal to drink, accompanied by a few mystic words, the cow quickly recovered.

Clearly in the same category with these instances, and with the *Ovum anguinum*, must be placed the various amulets (two of them in the figure of the *Connoch*), represented in our engraving. These articles being immersed in water, which is afterwards given to be drunk by cattle supposed to be attacked by the murrain, extraordinary cures are believed to be effected by the liquid.

Why the form of the animal which is supposed to have produced the distemper was selected as the means of procuring a recovery, it is difficult to tell; but the idea has the sanction of classical antiquity in its favour, as Horace, *Epod. xvii.*, alludes to the superstitious belief that the same weapon which inflicted the wound could only heal it, as was the case of Telephus, wounded by Achilles, who could, according to the oracle, be only cured by the weapon of Achilles.

On the same principle it was believed that the toad carried in its head an antidote against its own poison, to which Shakspeare, in "As you like it," adverts:—

"Sweet are the uses of adversity;
Which, like the toad ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

It was, no doubt, the popular belief that the same baneful influence, or its effigies, which produced the malady, carried with it the remedy against its own virulence. In the same spirit we learn that the talisman of the Eastern necromancers used for the recovery of concealed treasures from the power of the genii who guard them at the bottom of wells, &c., consists, amongst various other symbols, of the figure of a man drawing up with a cord a bucket from the bottom of a fountain. See Lindsay's "Observations on an Ancient Talisman."

Cattle formed the principal portion of ancient wealth. They were the medium of barter, the means of discharging tributes and stipends; gifts were valued by cattle, they formed to some considerable extent the representative of a currency, and were the objects and prizes of war and endless forays and strife—the reward of enterprise, courage, and daring. They were not only the objects of desire to man, but also to the "good people;" therefore, in the latter case, the aid of religion was invoked for their protection. Cows, when fairly struck, yield no butter, or they sicken and die. But then there are mystic means within the reach of mankind to counteract such injury, such as placing the plough coulter in the fire, during the process of

churning, which restores the butter. On May eve the herds and flocks are peculiarly subject to these sinister influences ; then the elfin arrow, the fairy blast, and all kinds of *diablerie*, and the machinations of witches and wizards, are particularly to be dreaded ; cattle then have to be housed and looked after, otherwise their owners would have cause to bewail any negligence or omission of necessary precautions. The decoction of simples gathered on May day, such as the "herb of seven cures," the yarrow, speedwell, &c., and the plentiful application and use of the *Caorthin*, or rowan tree, were then brought into requisition. For the murrain, which is a plague emanating from fairy influence, the remedy is quite as simple when attainable. Ostensibly the disorder proceeds from the *Connoch*, or caterpillar, swallowed by the animal, and producing internal disease, very frequently of a fatal character. A plentiful potation of water, in which the powerful amulet called the "murrain stone," has been immersed, generally proves a sovereign remedy for this complaint. Unfortunately, this powerful panacea is not frequently to be obtained. Few are those fortunate enough to possess it ; and such families as have received it by inheritance value it so highly, that they lend it out but rarely, and as a favour almost beyond price. A large globular crystal, hooped with silver, has been and is an heirloom in the family of the Marquis of Waterford. When lent as a great favour, it is placed in a running stream, and the murrain-infected cattle drink lower down. We saw it in the Antiquities' Court of the first Dublin Exhibition. When an amulet of this kind is lent, the borrower is bound by bonds and solemn obligations for its speedy and safe return ; where default has been made in keeping faith with the owner, such breaches have become the subject of suits at law.

The figure of one of the *Connochs*, or murrain caterpillars,¹ depicted in the accompanying plate, figs., 1 and 5, is now the property of John Lindsay, Esq., of Maryville, near Cork, the well-known author of so many valuable numismatic works. This relic was found in the ancient cemetery of Timoleague Abbey, in or about the year 1843. It is formed of silver, in which is imbedded a series of crystals, amber-coloured and azure, and is about three inches in length.

The second of these curious articles is very similar to the former in figure, size, and material. This was obtained near Doneraile, in the same county, in 1834, by the late Redmond Anthony, Esq., of Piltown, in the county of Kilkenny, whose rich museum of antiquities was dispersed by auction at London, after his lamented death some years since.

An amulet of different form, but of similar virtues, and much celebrated for its important cures in the relief of cattle, was long

¹ This much-prized remedy is various in its material and form.

held as an heirloom in the family of the late Richard Fitzgerald, of Castle Richard, the lineal descendant of that branch of the historical Geraldines bearing the hereditary title of "Seneschals of Imokilly." It was of an oval form, crystal in material, and set in silver. The manner of its use was, like that of the "connoch," by immersion in water, the liquid being thereby supposed to partake of its sanative properties, and to serve as an unfailing medicine to the diseased animal.

The still more ancient family of the MacCarthys of "the Glen,"¹ a branch of the princely house of Muskerry, Lords of Blarney, long established in Donoughmore, near that famed castle and district, were the owners of another oval crystal amulet, set also in silver, which was believed to be eminently endowed with healing properties. Even at this day it is frequently lent out for use to farmers in the vicinity of Cork, whose cattle are infected by murrain, and it is said with the happiest result. It is but a very few years since its possession became the subject of a lawsuit between its aggrieved and too confiding owner and a dishonest borrower to whom it had been lent, and who endeavoured to retain it despite of very solemn engagements to return it after it had been used. The court proceedings in this case were duly reported in the newspapers of the day. An engraving of this coveted gem accompanies the present paper. See Plate, fig. 4.

The fourth amulet depicted in our Plate (figs. 2 and 3) of amulets is the "jewel," so called, as shall be presently shown, now the property of a gentleman of the name of Morgan, a resident also in the neighbourhood of Cork. Under the name of the "blood stone," it has been for a long time preserved as an heirloom in his family, and held in high estimation for its presumed medicinal value. It is traditionally believed to have been brought to Ireland from some foreign land by a former member of the family, who had been in his early years a great traveller; but it is presumed that a curious entry in the Common Council Book of Cork throws some more certain light upon its history. It is stated to have been efficacious in stopping the effusion of blood, by suspending it round the neck of the person affected. The stones forming the setting round the central crystal are also reputed to possess healing virtues distinct from the great crystal, but all applicable to the cure of cattle or of hæmorrhage. Some of these stones have been lost in consequence of lending it amongst the neighbouring farmers from time to time, when their cattle became distempered, the virtues attributed to them forming a temptation too strong for their virtue or honesty. The amulet consists of a plate of gilt silver, the back elaborately chased; the marginal orna-

¹ Now represented by John MacCarthy Millstreet.
O'Leary, Esq., of Coomlegane, near

mental projections, together with the suspending link, were set with seven amethysts, one of which has been abstracted. The "blood stone" forms the great opaque-coloured crystal in the centre.

The entry in the Council Book to which I have already alluded, and for which I am indebted to R. Caulfield, Esq., a gentleman well known for his research and knowledge of our local antiquities, seems unequivocally to relate to this curious talisman. There is nothing at all improbable in the idea of a public body like the old corporation of Cork, in a period so remote as that of the reign of the British Solomon, James I., holding, for the assumed general benefit of a credulous community, a "jewel" of the valuable qualities attributed to this. The necessities of the council no doubt rendered the placing of it out in pawn compulsory; but it would seem that the act was accompanied with a prudent condition, that it should from time to time be forthcoming for inspection, to insure its safe keeping. This condition, we may infer from the record, was violated by Mr. Pownch, the mortgagee, who having made default in its production, the mortgaging body were compelled to have its value appraised; and it is probable that the jewel never afterwards found its way back to the corporate treasury. The "jewel" seems to have had no specific name by which it was known, hence the blank left in its description, which in other respects was also defective. The mention of a darkish stone in the midst thereof seems to refer to the opaque colour of the central crystal.

"November 25, 1618.—JEWEL.

"Memorandum, that Adam Goold produce in court three several mondaies a silver . . . in the midst thereof there was a darkish stone of . . . sett and ymbrodered about with redd stones, four of them . . . square, and . . . four square [which]; was pawned unto him above a year and a daie past by one David Pownch fitz Patrick for 40s. sterl., and for that the said David app^d not, being solemplic called uppon in courte three several mondaies the praism' of the said jewill was by the courte referred to Morice Goold fitz John, Merchant, and Richard Goold, who have retourned the daie and year afforesaid that the said jewill is worth 30s. st^s."

A case which created much amusement, and one that was listened to with deep interest by a large number of the lower class, came on for investigation at the Police Office, Cork, on Thursday, April 15, 1840, before Alderman Saunders, on a summons to show cause why a felony information should not be taken against a man named Cornelius Sheehan, for unlawfully possessing himself of, and detaining, a murrain stone, the property of a Mrs. M'Auliffe, otherwise Meares, residing on Kyril's-quay.

"The party complained against was called, but did not appear.

"Mrs. M'Auliffe, being sworn, stated her complaint, with an air of

dignity peculiar to herself; she said :—' Please your Honor, I am the true descendant of Donald Mac Fineen M'Carthy Reagh, who was Earl of Kildare, and Lord Leftunant av Ireland in 1496 ; and, if you will please, I will give you my genalogy.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' We admit the fact; there is no necessity for going through the list of your noble ancestors; your appearance is evidence of the fact' (laughter).

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' Be it known to you, then, that my ancestor, Mac Carty More, King of Cork 800 years ago, was out hunting one day, when one of the good people gave him a sthونه, which had the vartue of curing cattle when they were sick.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' How was it used ? This is very important to agriculturists.'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' Jist make de sign of de cross by rubbing it on the back of the baste; do that three times three mornings fasting, and the cratur is well.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' What kind of a stone was it ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' A weeny sthونه, which was kept in an ancient silver box, so that the daylight couldn't see it.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' Well, what has become of it ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' Why, a friend of mine in de country had his cattle sick, and larning through a gossip that I had de sthونه, he came and borrowed it of me.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' You gave it to him ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' Of coorse; I darn't refuse it when he spake the word.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' A charmed word, I suppose ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' You musn't hear it—you hav'n't de fait (laughter).

" Mr. O'Brien.—' Of course not. Well, did he rub it to the cattle ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' To be sure he did.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' And they are all well ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' By coorse.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' Did you ever see the stone since ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' Never.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' What became of it ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' When the miracle was worked he sent home de sthونه; but the garsoon mistook de house, and gave it to Con Sheehan.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' And Con refused to return it ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' He gives no sattysfaction at all.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' Have you anything more to say, Ma'am ?'

" Mrs. M'Auliffe.—' I say this—if he don't send it home to me, he and all belonging to him will taw like ice.'

" Mr. O'Brien.—' That is our case, your Worship.'

" The Bench declared it had no jurisdiction in the case.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

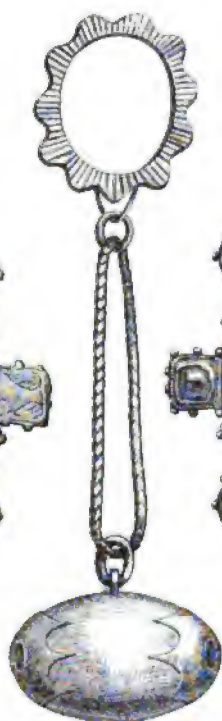


Fig. 4.



Fig. 3.

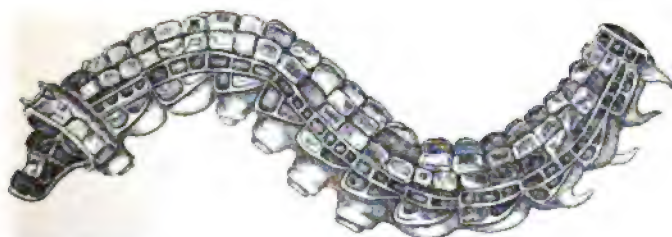


Fig. 5.

IRISH MEDICAL AMULETS.

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PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 5th, 1865.

BARRY DELANEY, Esq., M.D., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Lieutenant-Colonel W. Villiers Stuart, D. L., Castletown, Carrick-on-Suir: proposed by the Rev. Charles Harte.

James Harton Bracken, Esq., County Inspector of Constabulary, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. W. Lawless.

The Very Rev. Dr. Russell, O. P., St. Saviour's, Dublin; and the Very Rev. Dr. Goodman, O. P., Sligo: proposed by the Rev. P. V. Skelly, O. P.

Sir John Gray, Dublin: proposed by W. L. Hackett, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

The Rev. J. H. Martin, Principal, Kilkenny College; and the Rev. Morgan Woodward Jellett, St. Peter's, Dublin: proposed by Mr. Prim.

W. H. Hardinge, Esq., M.R.I.A., Keeper of the Records, Landed Estates Record Office, Custom House Buildings, Dublin: proposed by J. T. Gilbert, Esq.

P. W. Joyce, Esq., A. M., National Board of Education, Marlborough-street, Dublin: proposed by Dr. Newell.

The Rev. Thomas Roche, R. C. C., St. Aidan's, Enniscorthy: proposed by G. E. Roberts, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

By Miss Archer Butler: "*La Seine-Inférieure Historique et Archéologique*, par M. l'Abbe Cochet, Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques et Religieux de ce Département. Epoques Gauloise, Romaine et Franque, avec Une Carte Archéologique de ces trois Périodes." 4to., pp. 552, profusely illustrated.

By the Author: "*Ancient Pillar Stones of Scotland; their Significance and Bearing on Ethnology*," by George Moore, M. D., London, &c., 8vo.

By the Editor: "The Reliquary," edited by Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq., No. 20.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 85.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: "Original Papers," Visitation of Norfolk, second portion.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: "Archæologia Æliana," part 20, new series.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for April, May, and June, 1865.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1159-1172, inclusive.

By Miss Archer Butler: a gun money Half-Crown of James II.; a Patrick's Penny—the variety exhibiting the arms of the city of Dublin; and a collection of modern Penny and Halfpenny Tokens.

By the Dean and Chapter of St. Canice: two inscribed oak beams, which had formed part of the roofing of the choir of the Cathedral, recently removed. One of them seemed to have pertained to some repairs effected in the roof in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as it bore the inscription—in the large, well-cut Old English characters in use at the period,—*Thos. Wale. Procur.* 1597. This Master Thomas Wale, the Procurator or Economist of the Chapter, was Treasurer of St. Canice, and had a son, the Rev. Robert Wale, who was colated to the Treasurership of the cathedral in 1610, and erected in the cathedral, A. D. 1634, a monument to his father's memory still extant. The other beam was of much later date, being part of Bishop Pococke's work. The inscription on this beam was, THOMAS SHORTES, 1763. A rule and compass were also carved in connexion with this inscription. Shortes was probably Pococke's master carpenter; he was a freeman of Kilkenny, as appears by the Corporation Books.

By Mr. Bettsworth Lawless: a silver reliquary, to be worn suspended round the neck, which had been found near the Black Abbey by the person of whom he had purchased it—its central relic case (now empty) was surrounded by a row of small bosses, outside which were eight round pieces of glass, in raised settings, alternating with filligree loops, on the back were the letters I. H. S.; also part of a silver clasp, apparently of a book, but of the locality where found he was not informed; and some ancient coins.

By Hugo Jones, Esq., Ballyconway: a silver groat of Edward IV., and a sixpence of Queen Elizabeth.

By Mr. John Moore, Columbkil: the fragments of what must have been a very fine and very beautiful ancient baked clay urn (or rather cylinder, for it had no bottom), recently discovered at Columbkil, near Thomastown, on the property of William Flood, Esq.,

Paulstown House. On the gentle slope of a hill, looking west, a person digging came on a flag about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet beneath the surface, which, on being raised, disclosed the upper rim of an earthen receptacle of partially calcined bones, of which it was quite full. On removing the clay, it was found that this receptacle was not an urn, as had been at first supposed, but was a mere cylinder, the lower rim of which rested on the earth; it had two hoop-like expansions, at equal distances between the top and bottom, all round. The rims and expansions were ornamented with a very graceful pattern, formed by a cord impressed while the earth of which the article was composed was in a soft state; and the intervening spaces were filled with diagonal scorings, as if formed by the point of a knife. The size of the cylinder might be judged of from the quantity of burned bones which it contained, calculated to fill nearly two gallons. At top and bottom the diameter was about six inches; across the centre, eight inches; in height it was about fourteen inches. When first the flag was raised, this interesting fictile remain was quite perfect; but Mr. Moore did not like to raise it at the moment, as he expected a visit next day from an antiquarian friend, who, having some experience in explorations, he thought might be likely to direct the operation with greater success. Unfortunately, his friend had been prevented from arriving; and, heavy rain having fallen in the four or five days' interval between the finding and raising of the antique, on his second visit for the latter purpose he discovered that the cylinder was split from top to bottom in five places, and it was found impossible to lift those five pieces without their crumbling into smaller fragments; so that, in place of being enabled, as he had hoped, to present to the Society's Museum this very interesting object in a perfect state, he was only able to send the fragments which were now before the meeting. Another fictile vessel—but in this latter case a regular urn—was found, twelve years since, within a dozen feet of that now described; but the finder had broken it into fragments in annoyance at the discovery that it contained only burned bones, and not gold, as he had at first hoped. The peasantry of the district regard the locality as a place of ancient Pagan sepulture. Within the area of a square mile surrounding the spot the remains can be traced of forty-seven sepulchral mounds, six of which alone now remain perfect, the others having been nearly levelled, and the plough passing over them. A gold torque, or primæval neck ornament, was found within a few yards of two of these mounds some seventeen years since by a peasant, who sold the prize to a travelling dealer for £18; it must have been worth ten times that sum.

By the Dean and Chapter of St. Canice: some pieces of leather, which had formed a pair of sandals or shoes, found in a grave in the chapel on the south side of the choir. The grave contained a per-

fect skeleton, on the feet of which the shoes would seem to have remained till the portions of leather fell asunder on the rotting away of the hemp with which they had been stitched together. No particle of any other kind of clothing was to be found in the grave; nor did there appear to have been any coffin used in the interment, the grave having been so built with masonry as just to receive the body, and being lined throughout with a kind of yellow cement or clay. Inverted over the grave—the flat side upwards, to form a flooring slab—was found a fine effigy of a female, in high relief. The inscription was perfect, and showed the lady to have been Honoria, daughter of Baron John Grace, of Courtstown, and first wife of Sir Oliver Shortall, of Ballylarkan, who died in 1596. There seemed to be no connexion, however, between the monument and the grave, which had a separate covering slab of sandstone.

By Mr. Prim: a very large skull, with portions of the antlers attached, and also a separate antler of very great size, of the *Cervus megaceros Hibernicus*, or extinct gigantic deer of Ireland. They were found in a boghole in the centre of one of the fields on the farm of Mrs. Phelan, at Tinnekelly, adjoining Graigue, near Kilmanagh, whilst digging for bog stuff, and where the remaining portions of the skeleton, no doubt, are still buried.

By Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan, Londonderry: a photograph of a very graceful chalice, represented in the accompanying plate, concerning which he made the following communication:—

"Through the courtesy of the Rev. P. Magee, C. C., Strabane, county of Tyrone, I am enabled to send a photograph of an ancient chalice in his possession. It is of silver, of the usual shape, and about 14 inches in height; inside the foot are rudely engraved the numbers: 14 .: 18: the 'marks' on the cup are very indistinct; however, one appears to be R I, and the other: T; around the pedestal is incised, very rudely, the following inscription—the words being divided by short oblique strokes:—

PRAY | FOR | EDM^o | BOURKE | PARISH | PRIEST | OF | KILLERERAN | &
FAMILY | WHO | BOUGHT | ME | FOR | Y^r | HON^r | OF | GOD | AND | USE | OF
Y^r | CONV^t | OF | DUNEGALL.

"The chalice was formerly in the possession of the Rev. Bernard M'Kenna, P.P. of Leckpatrick, who gave it to its present owner. It previously belonged to the Rev. John M'Kenna, P.P. of Maghera, who was brother to the Parish Priest of Leckpatrick. It is not known how he became possessed of it; but his family about 150 or 200 years ago came to Maghera, from Trough, in the county of Monaghan. In the preface of the late Dr. O'Donovan's 'Annals of the Four Masters' there is a brief description of the dispersion of the monks of the Abbey of Donegal, on the 2nd of August, 1601, by a detachment of English soldiers from the garrison of Derry. The monks fled into the woods, and from thence by sea, on the approach of the troops, 'carrying with them their chalices, vestments, and other sacred furniture.' O'Donovan gives also an extract from a manuscript History of the Franciscans, compiled at Louvain, A. D.



CHALICE FORMERLY BELONGING TO THE ABBEY OF DONEGAL.

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1617, by Fr. Antonius Purcell, which affords a graphic account of the flight of the monks on the occasion. The writer, who it appears was the Sacristan of the Abbey of Donegal, states, that he had at the time under his care '40 indumenta sacerdotalia cum suis omnibus pertinentiis,' and *sixteen chalices of silver*. These vestments and chalices, however, afterwards fell, says Purcell, into the hands of Lambert, governor of Connaught, who converted them to profane uses. It is probable, therefore, that this chalice was presented to the convent of Donegal when the monks regained possession after 1641. Killererin is a parish in the county of Galway, and it may be that its parish priest was able to purchase back one of their ancient chalices for the monks of Donegal."

By the same: photographs of the object alluded to in the subsequent remarks:—

"Last week, in a garden within the walls of the city of Derry a flat piece of horn, about four inches square, was dug up. It had on one side, depressed about the tenth of an inch, an impression of a medal struck to commemorate the victory of Blenheim, obtained by the united English and allied German armies, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, over the French and Bavarian troops, commanded by Field Marshal Tallard and the Elector.

"The medal has on its foreground an allegorical reclining figure, representing the River Danube, on whose banks the battle was fought. From the flowing urn of the Deity a river runs in a serpentine manner towards the horizon. On the bank opposite to the Water God the Angel of Victory, sitting on a cannon, is inscribing on an oval tablet the date of the victory, August 13, 1704. Behind the angel are draped military flags and standards. Around the medal is the following inscription:—*GALLIS : BAVARISQUE : DEVICTIS : TALLARD : FR : MARESCH : CUM : MULT : DUCIB : ET : X : MILLIB : MILIT : CAPTIS*. It is not improbable that some of the soldiers of Queen Anne may have settled in Derry after the war was finished, and brought with them this impression of a medal struck to commemorate an event of which they had such good reason to be proud. From some marks it would appear to have formed the lid of a snuff-box."

The Rev. James Graves referred to the works which he had been recently engaged in directing, in conjunction with the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, at the Seven Churches of Clonmacnoise. He said, however, that it was not his intention to lay a full report of the operations before the Society on this occasion, as some repairs were still going on, in his absence, in accordance with the instructions which he had left for the guidance of the workmen. Before the next meeting these works would be completed, and he should then give a detailed general report, with an account of the special subscriptions received, and the expenditure. The Society, by what it had done at Clonmacnoise, had made a name for itself calculated to gain it increased credit, not only here, but also in England and Scotland—these celebrated ecclesiastical remains being visited by


many tourists. The repairs which had been effected afforded the greatest gratification, also, to the people of the locality, of all classes, grades, and creeds.

Mr. Robertson, having recently visited the very interesting old Church of Ullard, near Graigue, in the county of Kilkenny, reported on its condition, which was not by any means satisfactory, as a portion of one of the side walls had been undermined, and was in a very threatening condition. Some of the ball ornamentation of the splendid Hiberno-Romanesque west doorway too had been disfigured lately, by mischievous persons wantonly knocking out the balls. The ivy, which hitherto had hung over the doorway, and partially hid some of the sculptured ornamentation, had been nearly all destroyed of late by having been by some strange accident set fire to and consumed in the very dry weather. This clearance had disclosed the presence of a small window above the door, having a primitive pointed top, formed by laying the ends of two stones together. There was some rude and very weather-worn sculptured ornamentation in connexion with this window, the principal device in which appeared to be intended to represent two human figures, with clasped hands, very much in the style of the rude figures carved on the fine stone cross adjoining the church. Mr. Vicars, the much respected agent of Sir W. M'Kenna—whose property surrounded the church—was present at the time of his visit, and had kindly intimated his willingness to aid in such repairs as would prevent the falling of the undermined wall.

Mr. Robertson's communication excited much interest amongst the Members present; and it was resolved that the Secretaries should communicate with Mr. Vicars on the subject of the repairs which he had so considerately offered to help forward; and should also endeavour to engage the interest of Mr. Devine, who resides in the neighbourhood of the ruins, in the supervision and protection of the old church and cross from the wanton injuries of thoughtless persons in the locality, who frequent the place very much, as some of the walls are made use of for a rustic ball alley.

The Rev. S. C. Harpur forwarded, on behalf of the Rev. J. J. Wharton, A.M., Rector of Ballyburly, in the diocese of Kildare, a monumental inscription extant in Ballyburly Church, King's County. On the monument is carved the effigy of Captain Wackle, with his lance in his hand, and his sword by his side, his head protected by the "skull," or iron cap, and a ruff round his neck. There is also sculptured very rudely a coat of arms, with the initials T. W. and M. H. The shield bears a chevron between three cross crosslets, in chief a stag's head antlered, impaling three dunghill cocks, in base a dexter hand, the latter being the punning arms of Handcock. The crest, instead of surmounting the shield—which latter is carved awry on the stone—is placed below at one side, and is, on a wreath,

a hand brandishing an axe; motto—TOVT VIEN DHAULT. The following is the inscription:—

EER lieth the body of Maud Handcock daughter to William Handcock of Dublin alderman who deceased the 3 of May 1617 his dear and welbelovid husband Thomas Wackle of Baliburey esq son to Ion Waklie of the novæes captain of 100 hors and 100 foot in the beginning of Queē Elizabeths reinge of famous memory and governid them to the adwancement of his highnes service caused this monūnt to be made in memory of his himselfe and Katren Cusack alias Handcock sister to the aforesaid Maud.

The Rev. James Graves, referring to a paper read by him at the October Meeting of 1861, on the capture of the Earl of Ormonde by O'More ("Journal," Vol. III., p. 388), said that it appeared from a letter of Ormonde, addressed to the Queen, that to procure his release he was "forced to put into his [O'More's] hands certain hostages for payment of £3000, yf at any tyme hereafter I shall seeke reveng against him or his;" whilst we are informed by a letter written by Francis Stafforde to Cecyll, that "there is xij pledges left with Onye M'Rorye for performauce of all covenantes betweene them." From the documents then accessible it did not appear who these hostages were, or what became of them. However, in a recent search amongst the MSS. at Kilkenny Castle, he (Mr. Graves) had been fortunate enough to light on a record which told the name of one of them, and showed the Earl's anxiety to deliver him from his thralldom. It would be remembered that Ormonde was at Ballybrittas, a castle of Sir Terence O'Dempsey's, when he was treating with his captors; and it now appears that Sir Terence's son was one of the hostages given up to O'More, and by him placed in the hands of Tyrrell, the Anglo-Norman rebel, O'Neill's trusted ally, and one of the ablest guerilla leaders of the period, with whom O'More was in league.

Letter Patent authorizing Thomas Earl of Ormonde to ransom one of the surties given to O'More for his release, dated August 31st, 1601.

"ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of Englande Ffraunce and Irelande defender of the faith etc To OURE TRUSTIE and welbelovyd Cosen Thomas Earle of Ormonde and Ossery, Treasurer of Irelande Greetinge. Whereas Ony ODempsey soñe to Sir Terence ODempsey, knighte, remaigninge now a prisoner with the traytor Tyrell, havinge formerly ben delivered to Ony Mc Rorye as one of the pledges for youe the saide Earle of Ormonde, and for that youe the saide Earle ys desirous to give a sōme of mony for the ramson of the saide Ony ODempsey thereby to procure his libertie, Wee of oure especyall grace and mere moction are pleased, and by the advise of our righte trustie and welbelovyd Councillor Charles

Load Mountjoie, knights of the most noble order of oure garter, oure Deputie Generall of oure saide realme of Irelande, by those pntes LICENCE AND AUTHORISE youe oure saide cosen thearle of Ormonde, or suche as youe shall imploye on this behalfe, as well to parlie with the saide Tirrell or anye other touchinge the saide ramson as to paie the same to anie of them when yee have ththroughlie agreed there vpon, authorisinge further hereby all oure officers and subjectes of the saide Realme to whome yt shall apperteyne to be aydinge and assistinge to youe oure saide cosen Thearle of Ormonde and suche as youe shall imploye in this behalfe. IN WITNES wheare of wee have caused oure saide letters to be made pattent. WITNES oure saide Deputie Generall at Dublin the last of August in the three and fortieth yeare of our reigne.

(*Fragment of Great Seal.*)

"J. PHILLIPPS.
"Eꝯ p NA : PLUNKET."

Mr. Geo. V. Du Noyer wished to correct an error which had crept into his note on the "Geology of the Silver Mines District" (p. 273, *supra*). The passage—"formed by an irregular isolated cake of rock," should read "formed by an isolated cake of Old Red Sandstone resting on the denuded edges of the Lower Silurian rocks."

The Rev. G. H. Reade alluded to a statement erroneously put into his mouth in the report of the January meeting (p. 229, *supra*), where he was made to say that a coin was lifted to the surface of the lake by the *leaf of a water plant*; the fact really being that the coin was seen on a *plantain leaf*, which grew on the soil of the island, and not in the waters of the lake.

The following papers were submitted to the Members:—

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(*Continued from Vol. V., New Series, page 267.*)

WHILST Sir Robert Cecyll was pondering over the last favour of the Lord Barry, Florence was occupied in composing one of his most elaborate and successful letters to Lord Burghley, in which, after a spirited recital of his father's services and his own, and a fearless appeal to a multitude of great names in evidence of his veracity, he turns upon Barry and his father a torrent of invective, which, if its truth but equalled its burning and its bitterness, should have sufficed at once to settle the value of any charges which such an accuser could make, and to mark the Lord Buttevant as the one of Her

Majesty's subjects fitter than all others to be made to pay any amount of fine that could be extracted from him.

The Lord Deputy Fitzwilliams was now in England, and at hand, to give explanation of the conduct of Barry, past and present. Florence had brought with him letters of recommendation from the Vice-President of Munster, *one* of his recent judges; and, from the confidence with which he appeals again and again to the testimony of the Lord Deputy, it is sufficiently manifest that he was well assured of the good offices of *the other*. With unerring instinct both Florence and his adversary endeavoured to account for the rancour with which each thought himself persecuted, by attributing it to revelations which, in their conscientious loyalty, they had felt compelled to make against each other, of rebellious practices against the State. This argument was, no doubt, intended for the musings of Her Majesty; but Florence, with ready address, seized upon the unhappy slip of the Lord Barry relative to the seizure "*of all his means of living*" as security for the payment of his fine," which evidently was but a sudden explosion of petulance, but which implied a grave charge against his judges. Fitzwilliams as well as Norreys had stigmatized that assertion as "*touching him in honour*;" and now that the former of these great functionaries was to be questioned on the matter, Florence assisted his remembrance of the circumstance by renewing Barry's charge, and appealing to his judge to satisfy the minister with respect to it. But the following letter contains matter of greater interest than any that can be derived from the writer's enmity to Barry. The reader has long since been informed that Sir Donogh Mac Carthy, the father of Florence, had taken an active part with the Queen's forces against the rebel Earl of Desmond, and that Sir Henry Sidney had thereupon pronounced him "*an especial man, and good subject, and desired that he might be nobilitated*;" this letter assures us that Florence continued in the same loyal track as his father; that during several years he had led his own followers against the earl, and received many marks of Her Majesty's approbation of his services; these seemingly plain proofs of his cordial support of English rule in his native country he used with vigour and effect to overthrow the accusations of Barry; they might be used by his biographer now for the assertion that Florence was, at least at one period of his life, a model of loyalty! Alas for the sagacity of Sir Henry Sidney! for the claims of Florence, or his father, to the gratitude of the Lord Deputy, or the Queen! the Annals of Ireland for 400 years furnish us with far other motive for the hostility of the Mac Carthys to the Fitzgeralds than loyalty to their English rulers. The great family feuds and alliances of the Irish and their Norman neighbours would explain many an apparent inconsistency in the conduct of individual chieftains. If a Butler or a Fitzgerald quarrelled with

the Queen's Deputy, certain Irish chiefs would assuredly share their blame as rebels, and others for a while acquire the fame of devoted and loyal subjects; their rebellion and their loyalty consisted but in their fidelity to their alliances, and to their rivalries; bearing this in mind, the reader will find less inconsistency in the conduct of Florence in the earlier and later periods of his career.

"1594. Nov. 29. FLORENCE MAC CARTHY to LO. BURLEIGH.

"My very approved good Lo: my humble and most bonden dutie remembred: having allways since my coming hyther expected onely yo' Lo^p leasure to peruse what hath bene advertised out of Ireland concerning me, to the end that yo' Lo^p might thereafter take such order for me as you thought mete: and perceiving now that Barry myne adversary hath sent one of his men hyther, and hath, (as he is accustomed) written sundrye lies of me, as well to yo' Lo^p as to others, onely to delay my dispatch, whereby I might be here consumed wth longe attendance, as I was already utterly undon wth the long continuance of my trouble, whereunto I was brought by his lyinge devices and fals informacōns. In regard whereof I humbly besech yo' honorable Lo^p to consider how farr he hath abused and misinformed yo' Lo^p and the rest of the Councell at his being here, as Sir William Fitzwilliams can tell, and as appears by such informacōns as yo' Lo^p received from Sir Thomas Norreys; for where he hath affirmed here that the best parte of his livinge was extended unto me, it is manifest (as I am sure Sir Thomas hath advertised yo' Lo^p) that I received scarce 14 or 15 ploughlands, valued at £42 Ireish a yere, wch is not the 10th parte of that livinge wch he doth uniously holde! Also he hath accused me of divers haynous matters, wch he did constantly affirme here, that he wold *prove in Ireland*, where he could ney prove none; myself having remained there untill I answered all those matters before Sir William Fitzwilliams (unto whose reporte I reffer myself) and Sir Thomas Norreys at Dublinge, and afterwards sufficiently satisfied Sir Thomas in Mounster for them all, w'out wch I could hardly obtaine (since Sir Thomas informed yo' Lo^p of these matters) not onely his pasporte to com hyther, but also his letters hyther, testifeinge how earnest and carefull I was to do Her Ma^{ty} service while I was in Ireland, wch he knowes I had performed yf I had not bene hyndered by these matters. Neyther do I think yf my former life be justly considered, but that I deserve well Her Ma^{ty} gyft, and he deserved very ill to live or enjoye any thinge under her Highnes; for his father who was a man of no regarde untill he attained to Barry Roe's Countrey by murderinge the heyres thereof, and also gott Barrymore's countrey by deceit and trechery, being not of Barrymore of Buttevant's countrey nor kindred, nor having nothing to do with him, nor never recoded anything by law, nor was never established by any prince; and being Sir John of Desmond's onely confederat to breede the last rebellion, he was therefore comitted by the Lo: Justice and Lo: Generall to the Castell of Dublinge where he was kept untill he died, wch is no good monument of his loyaltie: his son also, this Barry, having folowed the Earle of Desmond in all the last rebellion, burning and spoyleing Her Mat^{ty} subiects, and killinge and murderinge

her English souldiers, both in Bantrye and other places, who being afterwards pardoned, he hath a great while after kept secretly wth him one Walter Bregin, a preiste, who being still a chefe person wth him and with Doctor Sanders in all the last rebellion, was a great while after sent by the sayd Barry into Spaine, about som practices of treason, where he is still resident for him at Lisbune, yf he be alive; besides also that now of late, when I was here a prisonner, the sayd Barry, wth other accomplices of his, mett in a certen place, where they were swerne to a rebellious combinacon, and drank wine out of a chalice, uppon that condicon; and attempted in vayne one Owen M'Murty, agent, by whom Mr. Cormuk Mac Dermot is much ledd, in hope to bring Mr. Cormuk to enter therein: yee and had don worss yf Sir Thomas Norreys had not bene wise and vigilant inough to prevent his treason and vilainey, wch when I understood at my being there now, I inquired of Sir Thomas Norreys whether he understood of the matter, and he told me that he heard an inklinge thereof at the same time, and told me the manner of it; and as for myself I doubt not but here are som that have served under Sir Henry Sidney in Mounster, to whose report (*and to Her Ma^{tie} owne letters to my Father*) I referr how faithfull and forward my father was at all times to serve Her Highnes, who having bene wth the Lo: Deputye aforesaid at the siege of Balimarter at Glann-Moyr, and in all other places where he had occasion to use anyforces for Her Ma^{tie}, where he brought him more mē then any two in Mounster; and in Sir William Fitzwilliam's is time when the Earle of Desmond escaped out of Dublinge, I am sure Sir William (who wrote to him then against the sayd Earle, and received answer to his contentacon from him) doth very well remēber his constancie and faythfullnes to Her Ma^{tie}: and not onely Sir William, but also Sir Walter Rawleigh (by the reporte of his brother Sir Humfrey Gilbert), and divers others here, who remēbers what pains he hath taken, and charges he hath bene at, in Her Ma^{tie} service, both in the time of Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Sir John Perrott, and all such as gouēd there. Myself also, beinge at the beginnunge of the Earle of Desmond's rebellion but of the adge of 16 or 17 yeres, hauinge a litle before (uppon the death of my father) taken charge of his folowers, and his owne lands, since wch time I have euer assisted in person in almost all the jorneyes that were don in Her Ma^{tie} service, both under Sir William Pelham, the Lo: Gray, the Earle of Ormond, Mr. John Zouch, Sir George Bouchier, and all such as gouēd, or commaunded there; as is well knowē to Sir Walter Rawleigh, Sir Georg Bouchier, Capten Francis Bartly, and a great number of captens, officers, and Gent', which I do see here now dayly, who knowes when they wanted forces I brought them still readily 300 of myne owne men; and when the Earle of Desmond liued uppon the spoyl of the Earle of Clancartyes contrey, I wth above 300 of myne owne mē joined wth Sir Edward Bartly and his companie, and kilde his receiver Morice Roe, and others, and chased him out of that countrey, into his owne waste countrey, where all his men were constrained to forsake him; and being kept and maintained a good while by Gory M^c Swiney, a companie of my men wch I sent to serve uppon the rebells kilde the sayd Gory, wherby the Earle was kilde within a weke or ten dayes after, being not able to kepe himself without him any time. Of all wch matters both Her Ma^{tie} and yo^r Lo^p was suf-

ficently informed at my first cominge hyther, for which Her Highnes hath rewarded me; the remembrance whereof, as well as of my fathers service and myne, as also of Her Ma^{ty} bountifull rewards and fau^r towards me (myne aūcesters, contrey, and kinred, hauinge also remained eu^{er} good subiects, wherby none of my Contry or name was neu^{er} stained) did at all times, and doth still, woork more in me, and is (as any man in reason may judge) esteemed more by me, then any frendship or familiarities that eu^{er} I had wth so light a fellow as Jaques was, whom I neu^{er} knew to be three dayes of one mynd, and wth whom I neu^{er} had very much to do at all, being but a device of myne adversary, for want of any matter to be found against me, as appeared when the matter was heard both in Dublinge and Mounster. Wherefore I most humbly besech yo^r Honorable Lo^p (whom I have always found my very good Lo: and best frend) to consider as well my father's service and myne, and his father's wiked murders and rebellious inten^tions, for the wch he died, together wth his owne trayterous inclina^ton and oppon rebellion, as also myne imprisonment and troble these five yers past, wherunto I was brought by his lying deuices and fals informatⁱons, during wch time I was constrained to lease, and sell, what living I had, having both wife and children here at my charges; besides also that this suite cost me in Ireland about £300, both in provinge the same due, in getting his assurance for the paiment therof, and in extending a small parcell of his land when he forfeited his assurance, and came hyther; in regard whereof, I most humbly besech yo^r honourable Lo^p (for that I am not able to live or maintain myself here any longer) to be a mean that I may haue som spedier order wherby I may receiv the benefitt of Her Ma^{ty} gift, wth considera^ton for my charges aforesayd, which (I protest) I wold not desire yf it might in any sort preiudice Her Ma^{ty} or the State, as yo^r Lo^p may at large perceve, and be therin thoroughly satisfied by Sir William Fitzwilliams, who, wth Sir Thomas Norreys, had the hearing and determineinge of the matter, and who knowes what the oppinion of Sir Thomas and the councell is, as well of this matter as of me, and the sayd Barry; being rather an example to encoradge both himself and the rest of Mounster and Ireland to rebellious attempts, without regarde or fear of any punishment for the same, then otherwise, yf this fine were remitted; and being also a favour wch he neu^{er} deserved, nor was neu^{er} thought mete to be remitted in Ireland nor here; for himself beinge here about 7 yeres past to sue for a remittall thereof, he was denied; whereby Her Highnes may not remitt, nor respitt the same now, having alrady bestowed it. Thus refferring both myself and the whole state of my cause to yo^r Lo^p's honourable considera^ton, praing God to preserve and kepe you in health I humbly take leue this 29th of Nov^r. 1594. Yo^r. Lops allways most humble and bonden

“flor. M^cCARTHY.”

Barry, though his wits were not bright, nor his invention very fertile, was not yet at the end of his resources. Moreover, “the disgrace put upon him” had given new energy to the turbulent spirits of Munster, who, by their excesses, furnished him with new grievances, all of which, as his wont was, he laid to the charge of Florence. Donal the bastard was again upon the prowl! He and

his loose swords had broken out anew from their bogs and fastnesses, and were behaving in the most "unjust and unchristianlike manner to Nicholas Browne, spitefully killing his horses and cattle, taking preys of his Town, and making his life miserable;" and Browne, again at the head of his Hoggsden chivalry, was daily sallying forth in pursuit of the fierce destroyer! When the Brownes took a lease of the lands of Mac Carthy Mor, they should have leased together with them the services of the hereditary Bard of the Sept, for this feud was worthy of the inspiration of Fyn O'Daly; nay, not an unbecoming theme for the harp of Oisín of the Fians. In default of professional song, Nicholas Browne was compelled himself to chaunt the incidents of that rural contest, and the reader will admit that he has done so in language highly creditable to his feeling and genius. But vain were all attempts against Donal! he was neither to be starved nor caught:—"The ordinary food of these rebel Irish," the minister was informed by one of his English correspondents, "is a kind of grass; neither clothes nor houses do they care for; hounds can scarcely follow them, much less men." The man was not yet in Munster who was to capture or tame that fleet-footed outlaw. In a fit of despondency, opportunely timed with Barry's renewed attack upon Florence, Browne betook himself to write the chapter of his wrongs to Lord Burghley. Nothing more spirited has been penned by any of that Minister's correspondents than the description of the chase, "through woods, boggs, rocks, mountains, and glains," after Donal; nor more touching than the tremulous cadence in which that high spirit declares that "now at last tidings of a worse matter have reached him! A new adversary had sprung up—one Finin, calling himself Florence—a man who, by great promises, had induced all the Mac Carthys in Cork and Kerry to make a common purse to aid him in his projects." If Nicholas Browne felt for a moment the despondency he so pathetically described—if he at that time of writing contemplated waiting but for a gentle *caveat* to realize what stock Donal had left him, and to be gone—he greatly wronged his own chivalrous spirit. He had inherited his seignior, he had fought many a spirited fight to hold it, he would yet stand many an onslaught from the freebooters who surrounded him, he would transmit that seignior unimpaired to his son, Valentine II.; and by sword and pike, the means by which he had held it, would it continue to be held to the fourth generation. This noted family feud lasted nearly half a century; many of its vicissitudes were happily veiled from the vision of Nicholas Browne, who, when his letter was sealed and sent, and his heart unburdened, took fresh courage, and was reconciled to his lot. And now for the misdeeds of Donal, whose fortune it was to have as many biographers as there were English functionaries and English letter-writers in his native land!

"1594. *December 4.* NICHOLAS BROWNE to Lo: BURGHELEY.

"It may pleas yo' good Lordship to understand the uniust practizes, and unchristianlike y^t hath bein used against me by the Clancarties, since first my father had his signorye allotted him in those lands of O'Donoghmoor, and Coshmainy; the w^h lands uppon the Earl of Clancartyes surmises (after my father had drawne many menne over to his great charge) we were dispoest by derection of Hir Ma^{ty}, notwithstanding his title was^t as good thereunto, as to any other of the excheted lands throughout all Mounster, w^h since, I have found to my cost and hinderaunce: for wheras the Earle produced wittnes here to prouue the freholders of those lands to be his tenants at will, w^h bare proff being accepted of him, we thereupon, by way of morgage, agreed wth him for those lands, and Hir Ma^{ty} graunted us Hir gracious pattent for the reversion of them after his deceas; w^h morgage, when I thought quietly to enioy, I found many parcells of those lands possest by divers gentlemen, by vertue of estates made unto them by the freholders, and by law cannot be recovered from them; the triall whereof hath cost me very much; yea, and the Earl himself doeth detain som part of them by device of former conveyance from the freholders to other men, yet he continuing in the possession of the same; whereby yo' Honnor may perceive how hard an estate I rest in. Hir Ma^{ty}'s title, w^h was iust, she hath not defended; and the Earl's title, w^h was none but fals suggestions, being brought to the true triall, falls out to be of no validity, to my undoing.

"Besides these crosses his bastard sonn continuing still in rebellion, hath cruelly murdered my men, spitefully killed my horses and cattel, tooke praye of my Towne, and laid divers malicious plottes for mine own life, w^h other men thinks to be donn by the procurement of his father, to drive me, by the terror of such dealings, to forsake my lands; I iudg more charitably; yet may not trust him, for the like outrages have not benn used to any of the English inhabitaunts and undertakers that are his neighbors; but those courses, and God will! shall not serve his tourne (though my life be miserable in the mean time), for I have followed him through woods, boggs, rocks, mountains, and glains, wth compaynes of men, to my great charge and pains (as all the English and Irish in the province can testify); I have drawen his followers from him; divers have I killed; and brought some to the triall of the lawe; and lastly, though my fortune hath not extended to the getting of his head (whereof I do not despaire); yet I have reduced him (being principally assisted by the good countenance of worthy Sir Thomas Norreys) from three score, to himself and two others, comfortles and frendles. All these devices and wrongs, my good Lord, since I have borne their chefest heat, I am the better armed, and animated to oppose myself against any second attempt, if the like shold happen; but now I am enformed, and certainly knowe, of another course, w^h terrifies me very much, as tending to my overthrow, and may prouue no less daungerous to the rest of the undertakers, w^h is one Finin M^cCarty, who calls himself Florence, who by reason of the late troubles, and disgrace he procured to the Lord Barry, hath drawne such an opinia amongst the Irish of him, that the Barron Couray hath, at his last being there, givin him possession of his chefe House of Down M^cPatrick, an auncient Fort against the Irishry; and as many

as are his frends in the countrys of Desmond, Carbry, Muskry, Dowalla, have, as yt were, erected a comon purse to further him to those great matters w^h he promises them, and assures himself. The Lord Coursy's land he enioys as much as was in the old Baron to give him. To be Lord of Carbry he doubts not of, as belonging to him by custom of Tanistry. But his great matter is to be M^cCarty More, w^h by one of two means he will seek to procure; the one is by his wife's right, w^h can be no more in hir then was in hir uncle's daughter and heir; this Earl's eldest brother, who never had any part of the contry allowed hir; nor indede had any woman before hir amongst the Irishry : the other (if he dares not seu for so great a matter as the Earldom), yet sute must be made eyther by his Father in law, his wife, or himself, for thre of M^cCarty Mores houses, the w^h if any of the Clancartyes be in possession of, they will ever be in hope to recover the whole jurisdiction that M^cCarty More hath had in times past; and if it were but in right of those mannors, to whom the cheif rents and sarvices (w^h are M^cCartys greatest living) were alwayse due. The said Florence hath also brought over, upon his charges, one of the O'Mahownes, a pore man, and of no rekonng in the country, to serve for Kinalmeaky (the signory allotted to Mr. Beecher and others,) and upon recouery thereof is to have the one half, as is generally reported, and thereupon divers of Clan Donell Ro, Rosbrin, Clan Dermond, w^h many others from all parts, will deal w^h him in like case; to the great disturbance of such undertakers, and the Quenes fermours, as are planted upon those places. I protest to yo^r Honor that the great reports that the Irish makes of him in Desmond hath kept English away from planting themselves under me, and those that ar already w^h me are in fear that all there former endeavors haue bein in vain, and the rather for that the said Florence and his wife having benn at variaunce, and seperated almost all the last year; the cause of there falling out, as she hath reported, was whither his followers, or hirs, shold inhabit my lands, w^h makes me somewhat jealous of the man; for I knowe him to be ambitious and subtle, *a great briber to his power*, frended by som great menn *of Irland*, who have procured him favourable countenance w^h som *of great calling* in England, an importunate sutor, and indede the onely daungerous man in Mounster, having benn brought up, and *in league w^h James Fitz Morrice*, Docter Saunders, Sir William Stanley, and Jaques; wherefore I most humblie entreat yo^r Honnor (upon whose help I onely relye) to tender my case but thus much, that eyther you will prevent his rising, whose present Estate can never preiudice anie of Hir Mat^{ies} loyal subiects, nor be able to better yt, w^hout speciall favor to countenance him from hence, or else, if there be anie intention to rayse him, and the House of M^cCarty More (w^h by God's handywork is now utterlie extinkt) in the hart of whose countrie, most daungerously, I dwell; that you wold in compassion give me an honourable caveat whereby I may in som good time, recall me and mine, w^h our lest damages, from a place so perilous; and we (who ar a great many) shall be bound daly to pray for long continuance of Yo^r Honors life. Thus most humbly craving pardon for my tedious boldnes, I leave Yo^r Hon^r to the tuition of ThAlmighty.

"Your Honor's most humble and daly Orator,

"NICH^s BROWNE."

Nicholas Browne pleaded earnestly, but not ingenuously. He knew that the condition of Florence's wife was utterly unlike that of her uncle's daughter, to which in his letter, he had compared it; the latter had not succeeded to the lands of Mac Carthy Mor because her father had left a brother, to whom, by tanistry, the chieftancy and the lands belonged; nor would Lady Ellen have succeeded either, had the Earl her father left brother, nephew, or cousin male, to survive him, and had it not pleased the Sept to elect her husband as their chief, in default of heirs male of the elder branch of the Mac Carthys. The reader will shortly have an opportunity of seeing how differently Florence, or his legal advisers, handled the question thus incidentally opened. However, this spirited production was not without its effect upon the mind of the Lord Treasurer; certain passages, as the reader will have noticed, are in *italics*, in the original they are underlined, and, doubtless, by the pen of Burghley himself. It is interesting to remark to which of the sentences of his correspondent he attached the most importance. All the able exposition of Browne's wrongs and rights, all his lamentation over the evil treatment he had experienced in Desmond, passed without eliciting any mark of ministerial sympathy; even the spiteful conduct of Donal, and the wonderful chase of that evil spirit through the wild scenery so suitable for the abiding place of outlaws and murderers, appears to have possessed little interest for the Lord Treasurer. But the passages concerning Florence evidently sank deeper into his mind; they were of a nature sufficiently suggestive to revive all the suspicions of which he had been the object for the last ten years; they were made, also, with as much assurance as the accusations of Barry. The writer declares that he *knew* that Florence was "ambitious and subtle;" this, doubtless, Lord Burghley knew also; it needed no underline to impress it upon his memory; but Browne *knew* furthermore, that he was "a great briber to his power—that he was friended by some great men in Ireland, and by some of great calling in England." These were daring assertions; and had the writer possessed the "prudence and wisdom" of Florence, he would scarcely have ventured to make them; they might one day require great courage—a quality in which, to say truth, Nicholas Browne was not deficient—in case those marks of the English Minister's admiration were meant to keep these passages in his recollection as well for Browne's elucidation, as for his own guidance. It is difficult to avoid believing what the writer declares that he *knew*. And certainly, Florence's repeated extrication of himself from situations full of danger, is more easily explained by this assertion of Browne than by any other means. Effusive and refreshing as this letter was, the mind of the writer was not yet sufficiently unburthened; the "expected greatness of" Florence Mac Carthy towered over his imagi-

nation, and appeared to him to cast a lurid shadow of coming peril over the state, of which the English authorities seemed fatally unobservant. The following letter was a fresh attempt to awaken the alarm of Lord Burghley. The map alluded to in it is said to be "wanting" amongst the State Papers; but in a collection of maps of the time there exists one, probably more correct than any which Browne could have got up at short notice, of the Earl of Clan Care's Country: if to this had been appended a map of Mac Carthy Reagh's country, the fertile and far-spreading plains of Carbery, and to both a list of the "rights of chieffry," and especially the number of fighting men due as *rising out* from these countries to their chiefs, the alarm-cry of Browne, at seeing all this greatness about to fall to a man whom he declared to be in heart a rebel, might justly seem to the Privy Council a warning not to be neglected.

"1594. Decr. 21. NICHOLAS BROWNE to the LORD TREASURER.

"My very good Lord. I was bold, the last day, to trouble yo^r Hon^r w^h the relation of the troubles I haue endured amongst the Clancartys; and now that those being past, newe fears ariseth of the endeavors of Florence M^cCarty, and by his expected greatnes, wherefor that Yo^r Hon^r might the better concieve of the quantyty of the countrys w^h are like to be, as y^e were, subiect unto him, if he may enioy all that he promises himself, I haue drawne a mapp¹ w^h I humbly desire yo^r Hon^r to accept of the rudeness thereof; and thus, w^h my humble duty remembered, I ceas to trouble you.

"NICH^s BROWNE.

"Hogesden."

In spite of all, Florence had recovered the confidence of both the Cecylls, and continued to urge, with increasing vehemence, his attack upon his adversary, with an occasional blow, and a severe one, at Browne, who, since his disappointment with the Earl of Clancar's daughter, had given himself consolation by marrying Barry's niece. Quickly following upon Browne's able summary of his own grievances, and the misdeeds of Donal, was despatched another petition from Florence to the Lord Treasurer, which happily contained one passage which the Minister judged deserving of consideration. He underlined it, and it is probable that it went far to neutralize the accusations of Browne, and to turn back his suspicions upon the head of the accuser.

"1595. Jan^y. 11. To Lo: BURGHLEY.

"My very approved good Lord, my humble and most bonden dutie remembered. I can hardlie judge whether mine imprisonment and trouble for five or six yeares, to the losse of my living, which I was constrayned

¹ Wanting.

to lease and sell them (whereuntoe I was brought by such false and malicious informations of mine adversarie Barry, as he procured Sir Warham Salinger to prefer hither for him against me), was more hurtful, chargeable, troublesome, and damageable untoe me, or this Fyne of the said Barry's, which Her Majestie bestowed uppon me; who, onlie to delay the payment of the said Fyne, (which is all his intent and purpose) he hathe, for want of anie matter against me, forged, and alledged that all such Irishmen as went from hence beyond seas in seven or eight years (whose names he learned amongst his countrymen here) were sent by me to one Jacques, with whom I was onlie acquainted in Her Majestie's service, as I was with every other capten here, being contented to lose my life if ever I have seen him, or received one letter from him in two yeares, or thereabouts, before he went out of England; for all which matters having satisfied the Lord Deputie, and Vice President of Mounster, untoe whom they were referred, I came hither before Michaëlmas last, to satisfie your Lordship, and the rest of the council alsoe, in person for them; since which time I have alwaies waited here about your Lordship, and am readie to satisfie your Lordship and the rest, either for these, or anie other matters, that are delivered since by his nephew, Nicholas Browne, Sir Valentine Browne's son, who married his niece, and who is here for him, to prefer such devices as he sent by himselfe, and to him, to be preferred. Browne himselfe alsoe bing one who doeth not a little malice me, *by reason of my wife's father's lands, which he holdeth*; Wherefore I most humbly beseeche your Hon: Lordship to be a mean that I may be speedilie brought before the council for these matters, as soon as time serves, whereby I may not perish here for want of maintenance, having spent all that I got amongst my frends to bring this sute to an end in Ireland, and to come hither about it.

"Thus beseeching God to preserve your Lordship's health, I humbly take leve this xj Jan^r 1594.

"Your Lordship's most humble and bonden

"**MOR. M^cCARTHY.**"

In the printed catalogue of the MSS. preserved at Lambeth, it is asserted that Tome 626, a thick folio of pedigrees, is "in the handwriting of Lord Burghley;" this is erroneous; the writing is Sir George Carewe's;¹ but scattered through the Irish State

¹ Although entertaining no doubt whose was the handwriting of this volume, the author of these pages is able to present to his reader the more trustworthy opinion of a gentleman probably more familiar than anyone living with the writing of Carewe, and who has had numberless occasions of perusing also the writings of Lord Burghley. The authority in whom so much confidence is expressed is John Maclean, Esq., of the War Office, editor of "The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew," and of the

"Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew." It may be remarked that Mr. Maclean has appended to each of these volumes copious genealogical notes, evincing very great research, and written in a style singularly condensed and clear, which are admirable models of genealogical annotation. Mr. Maclean's opinion is sufficiently explicit and positive:—

"I remember," he writes, "having had some conversation with you respecting the handwriting attributed (by the

Papers there exists a multitude of genealogical scraps, written by Lord Burghley on the margins of letters, sufficient to prove that the Lord Treasurer, if not a lover of pedigrees for their own sake, was by no means insensible to the importance which might at any moment attach to them. The correspondents of the English Minister were constantly sending to him lists of "the descentes of the meere Irish," and "pedigrees of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Irish nation."¹ It is not then surprising that an assertion, however true, yet probably thrown out by Florence at random in one of his recent letters, "that Barry had no claim to the title and lands he held," and "that his birth was obscure," should have caught the attention of the Lord Treasurer, and that he should call upon the writer for proof of its truth.

By no man living, except perhaps Fyn O'Daly, the great bard of Munster himself, could such explanation have been so promptly furnished. Florence had cast this slur on the birth of Barry on the 11th of January; on the 15th, the pedigree of Barry Roe, of Barry Mor, of all the Barrys, was ready, showing how "James of the Rath in Ibowne (who not long before, in murdering of his cousin Redmund Barry, and his brothers, had made himself Lord of Ibowne, otherwise called Barry Roe's country), did by Treason get into possession of Barryscourt, which is the Lord Barry's chief house, and by strong hand dispossessed the Lady Catherine, wife to the now L^d Power; which castle and country he possessed during his life, calling himself Viscount of Buttevaunt, which title and possession David his son at this present doth enjoy, in prejudice of the right heirs of James Barry, the true and lawful Viscount Buttevaunt." Florence writes that "he sends enclosed" the information which Lord Burghley had required. The inclosure referred to is not to be found with the letter, nor is any trace of it discoverable at Lambeth; but in Carewe's collection of pedigrees,

'Lambeth Calendar') to Lord Burghley; and I have no hesitation in stating now, as I did then, that it is that of Carew. The handwriting of the latter is very familiar to me. I know also that of the former, and I cannot be mistaken. Whilst there is some general resemblance between the writing of the two, in detail there is a considerable difference. I am glad to be able to establish this fact; for Carew was a higher genealogical authority than Burghley, especially as relating to Irish families. Volume 635 of the same collection I am equally well acquainted with; the pedigrees therein are also in the handwriting of Carew."

¹ In the year 1601, a certain Richard Ha [dsor?], a lawyer, wrote to Sir Robert Cecyll:—" . . . I drew a dis-

course wch was presented by Capt^e fitz gerrald this last winter unto y^e ho: importing the genealogie of all the greates howses, and gentlem^es of the meere Irish, comonly called the Wyld Irish, wherein here lynage and discent frō the aun-cient Irish kings, and ther kyndred, and allyaunce one to another is sett forth." This discourse has, unfortunately, been lost sight of; it can scarcely be that a volume of so much value should have been allowed to perish. Attention is invited to the fact, that this work of Ha [dsor?] is not known to exist in any public library. If it be in any private collection, its owner would afford a gratification to very many of the descendants of these "Wyld Irish," if he would make known at least its existence.

in fol. 635 of his MSS., there is a copy of the Barry pedigree in Carewe's handwriting, introduced with these notable words:—"This Pedigree was given me by Florence Mac Carthy;" the one in Florence's handwriting is, as far as we know, lost; it was sent to Burghley, not given to Carewe. Surprising as it may appear that at the period those words of Carewe were penned—when Carewe's Presidency was over, and his victim was in the Tower—any literary courtesies could have passed between men circumstanced relatively as these men were, there is yet no doubting the truth of so positive an assertion; nor, indeed, is it the only instance in which Sir George Carewe availed himself of the unrivalled stores of national lore of the man whose fortunes he had so ruthlessly and so basely ruined; for in the pedigree of his own family he quotes matter derived from "a chronicle belonging to Florence." Certain it is, however, that Florence sent his account of Barry's family to Lord Burghley, and a fresh and bitter attack along with it; letter upon letter to the same effect followed; and it is astonishing that the Minister should not long since, were it only to withdraw himself from such a tempest of angry correspondence, have referred the matter to some tribunal for inquiry.

"1595. Jan^r. 15. To Lo: BURGHLEY.

"My humble and most bonden dutie remembered. I have according to yo^r Lo^r pleasure sent here inclosed the names of the last Vicounts of Buttiavañt, wth such issue as remaines of them, wherein I have alsoe made mençōn of the Barry Roes of Ibawne, otherwise called Barry-Roe's contre, and of James Barry, this supposed Lo: Barryes father, who descended of a bastard of Barry Roe's house, and contry; as also by what meanes the sayd James did attaine, first to Barry Roe's contry, and afterwards to the Lo: Vicount Barrymore of Buttiavaunt's contry, by whose son this Barry is fals and malicious informacōns (wch about the time of my mariadge he procured Sir Warham Salinger to preferr against me) I haue suffered aboue fve yeres imprisonment, to myne utter undoeing and the loss of my liuinge wch I was constraigned to lease and sell, to maintaine myself and my wife here in my sayd trouble; after the which having by yo^r Lo^r honorable meanes and furtherañces obtained of her Ma^{ty} to satisfie my creditors here, a Fine due unto Her Highnes of the sayd Barry, for the paiment whereof, the Lo: Deputie and counsell took sufficient assurance of him, wch notwithstanding he hath forfeited, and came hyther contrary tothe Vice President of Mounsters commaundment and theirs; who said (to delay paiment) all the Irishmen who had left Ireland were sent by me to Jacques, who being Sir Willeam Stanleyes Lieutenant in Ireland, I fell acquainted with him there in the last warres, having then (wth four or five hundred of myne owne men that folowed me) served against the Earle of Desmond, and Barry, who was with him; at which time I not onlie purchased the said Barry's illwill, but made acquaintance, not with Jacques onlie, but with all the captens in the same service, which is all that I had to do with Jacques, having (I protest) never seen

him in a year and a half or two years before he went from hence. All which matters, as the said Barry preferred here against me (whereupon he obtained letters for the possession of a small parcel of lands which the sheriff, by due course of law, and by the Lord Deputy and council and Vice President of Munster's several commandments, did extend, and deliver unto me, for the said fine), being by your Lordship and the rest of the council referred to the Lord Deputy Sir William Fitzwilliams, and to Sir Thomas Norreys, before whom I appeared, the said Barry being also come thither from his country, where he staid a good while after his arrival to seek proofs and witnesses, of all which matters (notwithstanding he was there in person to urge and prefer them), I have cleared myself, and satisfied for them all, both Sir Thomas Norreys, and the Lord Deputy who is here now, and to whose report I refer myself; whereupon the said Barry, having then no other way to delay payment (which is all his intent and desire), he promised to produce more witnesses in Munster, where he brought sometimes one mean ignorant knave or other of his own, other whiles he procured some of the country gentlemen to be sent for, who knew nothing of the matter; whereupon Sir Thomas (finding by them nothing worthy to bring me in question for it) wrote hither of all their proceedings; and afterwards, I, being desirous to satisfy in person for all those matters, your Lordship and the rest of the council, to whom they were first preferred, I came hither before Michelmas last, with Sir Thomas' favourable letters and passports; since which time I waited here for that purpose, and am ready to satisfy your Lordship and the rest, either for those, or any other matters that are delivered since by his nephew Mr. Nicholas Browne. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Honorable Lordship, whom I have always found my most approved good Lord and best freind (seeing I have no means to maintain myself after so many troubles (this fine having causet me above £300), to be a mean that I may be brought before the council for these matters, where I desire no other favour but what your Lordship shall judge my desert to be worthy of it. So beseeching God both to send, and preserve your Lordship health, I humbly take my leave this 15 Jan' 1594.

"**MOR. M'CARTHY.**"

The scruples of Barry touching his present obedience to the queen's order for the payment of his fine had been based simply upon his knowledge of Florence's unworthiness to have it; he had sent in his charges, and they had been replied to; but the matter was kept open for further charges, and further explanations. We are indebted to this dispute, tedious as the main subject of it had become, for more knowledge of the private life of Florence Mac Carthy than to any other incident of his career. Matters were looking unpromising for Barry and Browne, when the genius, apparently of the latter—for Barry had scarcely the resources of his nephew—opened a new subject of attack of a sufficiently hopeful appearance, but destined to a termination more disastrous for them than the old story of Jacques and Stanley. They had seen the necessity of strengthening and extending their alliance against their able and

vigilant opponent. It was not difficult to find men to join with them in any attempt to damage the character of a man whose prosperity must be their ruin. Amongst the many who, during Florence's imprisonment, had found means—the means were very simple, a body of the queen's soldiers allowed for the protection of undertakers—to help themselves to his lands, was a Mr. Rogers, who had with little ceremony bestowed upon himself no less than twenty-nine ploughlands. Florence was not likely to be long at liberty without seeking the recovery of 3190 acres of his patrimony, the precise amount appropriated by Rogers, hence was this gentleman ready for the alliance of Browne and his uncle. Since the death of Sir Owen Mac Carthy, Donal Pipy, now Mac Carthy Reagh, had groaned under the burthen of the bonds which a dozen years before he had signed to transmit Carbery after him intact to Florence; Donal, then, was also ready for any association that promised him relief. Out of these bonds arose the strategy of a new and loud-sounding assault. What influence Barry and Browne possessed with the Minister they had fully discovered; that Donal Pipy, and Mr. Rogers were likely to possess more, might be fairly doubted; but it so was that the last-named gentleman had espoused the daughter of "a reformed English highwayman," who—by one of those wonderful strokes of luck which leave it beyond doubt that the son of Maia, "*furax, et furum magister*," can at times get access to the wheel of fortune, and give it such a whirl as human eyes but seldom see—had become the Lord Chief Justice of England! and before this great legal and influential functionary was laid the family compact which was the great grief and the temptation of Donal. Sir John Popham readily consented to come to the rescue of the fair estate of his daughter's husband. All these gentlemen, it may be remarked, accustomed themselves to call the lands they occupied *their* lands! Browne called the lands of Balcabry and Molahuff *his* seigniory! Mr. Rogers, with as good reason, called the pleasant slice he had taken off the lands of Carbery *his* estate! A document bearing an alarming indorsement, and which is a pleasant specimen of the Lord Chief Justice's legal skill, but which was void of all entertainment to Florence at the time, resulted from this combination of many interests against him. It needed, indeed, much cunning and subtlety to be always on his guard against attacks so incessant, and so various! Florence's vigilance rarely failed him; before the legal document was ready, he had himself related and explained to Lord Burghley the entire matter of the bonds, as well as the motive of the Lord Chief Justice in assailing him.

The explanation given in the ensuing letter by Florence of the matter of these bonds, and of the custom followed by the Government of indemnifying the Tanist in cases where the actual chief

chose to avail himself of the Queen's invitation to surrender the sept-lands, and resume them to be held by English tenure, and with lineal succession, is interesting and instructive. The object never lost sight of by the Government of Elizabeth was "the dissipation" of the great Irish estates. It was the policy most clearly enunciated by Sir Henry Sidney, and continued to be the policy of the English Privy Council till every chieftain's estate was in fact dissipated. By no means could this dismemberment of Irish territories be more equitably effected than by the plan followed in some instances, and to which Florence offered contentedly to submit himself; this was by "dividing the countries amongst such individuals of the sept as stood within the range of succession to the captaincy by usage of tanistry." What effect resulted from the attempts of Donal Pipy to repudiate his bond, and how Florence fared as to his rights both to the captaincy and to the lands of Carbery, the reader will see in the sequel!

"1595. *March 21. FLORENCE to LO: BURGHELEY.*

"My humble and most bondē dutie remembered: Your Lo^m honourable and continuall fauours alwayes towards me, aswell in obtaininge Her Ma^m bountifull reward for my service, and Her Highnes gracious accepta^on thereof, myne enlargement out of the Towre where I was (to the loss of all my livinge wch I was constrained to morgadge, and sell) brought into six yers imprisonment and troble, by such fals and malicious accusa^ons as myne adversary David Barry, whom I offended in Her Ma^m service when he was a traytor wth the Earle of Desmond, procured Sir Warham Salinger to preferr against me; as also yo^r Lo^m honorable oppinion lately delivered to the Councell of such malicious informa^ons as the sayd Barry hath deuised against me, doth move me now in myne extreme miserie and greatest distress, being otherwise hopeless of any reliefe or comfort, to betake myself onely unto yo^r Lo^m as my most honorable patron and best frend; and perceiving lately that myne adversary being out of hope to hurt me wth his last deuices (som of those knaves for whom he accused me, being kild under Sir John Norreys in Brittain, and another retourned from thence hom into his contrey, as his Capten Petter Cripps and Sir John Norreys is soldiers can testifie), wch moved my sayd adversarys Barry and Donell Mc Carthy, alias Mac Carthy Reogh, havinge at the Lo: Chiefe Justice of Englands beinge in Ireland, procured his frendshipp against me, by meanes of his son in law M^r Rogers, and M^r Woorth, agent of his, who in myne absence dispossess me, and one of my men, wrongfully of 29 ploughlands, unto whom the sayd Barry and Mac Carthy, for want of other matters against me sent a Bond wherein Sir Owen Mc Carthy and I are bound not to hinder Donell Mc Carthy (who is now Mac Carthy Reough), by surrender or otherwise, of the seignorie of that countrey after Sir Owen's death. The sayd Donell himself being also bound to me and to Sir Owen's heires in like sorte, he being also the occasion of all that agreement, who when Sir Owen Mc Carthy, about 12 or 13 yeres past was determined to com hyther,

the sayd Donell gott him to enter into those covenants fearing lest that Sir Owen wolde surrender the Contrey wch he possest then, and convert the same to the use of him and his heires, of wch bond my Lo: Chiefe Justice (by their instructions and at their request) made now a great matter to Her Ma^m against me, who was never the auctor thereof, wherein I know not who I have offended, Her Ma^m the law, nor any body els; the sayd custome being not generally abolished by statute, nor forbidden any of my name in particuler; but a power onely geven to him that is in possession to surrender, and my father who succeded his elder brother, and Sir Owen, and this man, having enioyed the sayd contrey, all in Her Ma^m raighe by that custome: But yf Her Ma^m or yo^r Lo^p, and the rest of the Councell will at any time think fitt to suppress that custome, and to make a division of the countrey betwene us who are lawfully interested therein, as was don wth the Brenhy for the O'Reyllies, the Analy for the O'Farrells, Beare and Bantrie, and divers other countreyes, I shalbe contented to surrender my right, and putt in sufficient sureties to hold myself for ever satisfied wth such a porcón as shalbe by yo^r Lo^p and the rest, allotted unto me, so as myne adversary will do the like; and for that I rest here in a most extreme state having not (I protest) 3 ploughlands nor £3 rent any where. The fyne wch Her Ma^m bestowed upon me having also cost me £500, whereby my wife (being great wth childe) is constrained to go from place to place among my frends for want of meanes to live, wherefor I humbly besech yo^r Honorable Lo^p, as I have allwayes found you my most approved good Lo: and best frind, to extend your accustomed faour towards me now, in aquainting Her Ma^m wth the state of this matter, and the former matters wherby Her Highnes may be as well satisfied in them as yo^r Lo^p. Thus beseching God to preserve yo^r Lo^p health I humbly take leaue this 21 March, 1594.

"Yo^r Lops most humble, bondē

"and thankfull

"*MOR M^c CARTHY.*"

"1595. April 1. To the Right Hon: my very approved good Lo: the LORD BURGHLEY, Lord High Tre^r of England, &c.

"My very approved good Lo: My humble and most bondē dutie remēbered, I have, according to yo^r Lo^m pleasure sent hereinclosed the copie of the bond wherin Donell Pypy is bound to me, wch as I told yo^r Lo^p was don about 12 yeres past [1583], and new don, I protest by any compulsion of Sir Owē, but onely by the sayd Donell's meanes, who when Sir Owen was about to com hyther at that time the sayd Donell got him to enter into those covenants, fearing lest that Sir Owē wold surrender the contry wch he possest then; and where yo^r Lo^p hath enquired who was heir of the said contrey; as for my parte I know not a more lawfull heir then *myself*, seeing Law doth allow custome as well in Englande as in Ireland, and that custome hath bene ever inviolablie kept there, wch yf yo^r Lo^p and the rest of the Councell do think fitt to take any indifrent order for the contrey, yo^r Lo^p shall fynd me more conformable then Donell Pypy himsele or Dearmed Mc Carthy, or Donogh Oge Mc Carthy, or Donogh Mc Owen M^c Carthy or Florence M^c Owen, or any other of the Cept: assuring yo^r Lo^p that neyther they, nor the Councell

of Ireland, nor Governor of Mounster doth not think it to be any parte of yo^r Lo^p meaning to disherit *the whole Cept*, because *Donell Pypy* is the eldest brother's heir, being a thing that was never don in Ireland hytherto, For in Beare and Bantrye although Donell O'Sullivan was the eldest brothers heir, yet Sir Owen O'Sullivan's heir, being but the second brothers son hath the best parte of the contrie. In the Brenhy also wher custome was lately suppress, although Sir John O'Reylly was, in possession, O'Reylly, and the eldest brother, yet his owne second brother, Philip, and also Edmonde O'Reylly and Cahir O'Reylly have almost as good a porcōn to every of them as the sayd Sir John. Fergus M^c Bryen O'Farell being the eldest brother's heir having not so good a porcōn of the Analie as others of the Cept. Wherefore seeing this is but a device of myne adversaries to hurte me being a thing don manie yeres past by the whole Cept, and the sayd Donell Pypy himselfe being author thereof, and that I am ready to abyde the tryall of Law in Ireland for the whole matter, or els to surrender my right into yo^r Lo^p hands, and to submitt myself to yo^r Lo^p and the rest of the Councell's order, I humblie besech your Hon. Lo^p, as I have allwayes found you my most approved good Lo: and frend, to satisfie Her Ma^{ty} both in this, and in the rest of their deuces, for the whch I shall (as I have ever had cause) rest most bound to pray for yo^r Lo^p.

"And even soe I humblie take leve this 1st April 1595.

"Yo^r Lo^p most humble and bonden,

"fflor : M^c CARTHY."

With the last two letters before him Lord Burghley was well prepared for the reception of the formidable "report" which the allies, Barry, Browne, Donal Pipy, Rogers, and Worth, and the Lord Chief Justice of England, had at last launched against the owner or heir of so many seigniories and lands which these men coveted :—

"1595. July 8. *Report on FLORENCE, supposed by POPHAM.*

"Touching Florence M^c Carthy, wherby he is deemed the dangerousest man of all the Irish nation.

"—— he hathe bene holden to be a most connyng and subtil peon, and at my being in Ireland was esteemed to be mere Spanyshe. *He was combyned with Desmond in hys rebellion, and hadd prepared forces to have joyned with that party in accion*, but was stayed by the meanes off Donell Mc Carthy (now Mc Carthy Rewe of Carbery) and off one Randall Oge as the same Donell and others affirmed to me in Ireland. *Imediatly before the Spanyshe ptended Invasyon this Florence deptyd into Ireland wth yo^r Ma^{ty} gude grace & Favour*, but psentlie upon hys comyng thyther, he married the Daughter and heire to the Earle off Clancarre beinge Mc Carthy More, and the cheiff of all the Mc Carthyes, and then gotte from that Earle one of the cheiff places of strengthe in all Desmond, and at that very tyme alsoe gotte from Sir Owen Mc Carthy the old Hedd off Kynsale, being holden a place off the greytst strength in all Mōnster, and both these places most tending upon Spayne. At that very tyme also ther passed curriers and messengers

*betwene thys Florence and Jaques that notable Traytor, as both the Lo: Barry and Donell Mc Carty then informed me; and as yt might appeare by my Lord Treasurer's speches, Patryck Collene that was sent over by Jaques to have kylled yo^r Majestie had heretofore served Florens M^c Carty; and yt may welbe supposed that this Patryck Collene was the man that was the curryer betwene Florens M^c Carty and Jaques, when Donell Mc Carthy (who onely ought to enioy Carbry by Letters Pattents from King Henry VII) was put out thereof by Sir Owen M^c Carthy, the same man, durying the nō age of the said Donell, the said Sir Owen through hys greatness forced Donell at hys full age to enter into great bands (I saw a copy of that band) to pmytt Carbry to goe in Tanestrye according to the Irish costome, and not according to the Letters Pattents, wherby Florens M^c Carty expecteth certenlie to be Mc Carty Rewe next after the death of this Donell: So by these meanes the said Florens mytbe both *Mc Carty more* and *Mc Carty Rewe*, and therby become farre greater in Munster then ever was Desmond, and greater then any man in all Ireland, that hath ben in this age, for O'Sulyvan More and O'Sulyvan Bere they do depend on Mac Carthy More; The O'Driscoes do depend upon Mac Carthy Rewe: The Lords off Muskry and Duallow being both great territories are off the Mc Cartyes, and depend upon that cheiff house, and so do diuers other pettie Lords of smaller terrytories all wch do lye, the one upon the other from Cork above sixty myles together westward upon the very uttermost pts next towards Spayne, The more he ptendeth to pvent the greatnes off others in Ireland the more (in respect off the pmisses) yt may be doubted that yt ys but an ambitious plott in tyme to mak his own advancement the more certen and the gretter. Yt ys to be noted that the Mc Cartyes do ptend to come lynally from that King off Munster that was expelled upon the conquest of Ireland."*

How so shrewd a man as Sir John Popham should have lent himself to the adoption of accusations and assertions so nonsensical, on the mere information of Barry and Donal Pipy, both of whom perfectly knew their untruth and their absurdity, is surprising! Fortunately for Florence, either by the power of his friends at Court, or his position in his own country, he was lifted beyond the reach even of the Lord Chief Justice! Could that fierce and iniquitous judge have placed him at the bar of his own court, Barry and his nephew might have returned in peace to Ireland, secure against any further vexation from their adversary. Popham, in the days of his prosperity, had by some admirer of himself, or his luck, been styled "*a reformed highwayman*." He had been a thief in his boyhood; for the first rudiments of morality he had received from the Gipsies, who began by stealing *him*; he had, indeed, as his encomiast observes, been a highwayman in early manhood; but he had been also a "gambler," and a "drunkard!" Of reformation of these sins or infirmities, the less that is recorded, the more is the room left for hope to our charity! But, alas! that the exactness of historic truth should be conjured away from notice by the magic of this friendly epigram! As well might it be said of a certain Lord

President of Munster, a contemporary of Popham, that he was "a reformed murderer." In the long career of these men, traces of reform are no where discoverable! The one man stole whenever opportunity offered him to steal, as Florence had long since discovered; the other murdered again and again, as the reader will see, and as Florence was also very nearly discovering to his cost! His great address preserved his property from the reformed thief! his great prudence and wisdom—they called it his cunning—his life from the reformed murderer! Knowing the character of Popham, even as a reformed man, and the great motive he had for the ruin of Florence, we may be surprised that the charges which he had been so long preparing should be so tame, and contain so little of novelty! To assert that Florence had been "an abettor of Desmond's rebellion, and only prevented from openly joining him by the loyal persuasions of Donal Pipy!" was to betray an amount of ignorance of the public transactions of his time sufficient to cast discredit upon any statement he might make. Florence "had served for eight years, with the *Queen's commission*, against the Earl, and received Her Majesty's approbation, and many favours, for his zeal and loyalty," as was well known to the veteran Ormond, who had commanded Her Majesty's forces through the many years the rebellion lasted. The story of the bonds entered into between Donal, Florence, and Sir Owen M^cCarthy, was already explained; a copy of the document was in the hands of Lord Burghley, and Popham's malignant misrepresentation of the transaction harmless! The remainder of his charges were but the faded calumnies of Florence's intimacy with Cullen, Stanley, and Jacques; and his warnings were but the perils foreseen in the vision of St. Leger, many years before, and recorded in his tracts. Such, however, as they were, the Lord Chief Justice laid them before the Privy Council; and Her Majesty had thus a fresh witness that Florence was "a most cunning and subtil man;" and a fresh warning to look well into what hands had fallen "The old Hedd of Kynsale."

(To be continued.)

ON A BOULDER WITH PRESUMED PAGAN CARVINGS AT CLONFINLOUGH, KING'S COUNTY.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B., M. R. I. A.

THE attention of archæologists has been of late much fixed on presumed primæval incised markings, or carvings, found on the surfaces of natural rocks in these islands, examples of which, occurring in Argyleshire, have been engraved in our "Journal," Vol. IV., new series, p. 382. An oral communication was addressed to the Royal Irish Academy by Dean Graves, in February, 1860, in which he described certain rock-carvings occurring in Ireland, and propounded a theory to explain their meaning. ("Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. vii., pp. 276-7); but as the communication has not, it is to be regretted, been printed as yet *in extenso*, those who did not enjoy the good fortune to be present at its delivery have no means of judging whether the rock carvings discovered by Dr. Graves are similar, or even analogous, to those occurring in Scotland and the North of England.

Irish archæologists have long been familiar with markings extant, not, it is true, on the surface of the natural rock *in situ*, but yet so far, in this respect, analogous to those just alluded to, as that they are found carved on the weatherworn and undressed surfaces of boulder stones used in the construction of the passages and chambers found within Irish sepulchral mounds, and notably in the great mounds of New Grange and Dowth, on the Boyne. These markings present characteristics readily distinguishing them from the rock markings of the North of England, and Scotland: one of the chief of which is that whilst the circular incised figures, which form the bulk of the latter, are concentric with a central cup-like hollow, and a channel passing through the concentric circles, the carvings at New Grange and Dowth are as a rule spirals,¹ without the central hollow or intersecting channel, and are associated with fern-leaf patterns, and also with lozenge, zigzag, and chevron-like markings, which are analogous to the ornamentation of the fictile sepulchral vessels occurring in these islands, generally supposed to be Celtic, and the massive penannular rings and flat *lunule* of fine gold, so many examples of which have been found in Ireland. By the kindness of Messrs. McGlashan and Gill, I am enabled to present to the reader, in the accompanying Plates, some of the illustrations which accompany Sir William Wilde's description (the best

¹ The exceptions to this rule are seen in the occurrence of some few concen-

tric circular markings, but without the central cup and channel.

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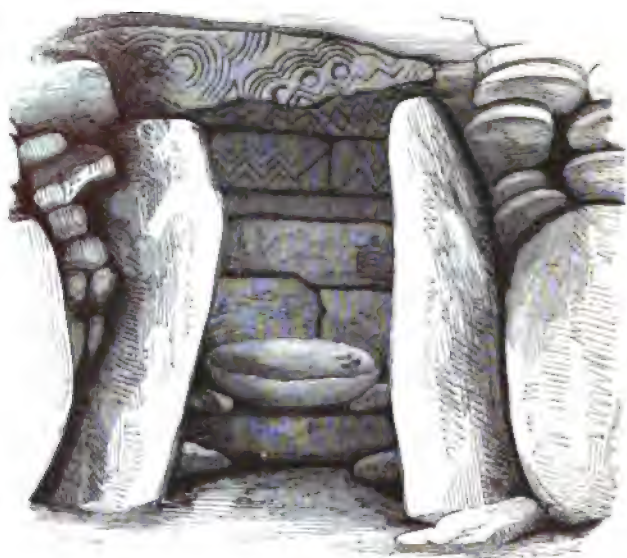


Fig. 1.

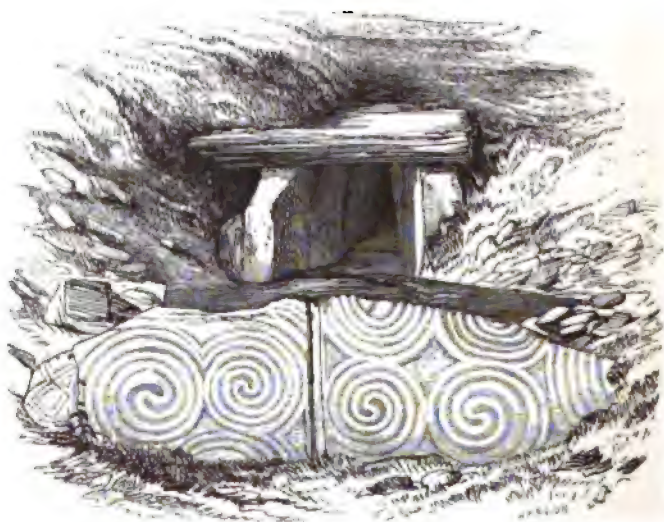


Fig. 2.

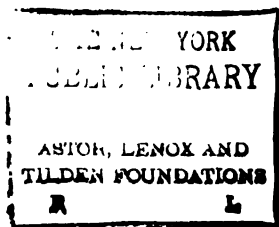




Fig. 1.

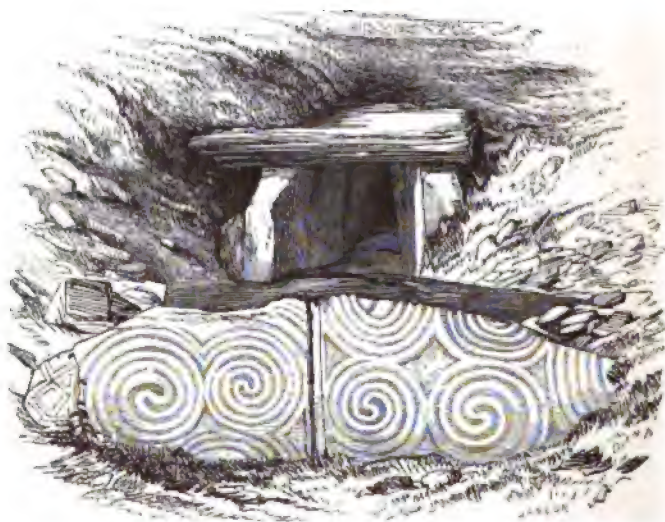


Fig. 2.

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Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

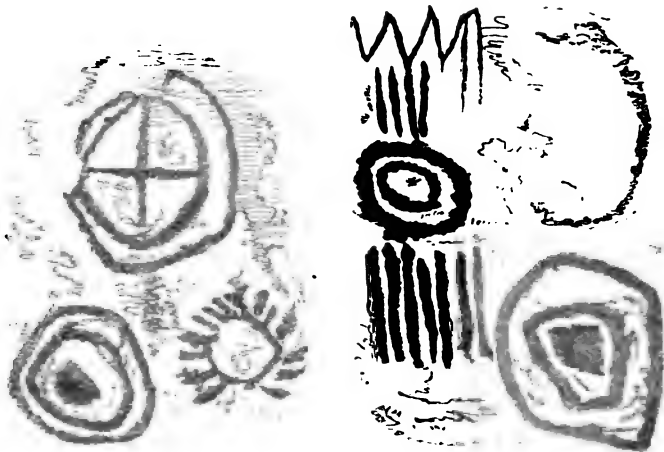


Fig. 5.

and fullest extant), of New Grange and Dowth, in his "Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater," pp. 189-204. Of these, Plate I., figs. 1-2, represent the present entrance, and the eastern recess of the central chamber of New Grange. Plate II., fig. 3, represents chevron carvings from the western portion of the interior of the same; and fig. 4, one of the fern-leaf markings from the western recess. But the most singular thing about these carvings, and one that bears somewhat more directly on the subject of the present paper, is, that they seem, in some instances at least, not to have been originally made for the purpose of ornamenting the great sepulchral structure¹ in which they are now found, as is proved by the occurrence of the markings on the surfaces of the stones now concealed from view, and this in portions where it would be impossible to carve them after the erection of the structure.² In corroboration of my own experience I may quote Sir William Wilde's observations on the subject.

"We found," he says, "that these carvings not only covered portions of the stones exposed to view, but extended over those surfaces which, until some recent dilapidation, were completely concealed from view, and where a tool could not have reached them; and the inference is plain, that these stones were carved prior to their being placed in their present position, perhaps were used for some anterior purpose. If so, how much it adds to their antiquity! . . . The eastern jamb of the chamber opposite the entrance has fallen inwards, and recently exposed a portion of the under surface of a great flag, which is now, for the first time since the erection of the building, exposed to view. This flag has, like most of the other stones here, a sort of skin, or brownish outer polish, as if water-washed. Now, in all the exposed carvings upon the other stones, the indentures have assumed more or less of the dark colour and polish around; whereas in this one the colour of the cutting and track of the tool³ is just as fresh as if done but yesterday."—*Beauties of the Boyne, &c.*, pp. 199-200.

In the neighbouring mound of Dowth the stones forming the chambers are also full of carvings, some of them of a similar character, and many also on the concealed surfaces of the stones. Sir William Wilde observes, however, that—

"Many of the carvings, . . . differ somewhat from those at New Grange. We find here . . . a number of wheel-like ornaments and concentric circles, and others with lines radiating from a point; while some very much resemble the Ogham character, consisting of short straight parallel lines."—*Id.*, p. 207.

¹ In some recent numbers of "The Builder" the theory is put forward that New Grange was intended for magical rites; or, as the writer expressed it, was a "Sorcery Hall." It is not worth while losing space to refute this baseless theory.

² This peculiarity is observable in the

carvings on analogous structures in Brittany. See covering stone, Table des Marchands, engraved by Mr. Ferguson, "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. viii., Plate xxviii.

³ The "track of the tool" here alluded to, proves it to have been a pointed instrument, like a millstone pick.

The foregoing are almost the only examples of carved megalithic chambers known to Irish antiquaries up to the year 1864, when a new light of the most important kind broke on the archaeological world. The credit of this discovery is entirely due to Mr. E. A. Conwell, of Trim, a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and also of our own Society—a most indefatigable student of the past. But I shall best lay before the Members the account of this startling find¹ by quoting a portion of a letter communicated to “The Meath Herald” of 21st October, 1865, by Mr. G. V. Du Noyer, M. R. I. A., who has been present with Mr. Conwell in most of his subsequent explorations of the tumuli, and whose accurate and facile pencil has portrayed them, both internally and externally.² It runs as follows:—

“Slieve-na-Caillighe, or the Hill of the Hag or Witch, comprises the range of hills, which attain to nearly 1000 feet in height, overlooking the demesne of Loughcrew and the plains of Clonabreany from the north, and the valley of the River Blackwater, for the distance of about six miles to the east of Oldcastle, from the south. This ridge consists of three well-defined summits, the most westerly being known as Cairn Bane. These summits are occupied by groups of ancient Celtic Pagan sepulchral cairns, each containing chambers formed by large flags set on edge and rough pillar stones, principally of sandstone and calcareous grit. Originally each of these was roofed in by large slabs of dry masonry, the stones overlapping each other till a rude beehive-formed chamber was constructed, the dome being closed in by a single flagstone. Access to these chambers was by a narrow passage, roofed with flat stones, and usually facing to the east. When the dome and passage were completed, the whole was covered up so as to form a large conical mound of broken stones, around the outer base of which rows of large flags were placed on end, thus forming a rude pyramid, visible for miles around.

“During the early part of last year the attention of Eugene Conwell, Esq., M. R. I. A., of Trim, was directed to these cairns; accordingly, at the expenditure of much private time, and of labour that a less energetic person would have shrunk from, he explored the mountain, and kindly reported to me that he had discovered a Celtic necropolis in the county of Meath. After many days spent in almost unaided researches in two of the cairns whose chambers had been exposed, Mr. Conwell succeeded in making rubbings of nineteen carved stones, and rough plans of the

¹ Even on the Townland six-inch Ordnance Map of the district the surveyors did not mark these primæval remains. It evidently seems as if no one had the curiosity to examine the groups of cairns, till Mr. Conwell discovered them.

² It is, I understand, the intention of Messrs. Conwell and Du Noyer to offer the results of their joint labours to the Royal Irish Academy. I feel sure that national body will see the great impor-

tance of affording the full illustrations which such a work imperatively requires. But if it unfortunately happens that the funds placed at the Academy's disposal are too small to enable it to do so, I trust these gentlemen will appeal to the public. I feel quite certain that the archaeologists of Great Britain and Ireland would give ample support to any project calculated to make worthily known this most important discovery.

various groups of cairns on the three summits; with these materials in hand, he read papers on the subject before the Royal Irish Academy in May and November, 1864, parts of which were published in their 'Proceedings;' and thus the interesting discovery he had made became generally known to the archæological world.

"With an enthusiasm that deserves all praise, Mr. Conwell, not satisfied with the partial exploration of what he then knew to be a mine of pre-historic antiquarian wealth, brought the matter prominently before the lord of the soil, James Lennox Naper, Esq., D.L., of Loughcrew; and he found no difficulty in enlisting the enlightened sentiments of that gentleman to bring to its proper conclusion the work thus happily begun, by a systematic exploration of every tumulus on the range of Slieve-na-Caillighe. Mr. Naper's agent, Charles W. Hamilton, Esq.—a gentleman well known to science—was at once communicated with, and the work of exploration was shortly afterwards commenced. In the month of August last, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Conwell, and myself visited the place, and with Mr. Naper a plan of operations was decided on. In the following month Mr. Conwell undertook to inspect as many men as Mr. Naper would supply for the work, and see that the cairns were carefully opened, the contents of the central chambers cleared out, and any relics of antiquity which they might contain, secured.

"British archæologists owe their thanks to Mr. Naper for giving such material aid to the interesting work now so admirably completed; and—I write it advisedly—the antiquarian tourist may now study a series of Celtic sepulchral remains, which, in point of magnificence, number, and quaint ornamentation, surpass anything of the kind as yet discovered in Western Europe.

"In plan the chambers are for the most part cruciform, the shaft representing the entrance passage, and the termination of the arms, the small cists, from four to five feet square, arranged around the central chamber, which in one instance (at the Chair cairn) is octagonal. Almost invariably the mouth of the passage faces from E. to E. S. E.; and its position is marked by one or more large flagstones, placed at the outer periphery of the circle in such a way as to cut off a portion of it—a peculiarity of structure which was first noticed by Mr. Conwell.

"The strange style of ornamentation observable on many of the chambers or cists is apparently of three kinds—punched work, chiselled work, and scraped work (the first being the most common, and the last very unusual); and, though the carved stones exceed one hundred in number, there are not two decorations alike!

"In the cists which have been long exposed to the destruction of the atmosphere, the punched or other work is often much obliterated; but in those lately opened the ornamentations are as fresh as at the hour the rude Celt departed with superstitious awe from the gloomy death chamber of his chief or king, and thanked his deity that the work was done with all honour to the mighty dead, and praise to the skilful architect and cunning sculptor.

"The ornamentation may be thus described:—Small circles, with or without a central dot; two or many more concentric circles; a small circle with a central dot, surrounded by a spiral line; the single spiral; the double spiral, or two spirals starting from different centres; rows of small lozenges

and ovals; stars of six to thirteen rays; wheels of nine rays; flower ornaments, sometimes enclosed in a circle or wide oval; wave-like lines; groups of lunet-shaped lines; pothooks; small squares attached to each other side by side, so as to form a reticulated pattern; small attached concentric circles; large and small hollows; a cup hollow surrounded by one or more circles; lozenges crossed from angle to angle (these and the squares produced by scrapings); an ornament like the spine of a fish with the ribs attached, or the fibre system of some leaf; short equi-armed crosses, starting sometimes from a dot and small circle, a circle with rays round it, and the whole contained in a circle; a series of compressed semicircles like the letters $\Pi\Pi\Pi\Pi$ inverted; vertical lines far apart, with ribs sloping downwards from them like twigs; an ornament like the fibre system of a broad leaf, with the stem attached; rude concentric circles with short rays extending from part of the outer one; an ornament very like the simple Greek fret, with dots in the centre of the loop; fine zigzag lines, and two parallel lines, on each of which, and pointing towards each other, is a series of cones ornamented by lines radiating from the apex, crossed by others parallel to the base—this design has been produced by scraping, and I propose to call it the *Patella* ornament, as it strikingly resembles the large species of that shell so common on our coasts, and which shell Mr. Conwell discovered in numbers in some of the cists in connexion with fragments of pottery and human bones; a semicircle with three or four straight lines proceeding from it, but not touching it; a dot with several lines radiating from it; combinations of short straight lines arranged either at right angles to, or sloping from, a central line; an ∞ -shaped curve, each loop enclosing concentric circles; and a vast number of other combinations of the circle, spiral, line, and dot, which cannot be described in writing.

“When decorative carving such as I have described is attempted by any semicivilized people, as the builders of these sepulchral cairns must have been, we naturally expect to find amongst it some representation of objects commonly known or familiar to the builders, as well as indications of their particular kind of worship—and, if they had a written language, some of its letters: with this idea in view, I have drawn and studied all the carvings in question; and I think, if we allow a little play to our imagination, without asserting anything as positive, and willing at once to admit that mere probability is the strongest reason we can adduce for our suppositions, that, with reference to the object of their worship, we may regard the carving described as a circle surrounded by short rays and enclosed in a circle as representing the sun; the flower-like ornament, also enclosed either in a circle or oval, portraying the moon; whilst the numerous dots and hollows, more or less deep, indicated the stars; for I should hesitate to suppose that the figure by which we now symbolize a star was used by the rude Celts of Pagan Ireland with the same signification as it had amongst the early Christians. To this ornament, therefore, we must attach some other meaning.

“It is remarkable that one of the groups of small hollows very closely resembles the constellation of the Plough—the similitude to which would be perfect if we omit one dot in the centre of what would be the southern side of the constellation, and suppose that the most westerly star was placed much too far to the north.

"In all rude Pagan nations we must expect that their religion would consist of two great elements, viz., the spiritual and the sensual; and, therefore, I was not surprised to find amongst these carvings what may possibly be emblems of Priapian import. With regard to letters, I find what I believe are short Oghamic inscriptions; and this is a point the determination of which is of the utmost importance, for up to the present the Ogham letter has been regarded as early Christian, while its occurrence here proves it to be Pagan. With reference to common objects, it is possible we may have the representation of the landing of a boat, with high poop and stern, against a cliff; the water is expressed by shallow scalloped lines, and the cliff by a single line passing beneath the scallops, and rising up in front of the boat. Another figure is like a deep wicker-work basket, with two slender handles, each ending in a loop; and another figure, which consists of a series of concentric lines, forming about two-thirds of the circle, and partially enclosing a small oval of two lines, would not inaptly represent an ancient wooden shield, like that preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, the small oval being the raised conical boss, while the concentric lines were the alternate concentric ridges and grooves with which the shield is ornamented.

"Another group of lunet-shaped lines might well be supposed to represent one of those gold torque or collar-like ornaments which are also in the Museum of the Academy. Another figure might be likened to a two-wheeled chariot, with a semicircular hood over it.

"I cannot detect the form of anything like a weapon, unless we suppose those small diamond patterns represent spears and arrow heads. . .

"With regard to the objects of high antiquarian interest which Mr. Conwell found during the course of his excavations, I shall leave them to him to describe—my object in putting together these remarks being a simple explanation of a most remarkable class of Celtic remains, the events which led to their discovery and exploration, and the part which I was fortunately enabled to take in the work.

"It is worthy of remark that some of the ancient British carvings on natural rock surfaces in Northumberland and the Eastern Borders are precisely similar to some of those discovered at Slieve-na-Caillighe; for example, the dot and circle, the incomplete concentric oval, the horse-shoe ornament, the simple dot, the \cap -shaped character, and several others."

A comparison of Mr. Du Noyer's description with the engraving from the mound at Dowth proves that the sculptures are cognate; but whether the Dowth and Slieve-na-Caillighe tumuli belong to a period earlier or later than that of the great mound of New Grange, remains to be proved. I should incline to the latter supposition myself, from the fact of the significance of the emblems being more easily guessed at.

Mr. Conwell has also discovered, within the last year, most interesting cognate carvings on the covering tone of a cromleac at Kathkenny, Co. Meath, an account of which Archæologists are eagerly expecting.

It will be remembered that many of the markings of New

Grange and Dowth are proved to have been carved before the stones were used for their present purpose. Now, if we find carvings on a natural boulder of unwrought stone, not in any way connected with a Christian use, or a Christian tradition, and not ostensibly intended to be used in any structure, although these carvings may not be strictly analogous to those at New Grange, Dowth, or Slieve-na-caillighe, yet we have some grounds to conclude that here is an example of a primæval custom which placed ready to the hand of the builders of these tumuli, materials ready carved, and possibly endowed with some kind of sanctity fitting them to do honour to a great chieftain's grave.

The example to which I allude is that of a natural boulder of arenaceous limestone, one of several studding the surface of one of those green eskers which form the characteristic feature of that portion of the King's County surrounding the Seven Churches of Clonmacnoise, swelling up like mounds of emerald from the sombre bosoms of the vast bogs which stretch away like seas to the distant horizon. The boulder which I am about to describe is situated close to the chapel of Clonfinlough, in the townland of the same name, and parish of Clonmacnoise. There is a small lake close at hand which gives its title to the townland, i. e., the "cluain, or sheltered pasture, of the White Lake." On both sides of the Shannon in this neighbourhood Christian tradition is busy with almost every stone, boher, and tougher, and close to this boulder, on the old boher which led to the Seven Churches of Clonmacnoise before the present road was formed, is a cairn called Leacht-na-Marra, or the Monument of the Dead, where, to the present day, when a funeral approaches that famed burial ground, the coffin is laid down, and stones thrown on the cairn.¹ But I was distinctly informed that no Christian rite was ever performed at the Clonfinlough stone: on the contrary, the name by which it is known—"The Fairy's Stone"²—points to a Pagan origin. Another legend terms it "The Horseman's Stone," and tells that a horseman gallops round it at certain times.³ Mr. T. L. Cooke, of Parsonstown—who is intimately acquainted with all the antiquities of the locality, and who some time ago kindly communicated to me a drawing of this stone—

¹ The tradition is that in the old times some of the "holy men" from the Seven Churches always attended here, and carried the corpse to its last resting place, about two miles distant, the laity not being allowed to enter the sacred precincts. The cairn-raising, however, is the remnant of a Pagan custom.

² Two remarkable earthworks, no mean engineering feats in their way, consisting each of a deep fosse and ram-

part drawn across the esker, not very far from this stone, are termed "The Witch's Hollows."

³ A similar legend is connected with a Pagan burial mound lately opened near Shlabh Kieita, Co. Wexford: long before it was known that a stone chamber containing two skeletons was enclosed by it, the peasantry used to tell of a horseman galloping round, and vanishing into the tumulus.

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appends to his sketch the Irish title *Una móre*; but this name seems now forgotten—at least, I could not learn, during a recent visit of several weeks to the locality, that it was now known to be connected with the boulder in question.

The Clonfinlough boulder presents a flat surface, and is of irregular form; its extreme measurements being 9 ft. 9 in. by 8 ft. 3 in.; it slopes to the south, and at the western side the sward had grown over a portion of it. The other boulders occurring on the esker are studded over with cup-like hollows, evidently caused by the solvent property of rain water retained in certain natural irregularities, which were thereby deepened, and assumed the artificial aspect which they now present. The accompanying Plate, drawn accurately to scale by my friend Mr. G. V. Du Noyer, gives an excellent idea of the carvings which cover the entire of the surface of the "Fairy's Stone;" and one cannot escape the impression that many of the cup-like hollows which enter into the several groups of carvings were the natural results of the lodgment of rain water, perhaps deepened, and in some cases others added to complete the figures; as, for instance, two resembling a sun with its attendant planets, and another bearing a striking likeness to the constellation of the Plough. In other cases these hollows have been connected by incised lines in the form of crosses¹; or taken advantage of to indicate the pommels of rudely marked daggers; or they have been elongated, and, by the connexion of two of them, made to resemble the impressions of the human foot,² of which several occur on the stone.³ But the most singular markings on the boulder are representations of the ancient Irish ring-brooch;⁴ some with a knob on top of the acus, as frequently occurs in extant specimens; others being flat at top, and

¹ Crossed lines are not necessarily Christian crosses. I believe that in this instance they have nothing to do with Christianity.

² These foot marks would seem to indicate that this boulder may have served as an inauguration stone at some remote period.

³ In the "Essai sur les Dolmens," by the Baron de Bonstetten, Geneva, 1865, it is stated that "near to Vannes, in one of these sepulchral chambers discovered by M. Louis Galles, one of the upright slabs supporting the covering stone bears the effigy of two human feet as viewed from beneath; and at St. Sulpice-sur-Rille (department of the Orne), a supporting stone of a Dolmen has three small crosses incised on it ('gravé en creux'), and arranged in a triangle." These facts are singularly interesting, as bearing on the question of the migration of early races

from central Europe, and, when taken in conjunction with other facts, point to a certain connexion between the primitive races of Europe more wide-spread than we have hitherto been inclined to suppose.—G. V. D.

⁴ Carvings of personal ornaments and arms are not uncommon on primæval monuments. Mr. Du Noyer has identified representations of our gold lunets on the Sliabh-na-Caillighe tumuli; and Mr. Samuel Ferguson has engraved in the eighth volume of the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy" (pp. 398-405, and 451-455), the representations of shields and stone hatchets, carved on the stones of the primæval sepulchral monuments of Mane Nelud, Butte de Cæsar, and Table des Marchands, at Locmariaker, and the tumulus in l'Isle Longue, Sea of Morbihan, Brittany.

seeming to represent the looping of the acus over the flat bar of a half-moon ring. Of both these classes specimens will be seen in the enlarged representation of a portion of the surface of the stone given on the Plate, whilst other instances will also be found on the left side of the general view. It only remains for me to add, that the carvings appear to have been formed by a rude pointed tool or pick, and are on an average about an inch deep.

I am not myself aware of the existence of any other example analogous to the Clonfinlough stone; but Mr. Cooke has sent me a sketch of an incised stone near Cranna, Co. Galway, called by the peasantry *Clot a Siḡ cōpaḡeac* or the "stone of the fruitful fairy." This Fairy stone is a boulder of very irregular form, measuring 46 inches by 32 inches; it presents the waterworn hollows already described, but they are of a larger size; one or two well marked dagger-like figures, and crosses similar to those represented in the Plate, occur on this stone. There are also V-shaped markings, but no footmarks or ring-brooch carvings.

Thomas Dineley, in his "Irish Tour," made in the reign of Charles II., now in course of publication in our "Journal," states (p. 272, *supra*), that a stone near Birr, or Parsonstown, was called the "Navel of Ireland." Mr. Cooke supplied a note (p. 289) on this statement of Dineley's, to the effect that at the spot indicated by Dineley, *i.e.* about a quarter of a mile from Parsonstown, on the road to Dublin, there stood, about thirty years ago, a globular-shaped limestone boulder, about five or six feet in diameter, inscribed with V-shaped marks, like the stones at Cranna, Co. Galway, and at Glenacummer, in the same county, and with crosses similar to the Pagan rock at Clonfinlough; also various depressions or cavities—traditionally said to be the marks of Fin Mac Coul's thumb and fingers. It was called Sheffin or Seefin, *i.e.* Fin's Seat. This stone was removed from its ancient site (near the present Railway Terminus), by the late Thomas Steele (Daniel O'Connell's "Head Pacificator"), on a truck drawn by eight horses, to Cullawn, near Tulla, in the County of Clare, where it is still believed to be. If extant, I should be glad of a notice and description of it.

I have thus placed before the Members some hasty notes on this most interesting subject. That other sculptured stones similar to those now under consideration exist in Ireland, is very probable; and I would fain hope that the chief benefit to be derived from these few remarks of mine may be the directing the attention of the Members to their existence, and the placing on record descriptions or drawings of them, for the purpose of intelligent comparison with those already known to Irish archæologists.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October 18th, 1865.

JAMES G. ROBERTSON, Esq., Architect, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Sir John Robinson, Bart., Rokeby Hall, Dunleer: proposed by Lord Clermont.

Captain John Esmonde, M. P., Ballynastragh, Gorey: proposed by William Anderson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Thomas Frederick Cooke Trench, Esq., Millicent, Naas; and Philip Read, Esq., Wood Park, Scariff, county Clare: proposed by the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles.

The Rev. M. V. Watson, Odogh Glebe, Kilkenny; the Rev. James O'Carroll, R. C. C., Clonoulty, Cashel; the Rev. William Meaher, R. C. C., Thurles; Maurice Fitzgibbon, Esq., Springmount House, Stoneyford; John Ryley Robinson, Esq., F.R.G.S., F.G.S.E., F.S.A. Scot., &c., South Terrace, Dewsbury, Yorkshire: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

Michael Fitzgerald, Esq., Inspector of National Schools, Parsonstown; and Joshua H. Lamprey, Esq., Parsonstown: proposed by the Rev. J. Rogers.

David Mahony, Esq., 34, Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin: proposed by C. H. Foot, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

The Rev. James Doyle, R. C. C., Athy: proposed by the Rev. Thomas Greene, P. P.

Frederick Carroll, Esq., Moon Abbey, Moon, county Kildare: proposed by Maurice Lenihan, Esq.

William Pinkerton, Esq., F. S. A., &c., Jersey Villas, Hounslow, London: proposed by Edward Benn, Esq.

Lyndsay Purcell, Esq., 1, Cloisters, Inner Temple, London: proposed by Mr. Prim.

The Rev. Elias Tandy, Augnamullan Rectory, Ballybay: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Laurence J. Den, Esq., Urlingford; and Richard Lindsay, Esq., Head Agricultural Instructor, Model Farm, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. Hogan.

It was resolved that a congratulatory address should be presented to the Marquis of Ormonde, on the attainment of his majority, his Lordship being one of the Patrons of the Society, and his father, the late much-lamented Marquis of Ormonde, having not only been a Patron, but one of its founders, and most warm supporters. The Hon. Secretaries were requested to prepare the address, to be signed at the ensuing Annual Meeting.

The Rev. James Graves said, that the works of repair and conservation, commenced at Clonmacnoise in April last, having been for the present brought to a conclusion, he would now lay before the meeting a report of the receipts and expenditure, and then briefly state what had been done. It would be recollected that there were two separate funds subscribed in this matter—the first being devoted solely to the repairs and conservation of the remains of the ancient buildings existing at Clonmacnoise, the second intended to aid in bringing to justice the person who had, in the spring of 1864, wantonly mutilated some of these remains. At the April Meeting (p. 292, *supra*), it was resolved that the balance of this last-named fund should be expended in the furtherance of the object for which the original fund was subscribed; he would, therefore, now lay before the Members a statement embracing both, viz.:—

CHARGE.

REPAIR FUND.

By subscription received from Sir Arthur Ma-	£	s.	d.
gennis, K. C. B.,	10	0	0
„ Rev. J. H. Todd, D. D., S. F. T. C. D., . . .	5	0	0
„ The Earl of Dunraven,	3	0	0
„ The Marquis of Kildare,	2	0	0
„ The Earl of Enniskillen,	2	0	0
„ Lord Farnham,	2	0	0
„ Lord Talbot de Malahide,	2	0	0
„ Sir D. J. Norreys, Bart.,	2	0	0
„ The Very Rev. The Dean of Ossory, . . .	2	0	0
„ The Rev. Luke Fowler,	2	0	0
„ Rev. C. Vignoles,	2	0	0
„ Dr. Newell,	2	0	0
„ Ross Mahon, Esq.,	2	0	0
„ Robert J. Mooney, Esq.,	2	0	0
„ Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq.,	2	0	0
„ Eugene A. Conwell, Esq.,	1	0	0
	£43	0	0

REPAIR FUND—continued.

	£	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward,</i>	43	0	0
By subscription received from the late Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, . . .	1	0	0
„ The Lord Bishop of Meath,	1	0	0
„ Lord Clermont,	1	0	0
„ Sir Thomas A. Larcom, K. C. B.,	1	0	0
„ The late Right Hon. John Wynne,	1	0	0
„ Sir William W. Wilde,	1	0	0
„ Chief Baron Pigot,	1	0	0
„ The late Very Rev. Dean Butler,	1	0	0
„ Rev. R. Gibbings, D. D.,	1	0	0
„ Alexander Nesbitt, Esq.,	1	0	0
„ J. Lentaigne, Esq., M. D.,	1	0	0
„ W. Clayton Browne, Esq.,	1	0	0
„ Mrs. Butler,	1	0	0
„ Thomas Cooke Trench, Esq.,	1	0	0
„ G. R. Deighton, Esq., R. N.,	1	0	0
„ George Daly, Esq.,	1	0	0
„ W. H. Beckett, Esq.,	1	0	0
„ W. Potts, Esq.,	1	0	0
„ Dennis H. Kelly, Esq.,	1	0	0
„ Thomas F. Fay, Esq.,	1	0	0
„ A. G. 'Geoghegan, Esq.,	1	0	0
„ J. James, Esq., M. D.,	1	0	0
„ Rev. T. Mac Donough,	0	10	0
„ C. H. Foot, Esq.,	0	10	0
„ J. T. Pigott, Esq.,	0	10	0
„ J. Pigott, Esq.,	0	10	0
„ John Kirby, Esq.,	0	10	0
„ J. Q. Pigott, Esq.,	0	10	0
„ Miss 'Geoghegan,	0	10	0
„ Miss Barbara 'Geoghegan,	0	10	0
„ Robert Frazer, Esq.,	0	10	0
„ Mr. Thomas Kennedy,	0	10	0
„ Archdeacon Kyle,	0	5	0
„ Rev. R. Stavelly,	0	5	0
„ W. Griffith, Esq.,	0	5	0
„ W. R. Bruen, Esq.,	0	5	0
„ The late John Windele, Esq.,	0	5	0
	<hr/>	71	5 0

PROSECUTION FUND.

	£	s.	d.
By subscription received from Lord Carew, . . .	1	0	0
„ The Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, . . .	1	0	0
„ Sir Edward Conroy, Bart.,	1	0	0
„ Sir J. Emerson Tennent,	1	0	0
	<hr/>	4	0 0

PROSECUTION FUND—*continued.*

	<i>Brought forward,</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
		4	0	0	71	5	0
By subscription received from General Dunne,							
M. P.,		1	0	0			
„ The O'Donovan,		1	0	0			
„ The Very Rev. Dean Graves,		1	0	0			
„ Christopher Dain, Esq.,		1	0	0			
„ The late R. Cully, Esq.,		1	0	0			
„ H. Barry Hyde, Esq.,		1	0	0			
„ A. G. 'Geoghegan, Esq.,		1	0	0			
„ Alexander Nesbitt, Esq.,		1	0	0			
„ J. H. Talbot, Esq.,		1	0	0			
„ Thomas Wise, Esq., M. D.,		1	0	0			
„ Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq., M. P.,		0	10	0			
„ Rev. J. L. Irwin,		0	10	6			
„ J. C. F. Kenny, Esq.,		0	10	0			
„ Thomas Lalor, Esq., D. L.,		0	10	0			
„ J. P. Prendergast, Esq.,		0	10	0			
„ John Cullen, Esq.,		0	10	0			
„ John Murphy, Esq.,		0	10	0			
„ Charles Falkiner, Esq.,		0	10	0			
„ Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq.,		0	10	0			
„ J. J. Connell, Esq.,		0	10	0			
„ W. R. Farmar, Esq.,		0	8	0			
„ Peter Burtchael, Esq.,		0	5	0			
„ R. Caulfield, Esq.,		0	5	0			
„ Miss Archer Butler,		0	5	0			
„ C. H. Foot, Esq.,		0	5	0			
„ Robert de Ricci, Esq., M. D.,		0	5	0			
„ John Lindsay, Esq.,		0	5	0			
„ Edward Read, Esq.,		0	5	0			
„ John Laffan, Esq.,		0	5	0			
„ Robert Malcomson, Esq.,		0	5	0			
„ Archdeacon O'Shea, P. P.,		0	5	0			
„ F. Lloyd Phillips, Esq.,		0	5	0			
„ G. C. Atkinson, Esq.,		0	5	0			
„ Joseph Callwell, Esq.,		0	4	0			
„ Patrick Duffy, Esq.,		0	3	0			
„ John Lacy, Esq.,		0	2	6			
„ Rev. Sylvester, Malone, R. C. C.,		0	2	6			
„ Rev. J. F. Shearman, R. C. C.,		0	2	6			
„ James Craddock, Esq.,		0	2	6			
„ J. F. Hogan, Esq.,		0	2	6			
„ M. S. Rainsford, Esq.,		0	2	6			
„ Andrew Wilson, Esq.,		0	2	6			
„ H. J. Caulfield, Esq.,		0	2	6			
„ Rev. W. D. Massey,		0	2	0			
„ Andrew Jervise, Esq.,		0	2	0			
					23	19	6
					£95	4	6

DISCHARGE.

	£	s.	d.
To Postage of Circulars and General Correspondence, . .	2	17	3
„ Expenses of first Trial,	6	19	8
„ Do. preparatory to second Trial,	5	0	0
„ Map of the Churchyard of Clonmacnoise, for do. . . .	2	0	0
„ Timber, Portland Cement, and Iron,	4	18	5½
„ Lime,	2	12	0
„ Cut stone, and Stonecutters' wages,	14	11	0
„ Wages of Masons and Labourers, and Horsehire, . .	55	15	4½
„ Smithwork,	1	14	7
„ Sundry expenses,	10	3	3
	£107 1 7		

On Tuesday, April the 24th, he (Mr. Graves) proceeded to Clonmacnoise, and in conjunction with the Rector of the Parish, the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles,¹ made a careful survey of the ruins, and arranged a plan of operations. In order to give a clear idea of what was effected, it might be necessary to remind the Members that the ruins of Clonmacnoise resolve themselves into three principal groups, viz., first, the Cathedral, with its surrounding cluster of mortuary churches, and the two round towers, all enclosed within the church yard of Clonmacnoise; second, the Nunnery, or Rellig Caillach, situated some distance to the east of the first group; and third, the Castle of Clonmacnoise, built within a primæval earthwork or rath, and distant a few hundred yards west of the churchyard. The last group, though interesting to the antiquary, was not considered to come within the scope of the Repair Fund, as no part of it was in imminent danger of falling, and the absence of all decorative architectural features deprived it of especial value as a land mark in the history of Irish constructive art. To the first two groups, therefore, it was determined to confine the expenditure of the funds. The Rellig Caillach he would take first, and briefly describe what was done there; and here he should mention that, the remains of this primitive monastic establishment being situated on private property, it was necessary to secure the concurrence of the immediate proprietor, Mr. Charlton, of Clonmacnoise House, who kindly afforded every facility for the work, and allowed the sand needful for the building operations to be raised on his land. The Rellig Caillach consisted of an enclosure, in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, the massive *septum*, or fence, of which was originally² faced with huge undressed stones,

¹ The excess of expenditure (viz., £11 17s. 1d.) has been defrayed by the general funds of the Society.

² Mr. G. V. Du Noyer, who also fully

concurred in the proposed plan of operations, was present for a few days..

³ It is much to be regretted that a short time previous to the commence-

with grouted rubble work in the centre. Within this *septum* were to be seen the remains of a small but very interesting church; the walls in most places level with the surface, which swelled up round them in heaps of rubbish and *debris*. At the west end, just peering above the grass-covered mounds of fallen material, might be seen portions of the jambs of a fine western door, whilst of the chancel arch the two piers remained, with a few stones of two orders of the arch *in situ* in the northern side. The chancel arch had originally consisted of three orders, with hood moulds on both faces; but of these, all except one had fallen, when the plates which illustrate Harris's "Ware" were engraved, more than a hundred years ago.¹ This remaining order had fallen within the memory of persons now living. The first step taken was to collect all the stones of the fallen arch which were to be found in and near the ruins of the church. Gangs of labourers were then set to work, both inside and outside the church, it being determined to clear away all rubbish down to the level of the original floor internally, and to the plinth which ran round the walls externally. It was hoped that the remaining stones of the fallen chancel arch would be found in the course of these excavations; and this expectation was in a great measure fulfilled. The excavators, having commenced their work at the western end of the church, proceeded to remove the mounds of grass-grown rubbish that had accumulated round the site of the doorway. In a very short time carved stones were lighted on; and as they came nearer to the entrance, it was evident that the materials of a doorway of extraordinary richness lay where they had fallen when its arch succumbed to time, or the more destructive hand of man. Carefully avoiding injury to the delicate carved work of the jamb-stones and voussoirs, the exciting work of exploration proceeded; even the most ignorant labourer evinced an interest in the discoveries which every moment produced, and ere long he (Mr. Graves) had the intense gratification to see ranged in order, on the grass, nearly every stone of a magnificent Hiberno-Romanesque doorway. This was an entirely unlooked-for discovery, as not a single stone of the arch had been known to exist before the excavations commenced. The entrance doorway having been cleared out, the work of excavation proceeded eastward; and, as the workmen approached the chancel arch, further discoveries were made. The stones of only two orders of this arch had been previously discovered

ment of the works now alluded to, it was thought necessary by the proprietor to break up this rude fence, and to build a neat modern wall, on the same foundation, round the enclosure, sledging the large blocks of stone to afford the materials. The original fence was probably 1000 years old. He (Mr. Graves), had

induced Mr. Charlton, however, to spare from demolition a portion of the original structure on the south side, which will serve as a specimen of the work.

¹ A view of the arch as it then stood, tottering to its fall, is prefixed to the account of the See of Clonmacnoise.

ble: now, however, the materials of a third order, of a different design, but equal richness of workmanship, were turned up in great numbers; and, in addition to this third order, the stones of the enriched hood mould of the western face of the arch were also recovered. The excavation of the church, both internally and externally, was then proceeded with; several hundred cubic yards of rubbish were removed, and on an average about four feet of the walls of the church exposed to view, showing the style of its massive masonry. This portion of the work, though expensive, was easily accomplished, as any amount of labour was at command. Now, however, a more difficult job had to be taken in hand, and it was with some difficulty that a sufficient number of skilled masons and stonecutters was procured.¹ On plumbing the piers of the chancel arch, it was found that the southern pier was out of the perpendicular, inclining bodily westward about two inches; this inclination had originally caused the ruin of the arch, and if left uncorrected, it would be impossible to re-erect it satisfactorily or safely. The set of the pier had, however, plainly arisen from a defect of the foundation of old standing, the masonry being solid and unshaken. It seemed, therefore, sufficient to remove the capitals of the several orders, and, resetting them with cement and slate packing in the joints, to level their upper surfaces for the reception of the arch. The piers were then strengthened by rebuilding the ruined side-walls to the height of the capitals. Timber was next procured, and, three separate centres having been constructed, the rebuilding of the chancel arch was commenced. The voussoirs were carefully set in Portland cement, all the original stones being first used up, and each order keyed in with plain new voussoirs where deficiencies occurred. The first order having been keyed, the second centre was erected, and the stones of this order set, tailing back over the first order.² In like manner, when this order was completed, the third centre was put up, and the outer order with its hood mould carefully set. Additional masons the meanwhile carefully haunched up the arch in solid masonry, which was continued for about four feet above the crown, the sides being roughly stepped to a gable form to obviate too great formality, and the style of the old masonry being adhered to as closely as possible. The work was then allowed to set, and the masons removed to the west door. When the rubbish was cleared away, it was found that the existing portions of the jambs, as in most ancient Irish doorways, inclined inwards; a plumb-rule was set to this incline, the stones removed to the base, reset in cement, and completed to the tops of the capitals with the materials found

¹ It is right to put on record the name of our "master mason," Edward Kilkeny, of Athlone, who skilfully reset the arches, and underpinned the round tower.

² Some stones of the first and second orders were *in situ* on the north pier, thus indicating the arrangement of the various members of the arch.

in the rubbish. The different orders¹ of the archway were then set one after the other, plain voussoirs being cut to key them in where the original stones were deficient. The arch was then haunched and weighted at top, as in the case of the chancel arch. The doorway being finished, now came the critical part of the work—the striking of the centres. The chancel arch was of considerable size, and being for the nonce architect and builder, and having overruled the masons in some points, he was a little nervous for the result. He was happy to say, however, that all remained “stiff and stanch” when the supports were removed; and he had the great satisfaction to see this dated² example of ancient Irish architecture restored in some degree to the original state, close on the completion of the seventh century from its erection.

Whilst the works at Rellig Caillach were in progress, the ruins comprised within the churchyard and grouped round the Cathedral, were not forgotten; gangs of labourers were employed excavating at the west end of the Cathedral, in hopes that the fallen stones of the west door³ might be discovered. This expectation was disappointed, as only one or two were found. However, at the eastern end of the church the excavators were more fortunate; and numerous details of the original late twelfth century windows, with which the east wall was pierced, were brought to light, as were also some seventeenth century monuments of the Mac Coghlanes. Excavators were also set to work at Temple Finghin, and the rubbish cleared away from the base of the round tower, and side wall of the church—uncovering the base of a very rich twelfth century doorway of three orders at the west end of the south wall of the church. Some of the carved stones and capitals of this doorway were found in the *débris*, but not enough to allow of its being rebuilt. The walls of the various ruined churches were then repaired and pinned where needed; and the quoins, which had been torn away for several feet from the ground, were carefully restored. The curious little cell, called St. Kieran's Church,⁴ which was tottering to its fall, was pinned and buttressed, and the rubbish cleared out from its interior. The ivy, which for centuries had

¹ When the arch came to be erected, it was found that the fourth, or external, order was entirely wanting—not a single stone of it was discovered. As it would have been impossible, with the means in hand, to cut the voussoirs required to complete this order, the massive hood mould was set in its place; thus, as far as possible, completing the arch.

² “A. D. 1167, the church of the Nuns of Cluain-mic-Nois was finished by Dearthforgaill, daughter of Murchadh Ua Maeleachlainn.”—“Four Masters,” Ed. O'Donovan. This lady was the pa-

ramour of Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, and is famous as the indirect cause of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland.

³ This doorway was perfect when the plates for Harris's “Ware” were engraved. It had been re-edified at the close of the fifteenth century, retaining the carved capitals of the original twelfth century work.

⁴ That this is not the original cell of the saint was proved by the discovery of part of the shaft of a sculptured stone cross, used as a building stone.

enveloped the greater round tower, called O'Rourk's, had inserted its stems between the massive courses of its northern side, and, dislocating the stones, threatened to cause the ruin of the entire structure at no very distant period. These courses were carefully taken out, stone by stone, the ivy removed, the stones restored to their proper beds, and solidly filled in with grouting—thus giving the base of the tower its original stability. Two other objects remained to be effected—one of which was the providing safe repositories for the many invaluable early Irish tombslabs strewed over the churchyard, and which were exposed to theft and defacement. This was accomplished by placing iron gates in the doorways of Temple Dowling, and of a vaulted chamber which opened off the Cathedral. Into these two inclosures were removed nearly all the Irish tombslabs; in the latter also were deposited the carved stones found in the excavations of the Cathedral, and Temple Finghin. The Rev. C. Vignoles had confided the keys of these two interesting “museums” to the care of the zealous and intelligent custodian of the churchyard, Mr. Kieran Molloy, who would with pleasure exhibit their contents to visitors. The remaining object was the restoration of the conical cap of the round tower attached to Temple Finghin, commonly called MacCarthy's. This the exhaustion of the funds did not permit, as the scaffolding required to carry it out properly would be expensive; and, even when scaffolded to the summit, it would cost a considerable sum to reset the stones of the cap, the curious herringbone masonry of which has been greatly dislocated, probably by the action of lightning. This work was, therefore, obliged to be deferred to a future time; but he was glad to learn that a subscription for that special purpose had already been set on foot.¹ He was happy to say he had met with every encouragement from all classes in the locality whilst engaged in the work; great satisfaction being generally expressed at the interest shown by the Society in the venerated remains of the Seven Churches of Clonmacnoise. He trusted that the subscribers were satisfied with what had been effected: all he would say was, that he and his friend the Rev. C. Vignoles had acted to the best of their judgment. He hoped that many of those who so kindly contributed would visit Clonmacnoise, and personally inspect the results accomplished.

¹ The following contributions towards this object have been promised:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Sir Arthur Magennis, K.C.B.,	10	0	0	John D. Lauder, Esq., . . .	1	0	0
Lord Castlemaine,	5	0	0	Thomas B. Lauder, Esq., . .	1	0	0
The Very Rev. The Dean of				Rev. Sir Edmund Armstrong,	0	10	0
Ossory,	2	0	0	Rev. J. Frazer,	0	10	0
Rev. C. Vignoles,	1	0	0	Thomas Mulock, Esq., . . .	0	10	0
Mrs. J. Vignoles,	1	0	0	W. Delaney, Esq.,	0	10	0
R. J. E. Mooney, Esq., . . .	1	0	0	George Daly, Esq.,	0	10	0
Charles H. Foot, Esq., . . .	1	0	0	Henry K. Daly, Esq., . . .	0	10	0

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Sussex Archæological Society: "Sussex Archæological Collections," Vol. XVII.

By the Royal Institution of Cornwall: their "Journal," No. 4, new series.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Nos. 43 and 44, third series.

By the British Archæological Association: their "Journal," September, 1865.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: "Communications made to the Society," No. 14.

By Llewellyn Jewitt, Esq.: "The Reliquary," No. 21.

By the Cambrian Institute: their "Journal," for June and September, 1864; and for September, 1865.

By the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland: their "Journal," Part 30.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for August, September, and October, 1865.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1173–1186, inclusive.

By Mr. Rowe, Carlow, through M. D'Allamand: a brass ring-dial, of old construction, with descriptive particulars; and a specimen of the old oak which had formed part of the ancient roof of the Cathedral of Old Leighlin.

By Mr. Frederick Jones, Cool, Castlebridge: a curious jet bead, which had formed portion of an ancient necklace, found in a field near Killinick, county of Wexford.

By Mr. J. O'Bryan, the Schoolhouse, Jenkinstown: a Roman brass of Hadrian, in very good preservation, found in Jenkinstown demesne, county of Kilkenny.

By Mr. Laurence Power: a carved stone, being the apex of a gable barge, with the base of a cross at top, apparently of the fifteenth century, which had been used as an ordinary building stone in a portion of the premises in which he resides in High-street, Kilkenny. The house was, in the end of the sixteenth century, the chief town residence of Sir Richard Shee, Knight, of Upper Court, by whom it was built. A number of fragments of sepulchral monuments had also been used as building materials in the structure.

By Mr. G. M'Mullen, Kells: some human and other bones, dug up in The Moat at Kells.

By Major Elliot, Rathcurby: a specimen of the grotesque metal castings, of which some others, found in the county and city of Kilkenny, have been previously deposited in the Society's Museum. The present specimen was found by Mr. Osborne in the bed of the stream which rises in his demesne of Silverspring, which his work-people were engaged in cleaning out. The subject represented a

male and female figure engaged in a scuffle—apparently a matrimonial squabble. Another example of this subject is in the Museum, having been found, some years since, in sinking a pumpshaft near Knocktopher.

By Mr. Shaw: the results of some further explorations at Ardناهue, (see p. 117, *supra*). The objects now sent by Mr. Shaw consisted of the fragments of fictile vessels, obviously intended for domestic purposes—they were exceedingly thin, except at the rim, which showed a kind of rude impressed ornamentation; a couple of small rude iron knife blades, like those found in Dunbell raths; the end of a curious bronze ornament, terminating in the figure of a dog's head; some tines of deers' horns, and boars' tusks; the skull of a greyhound; and a wedge-shaped stone. These objects excited much interest.

Mr. Meredyth, Norelands, sent for exhibition a gold noble of Henry IV. or Henry V., weight $106\frac{2}{10}$ grains, found by a poor man in digging in a field near Shankill; it was in good preservation.

Mr. Robert Bruce Armstrong, Burnchurch, sent for exhibition, through the Chairman, a very fine bronze leaf-shaped spearhead; and made known to the Society the discovery, in the churchyard at Burnchurch, of a carving representing, apparently, one of the Apostles, probably part of the side support of one of the tombs of the Fitzgeralds, Barons of Burnchurch, which seem to have been originally altar monuments.

The Rev. G. H. Reade forwarded specimens of several Saxon coins, discovered in June, 1864, on the property of Travers Wright, Esq., Killincoole Castle, county of Louth, by a tenant of that gentleman, in removing a large iron-stone that had impeded his plough. The coins were sent by Mr. Wright, who kindly offered to pay for the engraving, for the Society's Transactions, of one of them which Dr. Aquilla Smith had pronounced worthy of publication. Mr. Reade sent the following paper, descriptive of the find:—

“The discovery of small hoards of Saxon coins on the north-east coast of Ireland is of rather frequent occurrence, and the coins are generally found in tolerable preservation; occasionally, as in the present instance, other articles of interest are found with them: a large quantity has never yet been found together, as far as I can learn. These ‘finds’ seem to have been the treasure of comparatively poor men, who have hid them where they have been found, upon some sudden notice of an irruption of the Danes; and, having probably been killed, or carried away by those barbarous robbers, have never returned to resume possession of their treasures. It is much to be regretted that little or no notice has been taken hitherto of these finds, nor any record made of them,¹ as they

¹ Mr. Lindsay in his “View of the Coinage of Ireland,” has given in Appendix No. 7 an “Account of some of the

principal hoards or parcels of coins discovered in Ireland within the last few years.”

are calculated to throw some light on the history of those troubled times; the names of the kings and dates of their coins being generally coincident with the periods of the most frequent raids of the Danes upon our coast. Hume describes the condition of the British Islands as a state of continual terror, from the frequency of Danish invasion from the time of the reign of Ethelwolf, A. D. 838, until the time of Edward the Confessor; and the mode of the warfare carried on by them not only accounts for the great number of small hoards of treasure hidden at that period, but suggests also the use and meaning of those numerous earthen inclosures which so thickly stud this side of our island, generally called Danish forts: I mean those of small size—as the larger were evidently dwelling places and fortresses of a much older date—in use when the kingdom was Pagan. These small defences were found sufficient protection against an enemy who never had time regularly to invest a fortification, but simply intended to spoil the country by a sudden descent, and carry off the booty. As Hume says—‘They avoided coming to a general engagement, which was not suited to their plan of operations; their vessels were small, and ran easily up the creeks and rivers, where they drew them ashore; and, having formed an intrenchment around them, which they guarded with part of their number, the remainder scattered themselves everywhere, and, carrying off the inhabitants, cattle, and goods, hastened to their ships, and quickly disappeared.’

“Hence, these so-called ‘Danish forts,’ of small size, may have been amply sufficient to protect the people and their cattle during the short period of these hurried raids; as, upon notice being given of the appearance of the Danish ships in the estuary, they could at once collect into some of these numerous defences, and stand to their arms until the storm had blown over. The owner of the hoard now under notice was not so fortunate as to escape; he had just time, evidently, to conceal his treasure under the ‘iron-stone,’ but was himself probably swept away by the marauders. There the coins lay, possibly from A. D. 959 until A. D. 1859, when William Durnin ploughed them up. The coins were in excellent preservation when concealed, some of them having the ‘mint bloom’ upon them; and but for the large mixture of alloy in most of them would now be perfect specimens of their kind, but verdigris has eaten away some letters. Of the forty coins, of which the hoard consisted, only eight have been retained by Travers Wright, Esq., of Killincoole Castle, on whose land they were found. Of these, two are pure silver, and in perfect preservation, Ethelstan, silver; and Eadwig, base metal; the other coins are: one of Ethelstan, silver; one of Eadwig, base metal; one of Edgar, base metal; and three of Eadred, base metal.

“The coin of Edgar is one of the rudest of the collection, and the name of the moneyer is nearly eaten away; but, as the coins of this bad man are comparatively common, it is of less consequence. He seems to have given license to stamp coins to very many persons, the names of twenty-six moneyers being before me.

“Some few years ago there was a ‘find’ of Saxon coins in the parish of Derrykeighan, near Dervock, county of Antrim, one of which was in the possession of the Venerable Thomas Hincks, our Associate; it bore **EADGAR REX**, obverse; and **GRIDMONE**, reverse. This Grid is the only name I have seen repeated upon the Saxon coins. He seems to have been the

favourite amongst the legion of coiners in Edgar's reign. I now add the account of the circumstances of the present 'find' from the pen of Travers Wright, Esq., of Killincoole Castle—whose residence is a very perfect specimen of the Anglo-Norman Castle and fortification—and to whose kindness I am much indebted. It is much to be regretted that the graduated bar of silver mentioned by Mr. Wright has not been recovered. The pipe must have fallen there from some careless hands, some five or six hundred years afterwards. These coins range from Ethelstan, A. D. 924, to A. D. 975; so that, although embracing the reigns of Ethelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edwy, and Edgar, they may have easily been in circulation at the same time.

“ ‘Memorandum made the 21st June, 1864, by Travers Wright, with reference to the finding of the Saxon coins in this neighbourhood :—

“ ‘William Durnin, son of Widow Durnin, on whose farm the coins were found, gave following particulars:—

“ ‘In the month of October, 1859, a large iron-stone which had been in the way of the plough for many years was removed by him; and about eighteen inches under it they discovered the coins, about forty in number, together with a piece of graduated bar silver, as thick as an ordinary pencil, but square. All the coins lying *alongside* the stone were in good preservation; but those less protected were fast crumbling away, in consequence of the alloy of copper in their composition. There was no trace of any vessel or other receptacle for the treasure; but along with them was also said to have been found the head of a smoking pipe, coloured blue and red, and glazed. Unfortunately, this interesting relic was lost or unheeded in the excitement of the found treasure, and all subsequent search has been fruitless to discover it.’

“ ‘The farm of Widow Durnin is on the townland of Allardstown, parish of Killincoole, about a quarter of an English mile from Killincoole Castle.

(Signed)

“ ‘TRAVERS WRIGHT.

“ ‘21st June, 1864.’ ”

The coins having been submitted to Aquilla Smith, Esq., M. D., he had kindly deciphered them as follows :—

SAXON PENNIES.

Ethelstan, A. D. 924 to 940.

1. ✚ EDELSTAN RE SAXORVW (M reversed).
- ✚ BOILA MOTCT DEORABVI (Derby mint).

Eadred, A. D. 946 to 955.

2. ✚ EADRED. Rev. CANOERET (R reversed).
3. Do. „ FROÐRICWŌ (M reversed).
4. Do. „ RINVC MŌN

Eadwig, A. D. 955 to 959.

5. ✚ EADWIG REX Rev. EADMVND M ON EO (York)



6. Do. ∴ „ EADVLF M̄O

Eadgar, A. D. 959 to 975.

7. ✚ EADGAR EX Rev. ÆLFRED.

All are published in Ruding, except the moneyer of No. 5.

Mr. Alexander Nesbit sent the following observations on the subject of the Brunswick Casket, in reply to those of Professor Stephens printed at p. 134, *supra*.

"I regret to be obliged to ask some space in the Journal in order to reply to Mr. Stephens' observations at p. 134, *supra*, on the subject of the Brunswick Casket, as it has become mixed up with personal questions, which can hardly interest readers in general; but it is due both to Mr. Stephens and to myself that I should explain what I have already written upon it. I therefore beg to remark:—

"1st. As to Mr. Kemble's (alleged) copy of the inscription. If Mr. Stephens has any evidence proving that Mr. Kemble made this copy, or if he is sure that the handwriting is really Kemble's, I have no more to say. I have never said that he did not make it—I only pointed out reasons why I was led to suppose that he had not done so. To these I may now add that, when I showed the electrotypes to him, he told me that he knew nothing of the Casket, and I do not think that he subsequently re-visited Brunswick. My only object in mentioning this matter was, to rebut a charge of inaccuracy (if undeserved), brought against that late eminent antiquary and scholar.

"2ndly. As to the runes, I must observe, in the first place, that I never pretended to give a judgment of my own on any of the points in which there appeared to be a difference between Mr. Stephens and other authorities; I wished merely to call attention to the apparent discrepancies between his reading and that of Mr. Kemble, and to leave it to competent scholars to decide.

"I must, however, freely confess the mistake I made in consequence of my being so much biassed by Mr. Kemble's opinion that the characters read by Mr. Stephens as NG were not characters at all, as to overlook the possibility that Mr. Stephens had considered them to be such. This mistake once made, others followed; but I must put it to Mr. Stephens, whether, by omitting to give the separate value of each rune, he has not himself unintentionally prepared the trap in which I was taken. How was I to guess that NG represented one rune, and not two; that yO and eA were

meant for diphthongs; that *IeA* was to be read *I*, *eA*, and not *Ie*, *A*? Had he done in the first instance what he has now followed me in doing, viz., numbering the runes, and assigning a value to each, the mistake would not have been possible. Still, I fully admit that I was not warranted in saying that he assumed the existence of runes corresponding with *LyO*; I ought to have written more guardedly, and merely said that I could not see where he found them. My meaning was, that I supposed him to have assumed their existence in consequence of some theory of his own which he had omitted to explain; I, of course, never intended to charge him with interpolating letters without some ground for so doing; I however beg to express my regret for the injustice which I have carelessly done him.

"With regard to my inaccuracies, I must remark that the 'strange differences' between my two statements of his readings are occasioned, as to the difference between *LIIN* and *LIIN* by an error of the press; and as to that between *MUNGPÆ GÆ*, &c., and *MUNGPÆLYO GÆ*, &c., by my intentionally omitting the letters for which I failed to find corresponding runes. This the context makes clear enough; for of the first reading I say—"Here are thirty-four letters" (*IH* being read as one), and on the second I comment at some length. I must take leave to say that there was no such thing 'plainly before' me as the runes, or their numbers placed over the corresponding letters. I complained of the absence of such an elucidation of the subject; and, as I have said above, had it been there, I could not have fallen into the mistake into which I fell.

"The first *Y* in *MUNGPÆLYO*, again, is an error of the press.

"I am surprised that Mr. Stephens does not see that my No. 14 is the one which he would make No. 15 (supposing the inscription to begin with the letter *S*); and that, therefore, his 'This is too bad' is misdirected. Also, that my No. 16 is his 17, and is read *L* by every one; it is not my 14 (his 15), as he assumes it to be. But all this is only blunder upon blunder; and, as I made the first, I have little right to complain.

"The important question still remains to be answered, Are Mr. Stephens' reading and translation correct? My pretensions to answer it are indeed very small, but I will venture to give the result of the consideration I have given to it. I should state that my authorities as to the value of the runes are Mr. Haigh ('Conquest of Britain'), and Mr. J. M. Kemble ('Archæologia,' vol. xxviii.); these have, I believe, given the fullest alphabets of runes which are to be found in any English books.

"First, then, as to the value of the runes:—

"The differences between Mr. Stephens' reading and that of Mr. Kemble regard Nos. 3, 6, 13, 14, 15, 19, and 24. (I number the runes as they are numbered by Mr. Stephens on page 135.) As regards Nos. 3 and 19, the question is, whether these runes are to be regarded as letters, or as ornaments or marks of division. Their position in the centre of each side was, I suppose, the chief reason which Mr. Kemble had for supposing them to be here used as the latter rather than the former.

"Nos. 13 and 24. These runes appear to me (I write, having before me an electrotype from the original inscription) to approach much more nearly to the Anglo-Saxon rune for *K* than to that for *U*. I cannot agree with Mr. Stephens, when he says that No. 6 ('the last stave in *SIGHyOR*') is the same rune as No. 25, both being the equivalent of *R*, and different

from 13 and 24. To me it appears that 6, 13, and 24, are all the same, and probably K, 25 being R. This last rune is repeated in almost exactly the same form, while 6, 13, and 24 in their repetitions present slight variations of form (always, however, preserving a *long* upright stroke), but bearing a much greater likeness one to another than any one of them has to either of the repetitions of No. 25. This can be well judged of by the engraving on page 269, where the forms of the runes are very faithfully copied.

"No. 14. The rune giving the sound NG should, according to Mr. Stephens, consist of two angles; but here we have one angle and one curve, and in the repetition one angle and three curves. This seems to require explanation. The small size and irregularity of these marks or characters probably induced Mr. Kemble to consider them not to be runes. It is, perhaps, worth remarking that, according to Kemble ('Archæologia,' vol. xxviii., Plate xv.), the two saltires (to use an heraldic word), placed one over the other, which Mr. Stephens says are another form of the same rune, in the Marcomannic alphabet have the value of the diphthong æ.

"No. 15. Neither Kemble nor Haigh recognise this as the equivalent of P; but give instead quite different forms. This seems singular, as Mr. Stephens states that he has met with it 'exactly as on this Casket, in three Old English manuscript alphabets, and in many more in a nearly allied form.' If Mr. Stephens would mention the age and place of deposit of these MSS., he would evidently do a service to the students of runes.

"Secondly, As to the interpretation, I have no reading of my own to maintain, but there are to me many difficulties in accepting that of Mr. Stephens. Would an Anglo-Saxon, or an Irishman writing Saxon, have written the preterite of the verb *writan* with a U instead of a W? Is it likely that in the seventh or eighth century the nasal pronunciation of *mont* in the word *Montpellier* was in use in Aquitaine, where to the present day *mon* is pronounced *moun*? And, if not, why should NG be used instead of NT? Is 'Sighyor' an oblique case? Is the title anywhere known to have been applied to a civilian?

"In the time of St. Eligius *Montpellier* does not seem to have been in existence as a town. Moreri ('Dict. Hist.') tells us that it was founded about A.D. 735, when *Maguelonne* was demolished, the ancient Bishopric of the latter place being transferred to *Sustantion*, close to *Montpellier*. Mr. Stephens says that 'it existed' in the seventh century; but where is the proof of its existence as even a hamlet? I must, therefore, still avow myself dissatisfied with both Mr. Stephens' reading and interpretation; but I hope that this inscription will not be allowed to remain a mystery, but that some more successful scholar will take it in hand. It may be worth while to mention that there is at *Kirk Onchan*, in the *Isle of Man*, another unexplained runic inscription, which contains a syllable identical (if Mr. Kemble's reading be correct), with one in that on the Casket: this is given in the 'Memoires des Antiquaires du Nord' for the year 1852, p. 200, as reading VKIKAT AVIRATHIKRIT, with the comment—'a fragment not to be understood, perhaps Gaelic.'

"As to the probable age of the Casket, the difference between myself and Mr. Stephens does not appear to be very great; I say the ninth, tenth, or possibly the eleventh century, while he thinks the eighth or

ninth the latest which are probable. This opinion, however, seems in great measure to rest on two assumptions, which every one will not, I think, be disposed to accept without proof:—1st. That the Casket was made for a member of the highest and *most educated* class; and, 2ndly. That at any period later than the ninth century Roman letters, and not runes, would have been employed on any object made for such a personage.

“I can see nothing to prove that the Casket was not made for a layman; this to me seems quite possible, though it is perhaps more *probable* that it was made for an ecclesiastic. It is, however, obviously very unsafe to treat mere probabilities as if proved, and then to argue from them. It seems to me that, as the dates of MSS. can generally be well ascertained, inferences drawn from them afford us safer ground to go upon.

“As to the material of the Casket, I must observe that Mr. Stephens must have read what I wrote very carelessly, if he supposes me to have said, or suggested, that the narwhal is not a cetaceous animal, which I suppose is what is meant by the facetious observation that that animal ‘is or used to be,’ such. Nor did I say that he said that it is ‘either of ivory, or of the tusk of the narwhal.’ My object was merely to draw the distinction between bone and ivory, and to affirm that it was the former, and not the latter. It is, as I have said, bone of a somewhat coarse and open structure, whereas the tusk of the narwhal has the exterior of remarkably fine and hard ivory, while the interior is of a rough irregular texture, partially transparent, and which cannot be readily carved. Almost any ancient carving in this last material will show both portions; for it is difficult to procure a piece of the ivory alone of large size. It would, I think, be difficult to procure a plate 3 in. by 4½ (the dimensions of the larger plates of this box), which should not be in part composed of the rough interior substance.

“As the only other two instances of carvings of a like character which I have met with are executed in bone of a like kind to that of which this box is made, the precise nature of the material appears to be a matter worth noticing.”

The following papers were submitted to the Members:—

REMARKS ON A CARVED ROCK AT RYEFIELD, COUNTY OF CAVAN.

BY GEO. V. DU NOYER, ESQ., M.R.I.A., GEOLOGIST, GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF IRELAND.

THE startling discoveries of worked flint hatchets and arrowheads at a depth of twenty feet, or so, in the undisturbed alluvial gravel on either side of the Valley of the Somme, near Abbeville, made by Mons. Boucher de Perthes, and published by him in the year 1849, took the whole geological and antiquarian world by surprise.

Subsequent explorations made by Mr. Prestwich and other English geologists at the same locality, as well as in the drift gravels of the South of England confirmed the truth of the original discovery, and thus an unexpected light was thrown on the history of the antiquity of the human race in Western Europe. Equally wonderful was the discovery of implements of stone and flint mixed with the bones of such extinct animals as the lion, tiger, bear, hyena, rhinoceros, elephant, hippopotamus, mammoth, reindeer, &c., in the earthen or stalagmitic floor of Kent's Cave, in Devonshire, and in other limestone caverns in the South of England, and more recently in the caverns of Chaffaud, in Poitou, and others in the West of France.

Such facts having been established on incontrovertible evidence, the next inquiry is, at what period of European cosmogony were these relics deposited as they are found, and what was the climatal condition, and what the distribution of land and water over our latitudes, at that period. The first question cannot be satisfactorily answered; but the others are capable of some explanation.

If the bones of extinct Mammalia have been found at the localities stated, as well as in Ireland, it is clear that when these animals lived they must have passed from one of these districts to the other on dry land. The distribution, therefore, of land and water over Northwestern Europe must have been very different then from what it is now, inasmuch as the English Channel and Irish Sea did not then exist. If, however, we find the handiwork of man associated with the remains of these extinct Mammalia, it follows as a simple induction that he existed contemporaneously with them, and most probably migrated, as they did, over that land which then formed a portion of the European Continent, but which has since been destroyed by the sea. It may be argued that these extinct animals inhabited what is now England and Ireland long before the first human settlers landed on their shores; the animals certainly roamed to our latitudes from what is now the Continent of Europe, on dry land; and it is possible that at a subsequent epoch, when the sea had formed our islands, man located himself upon them, and exterminated these animals. One supposition is just as startling as the other; the only difference between them being merely a portion of a period of time so vastly remote, that no idea can be formed as to its absolute antiquity.

The existence, therefore, of the human race dates back to an indefinite period of time; yet the mind of the Biblical student may be calmed by the reflection that the Sacred Book is accurate, when asserting that "in the beginning" God made man, and gave him dominion over every created thing. Man, from the first, as an intelligent being, fabricated weapons adapted as well for the chase as domestic uses; he pursued "the beasts of the field," and slew them

either for food or necessities, and thus asserted the power given him over all animated nature in virtue of his being endowed with a "living soul:"—

"Os homini sublime dedit cœlumque tueri
Jussit ac sidera attolere vultus."

Mr. Poulett Scrope, in his work on the extinct volcanoes of Central France, records the following remarkable fact:—

"The cone in the immediate vicinity of the town of Le Puy is that of the Montagne de Denise; the summit and flanks of this oblong hill are covered with large accumulations of very fresh looking scorix, lapillo, and puzzolana, out of which several prominent masses of columnar basalt are projected into the valleys beneath.

"The sides and base of one of these masses are enveloped by a stratified breccia, or tuff, of no great coherence, in which large quantities of bones are found of the elephant, rhinoceros, *Cervus elephas*, &c., and other extinct Mammalia; and in one locality the remains of at least two human skeletons; a block of this breccia containing the greater portion of a human skull, and several bones, is preserved in the museum of Le Puy. This discovery was made in the year 1844, and its truth confirmed by the 'Congrès Scientifique,' 1856, vol. i., p. 283."—Scrope's "Volcanoes," chap. viii., p. 182.

According to recent geological researches, man's existence on the earth goes back to the Miocene age in central India,¹ and the Pliocene period in Europe;² and it would appear that at these early periods he displayed an aptitude for construction, as well as for decorative or descriptive carving, and practised these arts ere he had taken his earliest lesson in architecture, and long before he had acquired the use of letters.³

Some of the most remarkable examples of the handiwork of these Tertiary men have lately been brought to light by the explorations

¹ See "Essay on the Antiquity of Man, as determined by the Occurrence of Stone Implements in Lateritic Formations in Various Parts of Madras and Narcot," by R. Brien Foot, of the Geological Survey of India; and notice of the discovery of the Gigantic Tortoise in the Sewalik Hills proved to be of Miocene age, by the late Dr. Falkner, and Captain, now Sir Proby Cautley, in the year 1836. This reptile, the shell of which measured 12 feet long, by 8 feet in diameter, and 6 feet high, is mentioned in the Indian Mythology, and portrayed as supporting the elephant with the world on his back; and was coexistent with the original inhabitants, as stated in their legends.—

"Quarterly Journal of Science," No. ix., January, 1866.

² See remarks on the discovery of markings on the bones of *Elephas meridionalis*, an animal of Pliocene age in Europe, supposed by Mons. Desnoyers and other naturalists to be of human production; also the discovery of a remarkable tooth, most probably the premolar of a man, found associated with the remains of *Diprotodon*, in an Australian cave, by Mr. Gerard Kreft.—"Quarterly Journal of Science," No. ix. Jan. 1866.

³ The Darwinian theory of man having been a development of an anthropoid ape receives a direct refutation in the relics of the *Miocene* human race.

of M. Bruillet and M. Meillet, in the caves of Chaffaud, in Poitou, and published by them in their work, "Epoques Antédeluvienne et Celtique du Poitou."

These explorers state that the carved bones were found in connexion with the remains of the bear, hyena, auroch, and other extinct Mammalia in the undisturbed stalagmite of the cave floor. These carvings represent spearheads, zigzag, or chevron ornaments, rings, *crosses* and *dots*; and in two instances the human face, seen in front and in profile, the former being produced by three groups of short lines, with a herringbone pattern beneath the chin; the latter being more artistic, and showing one arm extended in front of the figure, while overhead a spear appears in the act of descending, as if to strike the back of the head. In two instances we have the representation of a so-called serpent, with a row of filaments over the head, the body of one of the animals being decorated with a zigzag ornament. I cannot but think that these represent eel-like fish, the filaments being the pectoral fins.

Some of the carvings have what we would call an Oghamic look; and it is possible that these strokes, rings, and angular figures, are in reality the first effort at the construction of letters. Some of the bones are decorated with outlined figures of animals, such as the horse, and of birds: of the former, the most remarkable is that of an animal with a long trunk, like an elephant, but without tusks; a still longer tail; a mane like that of a horse, and very short legs. Can this represent the *Mammoth*? Mons. Lartet has described an ancient tomb, near Aurignac, in the South of France, before which funeral feasts had been held; and among the ashes were found flint implements, together with the burnt bones belonging to most of the extinct animals, including the *Mammoth*, in such a state as to show they had been cooked by man (Lyell's "Antiquity of Man"). It is quite possible that this representation is that of the *Mammoth*, and the impression conveyed by the contour of the figure is one of great helplessness.

From one of these Chaffaud caves some bones were procured, engraved with a series of devices pronounced by Mons. Pictet, of Geneva, to bear a striking resemblance to some of the letters of the Sanscrit alphabet in its oldest form, and which, according to the same high authority, was in use 400 or 500 years before the Christian era, Mons. Pictet with much reason doubts that this particular sculpturing was found directly associated with the bones of *extinct* Mammalia; but it is probable that it lay in a layer *above* the more ancient fragments, and got mixed with them when the authors were compiling their most admirable memoir.

As yet no very important discovery of cave remains has been made in Ireland, if we except the occurrence of the bones of *Elephas primigenius*, *Ursus spelæus*, *U. arctos*, *Cervus tarandus*, and a

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CARVINGS ON NATURAL ROCK, BALIDERRAGH CO. CAVAN

species of *Equus* of a size intermediate between the common horse and the zebra, in a limestone fissure which was broken into during some quarry operations near Dungarvan, in the year 1859."—(See Jukes' "Manual of Geology.")

If, however, not many of these drift or Pleistocene fragments have been brought to light in Ireland, we possess a collection of prehistoric megalithic remains, which in point of singularity of construction, numbers, and the quaint carvings with which many of them are decorated, far surpass anything of the kind as yet discovered either in England or the Continent, and are only approached in point of interest by the sculptured stones of Scotland,¹ and some of the great stone chambers or "dolmens" of the district of the Morbihan, in France, or those of Guernsey, and of Denmark.

The late discoveries by Mr. Eugene Conwell, of Trim, in the cairns on the peaks of the hills over Loughcrew, in the county of Meath, have, however, brought to light a series of megalithic structures so lavishly adorned with almost all the types of primeval as well as prehistoric sculpturings and devices, that this one locality alone is more rich in such remains than those existing in an entire province in France or Denmark.²

In the summer of the year 1864, while geologising over the district east of Oldcastle, in the county of Meath, I was fortunate enough to light on an example of carvings on a natural rock surface, which is unique in the East of Ireland, so far as our present information goes. These occur on the glacialized surface of an inclined bed of lower Silurian grit,³ near the summit of Ryefield Hill, in the townland of Ballydorrach, county of Cavan, one mile and a half to the north of the Virginia Road station on the Meath Railway.

The accompanying lithograph is copied from my original sketch of these markings, drawn to the scale of half an inch to the foot. The markings are all produced by simple scraping with a saw-like motion; and some of them, if not all, must have been formed by a metal implement. The figures most commonly represented are detached straight-armed crosses; but not unfrequently these are so grouped or clustered together as to form a network of lines crossing in every direction; in two instances these crosses are inclosed in four lines, or rather an oblong rectangular figure is crossed from angle to angle; sometimes a single line is crossed by two smaller

¹ See Publications of the Spalding Club, and those illustrating the rock sculpturings of Northumberland and the eastern Borders, by the Duke of Northumberland.

² The hafted stone hatchet sculptured in the dolmen called "Le Table des Marchands" in Brittany, and described in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish

Academy," by Samuel Ferguson, Esq., Q. C., has not as yet been discovered amongst the devices in any of the prehistoric megalithic chambered or other structures in Ireland.

³ The rock dips at 35° to the N.; the glacial strata on it bearing 40° W. of N., and E. of South; and consequently up the inclined plane.

lines near each other, and again one arm of the cross is terminated by a short blunt line, or an arrow-headed depression; all these markings, from the mode of their construction, are deeper at the central portion of the lines than at the extremities, which fine off.

Some of the crosses had a fresh look, as if but recently scraped; but the majority of them were either partially or totally concealed by a thick coating of lichen, the growth of many centuries, and they had to be carefully cleaned before their forms could be determined.

In addition to these scrapings there are some small rectangular, as well as arrow-headed notches produced by chiselling, and quite sharp in their outlines and depressed angles. The only local information I could gain regarding these singular sculpturings was the belief that they were the work of the fairies, or "good people," on "state nights," such as St. John's Eve; and when I asked if the children of the place frequented this stone as a playground, and scored these crosses for their amusement, my suggestion was gravely refuted, though it was admitted that the sloping surface of the rock was occasionally used as a stone slide (a "Montaigne Russe"), by the young people, the marks of which I could distinctly trace. The farmer on whose ground this rock crops up assured me that he had frequently bared the entire of its surface, and that the group of lines given in the lithograph are all that are on it.

Amongst the accurate remarks of my friend Mr. Graves, on this subject, he says that the simple cross is not essentially an emblem of Christianity, and its occurrence as ornamentation is no clue to the date of the work; and the truth of this is exemplified by some of the carved bones from the caverns of Chaffaud.

The *cruz ansata*, or handled cross, is an Egyptian emblem; the simple straight-armed cross is found on Roman glass bottles in the English barrows; and the Baron de Bonstetten in his "*Essai sur les Dolmens*" previously alluded to, states that crosses occur on the stones forming the rude sepulchral cists at Turiniac, in the Morbihan; one of the supporting stones of this dolmen being decorated with three oval palettes, attached to each other by crosses, or lines crossing.¹ This crossing of straight lines appears to have been the very earliest effort at decoration practised by the hunters of

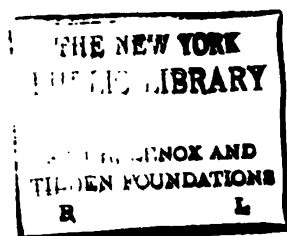
¹ See my note to the account of the Clonfinlagh Stone, *supra*.

With reference to the peculiar foot-marks on the Clonfinlough Stone, it is perhaps worthy of note, that in the "Comité Historique des Arts et Monuments," by Mons. Didron, he mentions that at Rheims Cathedral there occurs in one of the portals, upon one of the stones forming one of the arcades above

it, a monogrammatic device, and the outline of the sole of a shoe. The stone above it has the same character, and two soles of shoes; the third, the same character, and three soles of shoes, and so on. The shoe mark he also found at Strasburgh, and nowhere else; from this he argues that the masons who constructed the one building took part in that of the other.



MEATH



the Mammoth and other extinct animals in Europe, as it is a form most easily produced from its simplicity; and we find it very generally used in the decorations of our Pagan megalithic chambers.

That form of this emblem known to French archæologists as the cross "cramponé," which has the ends of the arms deflected from each other at right angles, or sometimes at an acute angle, is seen on Roman remains; as, for example, on the Roman altar found at Risingham.¹ It is very remarkable that this peculiar form of cross extends in an unbroken line, as it were, from Pagan to late Mediæval times. I have detected it on Ogham monoliths in the county of Kerry; and Mr. Hodder Westropp has correctly informed me that it is present on one of the Ogham stones in the gallery of the Royal Irish Academy's Museum. It is a frequent emblem on the coins of some of our Saxon Kings, especially those of EANBALD II., who was Archbishop of York, and who succeeded EANBALD I. in 796.²

It is also a mason mark, though I believe not a Masonic emblem; and is found as such on the exterior of the Cathedral of Cologne; it occurs also, as a similar mark, at Furness Abbey, in Roslin choir;³ a building of the transition period; and I dare say on many of our Mediæval cathedrals and churches in England.

The lithograph sketch of the North cist of the sepulchral chamber in the large cairn on the Western summit of Sleive-na-Caillighe, is here given in illustration of those brief remarks of mine on the discoveries of my friend Mr. Conwell, at that locality, published in the last number of this Journal. The lithograph will tell its own story better than any written description.

I may remark, however, that it is exceedingly interesting to find here the simple scraped cross inclosed in a rectangular figure, precisely similar to some of the most characteristic markings on the Ballydorrigh Stone; and here, also, directly associated with the earliest known devices, or decorations, or, for all that we can assert to the contrary, picture and symbolical writing.

I should mention that Mr. Conwell accompanied me on my second visit to the Ryefield Stone, and I am indebted to him for material aid in clearing its surface, and thus bringing to view many of the marks covered by the lichens.

¹ *Vide* "Archæologia Britannica," vol. xxv., p. 306.

xxx., p. 6.

³ *Idem*, vol. xxxiv., p. 33.

² *Vide* "Archæologia Britannica," vol.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Continued from Vol. V., New Series, page 353.)

SHORTLY after Florence had written his last letter on the subject of his cousin, the bonds and the succession to Carbery, another glimpse of political life, fleeting as all former ones, excited his hope for an occupation more dignified than his long pursuit of Barry's fine. O'Neill, Maguire, O'Donell, and others were in arms; there was much moving of troops, and a few skirmishes; but O'Neill was not yet prepared to push matters to extremity with the Queen's Government, nor were the authorities anxious to take extreme measures against him, and thus cut off all hope of reconciliation. Hence, though the Lord Deputy had an army on O'Neill's borders, proposals were constantly under consideration between both parties for O'Neill's submission. The reader has seen that upon a former occasion Florence had been desirous to be employed as a mediator between the Northern chieftains and the Government; he seized the present opportunity to renew the offer of his services, and to make one more trial upon the patience of the Minister relative to the matter of "the said fyne."

"1595. July 8. FLORENCE MAC CARTHY to SIR ROBERT CECILL.

—— "And now understanding that not onelie the rest of the Gent' of Mounster, but also by reason of myne absence, my young^r brother is, w^h som forces prepared by the countrey, to accompanie the Lo: President to this service; For that I have had som experience heretofore in Her Ma^{ty} service, hauinge allwayes ledd three or four hundred folowers out of that countrey to serue Her Highnes, and don better seruice then anie Gent' of Mounster, for the w^h I was, at my cominge hyther, not onely fauorable used by Her Ma^{ty} and the counsell; and hauing now diuers folowers there who haue serued long in the North, and doth know that countrey best of any other, hauing comaunded manie, and attained to great reputacōn there, by whose meanes, and knowledge of that countrey, and by other wayes w^h I wold willingly acquaint yo^r hono^r? w^hall, I doubt not but that I wold quiklie do hir Ma^{ty} good seruice yf I were there; and forasmuch as I am by the loss of liuing in my trouble, and the sute of this fyne, w^h cost me aboue £500, destitute of meanes to liue, I humbly besech yo^r Hon^r that I may haue yo^r furtherance, eyther to obtain the benefit of the sayd fyne, according to Her Ma^{ty} graunt, w^h by Her Highnes letters in the behalf of myne aduersarie was onely stayd untill such matters as he deliued against me had bene heard, or els that I, and my wife, may enioie to us, and our heirees males, two parcells of my

father in law is lands, w^h he morgadged, the one to his said daughter my wife, for her marriage goodes, and thother parcell to others there, of whom she will redeme it, or otherwise, to obtaine that Her Ma^{ty} will allow Sir Thomas Norreys two hundred Pounds of the composi^{ti}on of Mounster, and graunt Mr. Harbert Pelham, and George Goreinge som considera^{ti}on here for those two parcells of myne owne liuinge w^h I was constrained to morgadge, and lease; the one to Sir Thomas, and thother to them, in the time of my trouble. Thus humblie besechinge yo^r Hon^{ble} fauour, and furtherance, especially in dealeing w^h my Lo: yo^r Father for me, and conferringe w^h him hereof: and w^h of these thinges yo^r Hon^{ble} shall think metest, I will, uppon knowledge of yo^r Hon^{ble}s pleasure, procure Her Ma^{ty} to be moued therein; So w^h the remembraunce of my most bonden dutie, beseching God to preserue yo^r Hon^{ble}; I humblie take leue this 8th July 1595. Yo^r Hon^{ble}s most humble and bondē to comaund.

"fior: M^cCARTHY."

The attention of the Minister was called away from these contentions, but not from the chief party concerned in them—for it was to be his lot to have the affairs of Florence before him to the last day of his life—by the voice of a man almost as open an enemy of Florence as Barry himself. A despatch from Sir Geoffry Fenton brought tidings full of import to the destiny of Florence: his father-in-law was near his end, and the first note of warning of a fresh storm was sounded! The man whose story of his poverty filled so many letters had but lately "drawn to himself the old Head of Kinsale."

"1595. Oct. 17. *Endorsed*:—SIR GEOFFRY FENTON to LORD BURGHEY: delivered at Kinsale to a bark, 17 Oct. 1595.

"In my journey from Kinsale to Baltimore along the sea coste, I find that the old Head of Kinsale is latelie drawn into possession of Florence M^cCartie, now about the Courte in London; and as I learne from his neighbours, he hathe morgaged most parte of his owne patrimonie in the inland countrie to this end: and in truth I find that in all these partes there is not one soe fitt to be made the head of a faccion. There is no other cause for alarme here; for the Geraldines are all under foote; and the Lord Barry, and the M^cCarthies, are so addicted to the plough, and husbandry, &c., &c. The Earle of Clancar, who is M^cCarty More, is so poore, and sicklie as there is noe reckoning to be made of him, or his name.

"GEOFFRY FENTON."

During the whole reign of Elizabeth it was the custom—encouraged by her successive ministers—for every petty functionary in Ireland to write frequent, long, unofficial letters to their particular patrons in the Privy Council; the consequence of which was,

that there poured daily into England a vast flood of loose, contradictory, and malignant charges against men whom the writers, for whatever motive, desired to injure. From these charges no man who had anything which his neighbour coveted could escape; hence is the voluminous correspondence, preserved in the "State Paper Office," a vast *repertorium* of the gossip and private history of the time. This letter of Fenton is a fair specimen of the official correspondence of his day; of such rumours, and such suspicions, were the despatches from Ireland full. As long back as May, 1589, Sir Thomas Norreys had written home that "Florence had compassed the title of the Old Head of Kinsale, and was the same day that he was apprehended mynded to ryde thether to take possession of it." If Florence had mortgaged his lands to effect this purchase, he must have mortgaged them six years before Fenton wrote. It has been mentioned that he had inherited great wealth; he certainly needed not to mortgage the greater part of his property to possess himself of Kinsale! Another correspondent had written that the old Lord de Course had given this old fort to Florence, and with it as much of his lands as it was in his power to give. We are informed by the "*Carbriæ Notitia*"—a MS. often quoted by the late learned Dr. O'Donovan, and a copy of which is in the possession of the writer of these pages—that "Sir Donogh M^cCarthy gave to his son Florence no less than 27 ploughlands, as I think, worth £1500 per annum; so that 'twas said this Florence his estate in Carbry was better than his estate by his Wife, Heiress of M^cCarthy Mor." Certain it is that as long as he was a free man, that is, up to the time of his marriage, Florence appears rather as a lender than a borrower. The reader will recollect his appearance before Sir Thomas Norreys, and his obtaining that gentleman's letters into Desmond to authorize him to enter into possession of portions of the Earl of Clancar's lands, because that nobleman had failed in the performance of certain conditions on which he had advanced money to the Earl. It was not until the time of his trouble, when the gates of the Tower were between him and his resources, and the host of men who had invaded his lands, that he was compelled to enter into the traffic of lease and mortgage with money lenders in London, with his friends about the Court, and with the Vice-President of Munster, Norreys himself. Fenton possessed the keen eye of a detective, and had the credit of being a spy upon every Lord Deputy who came to Ireland; hence a saying that "he was a moth in the garments of every Lord Deputy of his time:" his passing glance was relied upon by Lord Burghley as seldom erring, and his opinion as a safe guide mostly; he was now able correctly to report what his own eyes beheld; that "the followers of the Lord Barry, and the M^cCarthyes were all addicted

to the plough and husbandry;" but wonderfully erroneous were the conclusions he drew from it, and from what he learned from their neighbours! Before long, every man in Munster, where "there was no cause for alarm," was in arms! The Geraldines, that "were all underfoot," mustered eight thousand weaponed men, and shut up all the Queen's forces within a circle of a mile or two of the city of Cork! and, notwithstanding the many warnings of Norreys, St. Leger, Browne, Barry, Popham, and Fenton, Kinsale and its old Head, "a fortress erected against the Irishry in times past," was left undefended, to welcome the Spanish fleet when it came.

This letter of Fenton had no ill effect upon the fortunes of Florence; happily for him, he was in London at the time, and at hand to give to Lord Burghley any explanation that he might think requisite. Sir Geoffrey Fenton had returned from Kinsale to Dublin, and been sent thence, with Sir Robert Gardiner, to Dundalk, to conduct one of the various negotiations with the Northern chiefs for a truce. Shortly previous to his leaving Dublin, Florence arrived there. He had brought with him letters from the Lord Treasurer, not only to the Deputy, Sir William Russel, and to the Council, but also to the Vice-President of Munster, about his suit; from which it would appear that the English Minister had at length handed over that wearisome matter to the local legal authorities. The opinion expressed by Florence in the following letter, of the little knowledge that his countrymen had of the great power of the Government which they so recklessly defied, gives the reader a clue to the after conduct of the writer, which neither Carewe nor his own countrymen seem to have understood. Florence perfectly well knew, not only the number and the character of the Queen's forces in Ireland, but the matchless resources of the English nation, and the fierce resolution of Elizabeth to empty the whole treasure of her kingdom, and to send every British soldier into Ireland, rather than that her pride should be made to bend before the pride of O'Neill, and that rebellious subjects should bring discredit upon her reputation, in the face of those Continental powers which she most hated. The opinion of Florence has been repeated by Cox, in the very words in which Florence wrote it:—"The Irish chiefs were grown into such extreme pride and folly, that they were standing upon great terms." The first of these terms was "a general liberty of conscience." The sequel showed that the interpretation by these foolish Irish of the motive of the Queen's "strong desire of a Peace" was the true one. All that resulted from the diplomatic ability of Gardiner and Fenton was a truce for three months. How much respect was shown by Fenton to the bearer of the Lord Treasurer's letters Florence did not fail to make known to the writer.

"1596. April 13. To SIR ROBERT CECIL.

"It may please yo^r Hon^r, hauing about the time that Sir Robert Gardner came hyther, deliuid my letters to the Lo: Deputie, by whom, and the rest of the Councell (onely Sir Geoffrey Fenton excepted) I was honourable used, and told by his Lo^p that I shalbe well imployed yf there by any occasion, but I was denied of a protection, because the Judges who are of the Councell, wold grant none. The Lord Gefall hath on Freeday laste being the Freeday before Easter, taken his journey towards Dundalk to parle wth the Earle of Tیرهwen, who as I do heare commonly reported is (yf, as it be suspected, he doth not dissemble) desirous to accept any condicions of peace that her Matie wilbe pleased to grant him; but O'Donnell, and the rest of those fooles, are grown into such extreme pride and folie, by reason they have neyther witt, knowledge, nor experience to judg or weigh her Mats power, that they stand uppon greate tearmes, as it is sayd; but I pray Good the Earle himself have witt or grace to show now his thankfullnes for the great aduancements that he hath received at her Ma^{ty} hands. Before the Lo: Gefall departed I had conference with his Lo^p concerning those of the North, and wold have gon wth him, but that I haue no credit, nor acquaintance wth the Earle of Tیرهwen, but before his Lo^p departed I told him what credit and acquaintance I had with O'Donnell, and what good hope I had, uppon conference wth him, to bring him to som good conformitie, as also that I was very willing to venter my life, or bestow any paines or travayle that lay in me to benefit her Ma^{ty} in what sorte soever his Lo^p wold direct me; whereuppon his Lo^p, accepting well of myne offer, willed me to stay here at Doubling for the space of ten dayes, and that he wold parle wth the Earle; and yf O'Donnell be there his Lo^p will send for me; or yf he find the Earle conformable to any reason he will send for me and send me to O'Donnell. In regard thereof I haue omitted to go into Mounster wth my Lo: Třřer's letters about my suite, or about any other busines, untill I know whether my service here now, may in any sorte avayle or benefitt her Matie; but I wrote thyther that som souldiers may be in areadines for me, yf the warres be not now at an end, and so hauing thought fitt to acquaint yo^r Honor herewithal, and what myne ended may do herein The Lo: Generall will acquaint your honour withall.

"1596. I humbly take leue this 13th day of April yo^r Honor. most humble and bond^e.

"fłor: M^cCARTHY."

Were there not such undeniable evidence of reality in the animosity of Florence towards Barry, we might be tempted to suspect that all the long noisy contest for the £500, and the reiterated story of the ruin to his finances occasioned by it, was but the present of a little dust—"pulveris exigui parva munera"—for the eyes of the authorities, both in Ireland and England, whilst he purchased a harbour in which to receive the Spanish fleet, and a fortress which in other hands might dispute its entry. What his enemies repre-

sented as a "common purse made up for him to enable him to do the great things he had promised them" was, with much apparent ingenuousness, avowed by Florence as means supplied by his friends to enable him to bring this vexatious suit to an end, and to bear up against the ruinous legal charges occasioned by it. But a great crisis was at hand in the fortunes, both pecuniary and political, of Florence! The Earl of Clancar, who had been sickening when Fenton last wrote, died towards the close of the year 1596. It is in vain that we turn to the "Annals of the Four Masters" for some few passages of eulogy upon this great Irish Lord. Sir Donogh and Sir Owen Mac Carthy, the father and the uncle of Florence, as the reader has seen, both received their tribute of commendation from the chroniclers of their country; Mac Carthy Mor was a greater chieftain than they; could these writers have conscientiously recorded one word of veneration or regret for him, they would have surely written it! All that they record is, that "Mac Carthy Mor died; namely, Donnell, the son of Donnell, son of Cormac Ladh-rach, son of Teige; and, although he was usually styled Mac Carthy Mor, he had been honourably created Earl by order of the Sovereign of England. There was no male heir who could be installed in his place (nor any heir), except one daughter (Ellen), who was the wife of the son of Mac Carthy Reagh, *i. e.* Fineen; and all thought that he was the heir of the deceased Mac Carthy, *i. e.* Donell."

It would be well for the fame of this English Earl if the enumeration of his illustrious ancestors could stand with sufficiency in the stead of personal virtues; if the names of Finin of Ringroan, of Donal Mor-ne-Curra, of St. Cormac of Cashel, could reflect so much of their patriotism, their gallantry, and their piety upon this last male descendant of their elder line, as to turn away the mind of the reader from seeking other merit from their descendant! Can nothing, then, be discovered, absolutely nothing, decently to cover the memory of this descendant of so many chieftains? Must the last name of an illustrious roll pass out of sight into ignominy with that pitiful letter of Herbert as the sole just *epitaphium* of Mac Carthy Mor? Alas! little can be said over the dust one would so willingly hold in honour! but yet not absolutely nothing! The reader has but too often had occasion to see that the Earl's private life had not been edifying; he may be surprised to learn that out of this infirmity of his nature has proceeded what remains best to be said of his memory!

"Donald Mac Carthy," we are informed by the very learned Edward O'Reilly, in his "Transactions of the Ibero-Celtic Society," created first Earl of Clan-Carthy this year (1565), was author of some poems, two only of which have reached us—1. A small poem, of sixteen verses, beginning *Aríling épuag do meap meirí* 'A sorrowful vision has deceived me'; 2. A poem of forty-four

verses, beginning 'Uò an uò! a mhu,pe bu,be.' 'Alas! Alas! O benign Mary: a pious address to the Blessed Virgin Mary.'

MacCarthy Mor had rather consented to be made an Earl, than solicited the honour. He was removed from the usual inducement of surrendering his lands, and resuming them from the Queen; for he had an only son, and neither brother nor nephew, who might, by usage of Tanistry, delay his son's succession; but it was the fate of this unwise nobleman to be in constant oscillation between rebellion and submission. In one of his periods of disgrace he found himself compelled to secure the pardon of Elizabeth by accepting this Earldom, which brought upon him the jealousy and scorn of Shane O'Neill. Had the acceptance of this title been unattended by the exaction of any equivalent, the English reader might, perhaps, think that the Earl had been rather rewarded than punished for his disloyalty; but this Earldom carried with it conditions which no just sovereign could impose, no honest man accept. MacCarthy Mor was called upon to resign into the hands of the Queen lands which were not his own! and to resume them as her free gift, with succession to his son! and in failure of heirs male, supposing his son to die without issue male, the reversion of the said lands to be in the Queen! Thus were the parties to this iniquitous bargain committing three grievous violations of the rights of other men; for, first, the lands were sept lands, not the property of the life occupant, to make subject of traffic and conditions; to the sept alone, from whom he had received them, could MacCarthy Mor resign them, and from them alone could he hold them. Secondly, the succession to the high trust of Headship over no less than "14 Lords of countries" depended, not upon the accident of Donal McCarthy's leaving issue, or no issue, but upon the free election of those Lords, as much as the succession to an Earldom depended upon such arrangement as the Queen might choose to make! And, thirdly, the reversion of the lands was the undoubted right of any one qualified to hold, and regularly endowed with them by the free election of the sept. With no care on the part of the Earl but to avert a present danger, and no consideration on that of the Queen but to abolish the rights of chieftry and of sept election, and, as opportunity might offer, to dissipate the largest remaining Irish estates in the South of Ireland, this bargain was made. The supposed case occurred; the Earl died, and his son died; and no male issue survived them. The reader has been already informed that the young Baron Valentia had been seized in his childhood as a hostage for his father's good behaviour; and that shortly after the death of the Earl of Desmond, his uncle, the authorities in Dublin, anxious to be rid of so great responsibility, had sent him to London; from London he was sent back to Dublin, destined to receive his education in the Castle there. "Within four months the boy unduti-

fully escaped to France." His cousin Fitzgerald, the son of the great rebel of Desmond—a child like himself—was shut up in the Tower of London. It was not likely that as long as this imprisonment lasted young Valentia would desire, or be allowed, to return to Ireland; before long the follower of his father, "who had enticed and conveyed him away," was found begging in Desmond "for some relief for the young Lord." From France this boyish exile never returned. We learn, incidentally, by a letter from Florence Mac Carthy, that he died in that country. His death must have taken place before the Christmas of 1588; for at that time was written by Sir W. Herbert to Walsingham, the notable letter in which he says that, "besides the 6000 Acres which he meant to take, he was desirous to have other 6000 Acres after the Earl of Glincar's death." Browne, too, was at that same period bickering with Herbert over the lands of Bally M'Daniel and Smerwick. It was not till the latter days of the Earl's life, when Florence was evidently rising in favour at Court, as was shown by the matter of Barry's fine, that any of the Undertakers had the least doubt but that, at the Earl's death, the whole of his possessions would be seized by the Queen, and distributed amongst such of them as might be so fortunate as to stand well with one or other of the great Lords of the Privy Council. How many attempts to blacken the reputation of Florence these men made the reader has seen; how successfully he had been able to discredit or explain away all their charges was hidden from their eyes till the Earl's death, when his great possessions were to be distributed. No sooner was the breath out of the body of Mac Carthy Mor, than began such a scramble for the lands of Desmond as had not been seen since the great forfeiture of the Fitzgeralds; but it was presently discovered that the political condition of Ireland had made Florence Mac Carthy a person of importance, and the Undertakers not only of no account, but a source of weakness to the Government, on which fell the discredit of their evil actions; and it was at once perceived that the only claimants to the Earl's inheritance likely to meet with any consideration were his widow, Florence in right of his wife, the Earl's only legitimate child, and Donal the base son. Each of these separate claims was referred to lawyers and functionaries of the Irish Government, in order that upon their recommendation the Queen's decision might be made. In the mean while a tremour passed through every English home in Munster, and "the poor English Gentlemen" made a final attempt to communicate their terrors to the Privy Council. No more was heard about the thousands of acres which these men "meant to take," but their prayer was to be "protected from the revenge of Florence Mac Carthy, who was not likely to forget the loss of so many of his near kinsmen and friends." Had the common dread of Florence's ambition been less deep-rooted than it was,

some at least of his adversaries might have seen rather a gain than a detriment in his succession to the inheritance of his father-in-law; for, were he once in possession of the vast Lordship of Desmond, the succession to Carbery would be of less importance, and the fine so clamorously contested would not be worth the time and vexation spent in the pursuit of it. But Barry probably knew that he had offended his adversary too grievously to be forgiven; Mac Carthy Reagh may have considered the acquisition of Desmond as but a more certain means of securing the succession to Carbery; but for the Brownes, who appear to have thrown the bulk of their fortune into the Irish land scheme, who for many years had dedicated their skill and industry to the amelioration of *their* seignior, the prospect was one of utter ruin. It is true that Browne was in possession of his patent, which purported to secure to him, on payment of a moderate yearly rent to the Queen, the enjoyment of his lands in perpetuity. It was surely too late now for Florence, or any one else, to tender payment of the sums lent to the Earl, and so to clear off the mortgage? Alas for the inexperience of Nicholas Browne! He was a model farmer; he was a match for Oisín in song, and his son Oscar in valour! the voice of his anger, when he threatened the head of his enemy, was terrible as the shrieks of ghosts; the deathless echoes of the tramp and splash of his Hogen-den horsemen through the glens and bogs of Desmond may scare the peasantry of those weird solitudes to this day; but in the niceties of legal dialectics what chance had he with a man who from his cradle had been associated with lawyers—whose father, uncles, and other lords “had,” as the Cork jurors complained, “wrought such a policy to entertain all the lawyers of the province, whereby no freeholder nor poor man could have a lawyer to speak in his cause, be it never so just”—whose pathway through life had been a network of legal springes—whose feet as instinctively gave tidings of their ambush, as the antennæ of insects of the meshes spread by *their* attorneys for *them*—and who had made the succession to the estates of the Earl his especial study for years past? A flight of suits and suitors was presently winged across the Irish Channel; and in lodgings in Westminster, in chambers of the Inns of Court, was to be fought a fiercer and more effective fight for the lands of Desmond than had been fought in the contested country itself by Raymond le Gros and the ancestors of Florence. Browne with his patent, Barry with his charges, their allies, episcopal and political, turned their faces to the decisive battle ground where the Lords of the Privy Council were to decide the matter. If anything could add to the displeasure with which Browne contemplated his position, it must have been that the man who had been the plague of his existence for so many years was to meet him where neither good Sir Thomas’ warrant nor the Queen’s horsemen could avail

him. Donal, the Munster Robin Hood, as it was the pleasure of his English biographers to call him—that flitting, fiery light of the Swamps of Desmond—would be already awaiting his arrival in London. This man—nurtured in woods and bogs, knowing no pursuit save the pursuit of Browne’s cattle, no pastime but the worrying of Browne’s English peasantry, and the wanton destruction of every thing that was Browne’s, knowing, and desiring to know, nothing of patents or mortgages, law or lawyers—this man, whose plunderings were countless, whose murders were not a few, who had “preyed a Church,” and would gladly have burned an Archbishop, if Miler M’Grath, the Pope’s ex-Capuchin, Her Majesty’s Southern Metropolitan, had fallen within his clutch—was now metamorphosed, as if by magic, into an ordinary civilized subject; and, putting aside the raiment of his country, and attired in decent hose like Browne himself, was actually repairing with his parchments and papers, like any common suitor, to the lawyers, and Ministers in London! Donal, with his name in whole volumes of English correspondence, who could walk over pitfalls, for he saw them not, fearlessly presented himself before the Vice-President of Munster, and requested letters of recommendation to the Lo: Treasurer; and Sir Thomas Norreys, with his usual urbanity, furnished the letters, and Donal departed.

There is, doubtless, something remarkable in the readiness with which Sir Thomas Norreys afforded his letters of recommendation to Florence upon all occasions when it was of urgent importance to him to have them. We have seen instances of this already, and we shall see more of them hereafter. Some little exercise of compression upon his conscience may have been requisite upon these emergencies; but, if so, how great a violence must he have done to its susceptibility in wording as he now did a letter in favour of Donal! An anonymous writer, towards the end of the year 1598, gives a commentary of his own on the conduct of the Vice-President towards Donal, and all who, like him, lived after a law of their own:—“In Munster, anno —,” says this writer, “Donell Mac Carthy, a bastard of the Earl of Glincair, greved, as he said, that his father allotted him no maintenance, fell into open rebellion, preyed and spoiled many, and gatt manie roges to follow him. Sir Thomas Norreys, then Vice-President of the province, protected him, and procured him his pardon. — Small resistance to the rebell, and small ayde to the subject, did the President give! When anie came to complain that he had lost his cows, ‘Why,’ sayeth he, ‘must I keep thy cows?’”

Had Lord Burghley invited Nicholas Browne to explain to him his meaning of that passage of his letter which he had underlined, doubtless with the intent of seeking such explanation, “I know him (Florence) to be a great Briber to his power,” we should have

escaped the danger of guessing, upon occasions like this, whom he had in his hidden thought when he wrote. But Donal now intended to tread in the steps of the Lord Chief Justice of England, to reform his life, and to hold his possessions—those he had in prospective—according to English tenure, by submission, that is, to statute law, in so far as it related to his accepting the protection of English authority against Browne and the Queen's horsemen. Hence Sir Thomas Norreys may have had the less reluctance to furnish him with the character which he intended to deserve. From the letters of Browne, of Norreys, Herbert, St. Leger, and a multitude of others, the reader has had plentiful opportunity of forming an opinion of the character of Donal; with this present to his mind, he will more easily appreciate the social value of Donal's brethren, the other base sons, three in number, whom the Earl left behind him, when he is informed that the Vice-President of Munster was able to assure the Lord Treasurer that Donal was "of all this base brood, the one of beste reputacion." He had been "reclaymed to duetifull offycess;" and Sir Thomas was of opinion, as were also the other gentlemen charged with him to report upon Donal's claims, that it would contribute to the quiet of the country of Desmond to allow him to inherit the lands left to him by his father's will.

"1597. 14 January. NORREYS and others to the Privy Council in favour of DONELL M'CARTHY, base Son of the EARL of CLANCARE.

"It may please your moste Honourable good Ll: to be advertized that this bearer Donell M^cCartye, base Sonne to the late Earle of Clancare deceased, myndinge to repayre into Englande desyred our l^{ms} of testymonye of his carriadge sithence he was by us reclaymed to duetifull offyces, and also in commendacon of his suyte w^h he meaneth to make to Her Ma^{ty}. Truely he hath verye coffendablie, cyvyllie, and duetyfullie behaved hymselfe sithence his cofynge in uppon Her Ma^{ty} protectyon. In regarde whereof we haue byn the rather moued for his better mayntenance to contynue his possession in the pcels of landes w^h he can shewe to haue byn conveyed unto him by the said Earle in his liefie tyme (althoughe some ceremonyes wanted w^h thextremitye of the lawe in transmutation of possessions requyrythe) And nowe that wee understande the said Earle to haue ben but tenant in Tayle of the said landes, the reversion in Her Ma^{ty}, and therefore uppon his deathe wthout yssue inheritable to the same, his intereste in the said lande verye weake, wee humblye commende his suyte (w^h he meanythe to make to Her Highnes for the said landes) to your Honour's favourable consideratyon. And likewyes that yt will stande wth y^r Ll: good pleasure to grant l^{ms} for the passinge Her Highnes pardon unto him (yf it shall so seme good to yo^r Ho^{ty}.) w^h suyts beinge to him graunted wee thinck shalbe a verye good occasion to settle great quiett in the contrey of Desmonde. The consideracon whereof wee most humblye leave to yo^r honourable regarde.

"From Mallow 14 Jan^y 1596.

"THOS. NORREYS. G. GOLDE. F. BARKLEY."

No time was lost in furnishing the Lo^d Treasurer with the opinions which he had demanded respecting the more important claims of Florence to the estates of the late Earl. The very next day after the Vice-President had despatched Donal, he and Robinson sent the following opinion of the expediency of "allowing to Florence some favour and relief, and thus avoiding the grief and discontent that it would breed in all the Clancarties to see the Earl's daughter utterly disinherited." Most important was it that Sir Thomas had not allowed the delay of many hours between his last and his present despatch! for the manifesto of "the poore English Gentlemen" was preparing; and, judging from the remarkable absence of the signature of the Lord Barry, we are led to surmise that that document was at last hurried away in the hope of its reaching London before the decision of the Privy Council should be pronounced.

"1597. January 15. NORREYS & ROBINSON to the L^d. TREASURER.

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father's surrender, and his unthriftie mortgadge, utterlie disinheritted, Wee most humbly submitte to yo^r Ho^r grave iudgem', and rest ever pra'ing for the longe continuance of yo^r Ho^r estate.

"Killmallocke the 16 of Jan^r. 1596.

"THOS. NORREYS.

"—— ROBINSON."

This official opinion was in the hands of the Lord Treasurer before the remonstrance of the poor English Gentlemen could be sent from Ireland; he had thus time to ponder well which of the two evils were the weightier, to grieve and discontent the whole race of the Mac Carthys and their allies, or the Bishop of Ardfert and the five Undertakers whose respectable signatures adorn as remarkable a document as is to be found amongst Her Majesty's "State Papers."

"1597. February 12. BP. of ARDFERT, the BROWNES, and others to the Privy Council.

"R^t. Hon: & our Singler good Lords, most humbly cravinge pardon we have presumed, understandinge that Florence M^c Cartie prepareth himself to be a suiter unto Her Ma^{ty} and your Honors for the landes and honor of the late deceased Earle of Clancartie, to sett downe unto your Honors the state of the Countrie, as also the condition of the partie, w^{ch} the nature of the people, the troubles maie ensue unto Her M^{ty} and State, wth the miseries lieke to fale uppon us poore English Gentlemen, and all Englishe inhabitants heere dwellinge. The Countrie, a great continent of greate fastnes and strengthes, and the saied Florence alreadye Taniste of Carberie, a countrie almoste as great as the Earle's, and all these whose names are heere inclosed beinge Lordes of Countries, and great commanders, his allies or followers: The Gentleman himselfe a moste notable papiste, and a favorer of all superstitious maner of livinge, broughte upp wth his uncle James Fitz Morris, and his conversation hath bene much wth men not well affected unto Her Ma^{ty}, as wth Jacques, and such lieke: Himself and all his Howse come out of Spaine. The natures of the people and his followers, are only to followe their Lo: not respectinge anie alleagences unto ther prince, as good prooffe hath bine made by a follower of O'Sullevant Moores who deliuered in open sessions 'He knewe no prince but O'Sullevant More'—for w^{ch} he loste his ears. The danger wee poore Englishemen stande in cannot be but great, for a man of his greatnes if he obtaine his suite, cannot forgeat in his own nature the losse of so manie his neer kinsemen and frinds; if he woulde, his followers and kinsemen who have ever bene bluddie and desierous of revenge, woulde never forgeat; wherefore our humble sute unto your Honors is that it maie be divided amongste Gentlemen of good sorte and condition, and such as alwaies have byne, and are lieke to continue good subiects and moste to the benefite of Her Ma^{ty}, and not to be a strengthe in one man's handes, in whome their is great psumption of trouble unto Her Ma^{ty} and State, and so an utter subversion and overthrowe unto us Her Ma^{ty} moste trew and obediente poore subjectes. And thus humbly

submitting ourselves and our cause unto your Honourable consideration we humbly take leave this. Yo^r. Lps to be comaunded.

"12 of Febr^y 1596.

"NICH^O. ARTFERT^E.

"EDW^D. GRAYE.

"CHA. HERBERT.

"THO. SPRINGE.

"NIC. BROWNE.

"THO. BROWNE."

(Enclosure)—"A not of such as are Lordes of Cuntries being Finnin Mac Cartis kinsmen, and followers of the Earls of Clancarte wthin Desmond and the County of Cork adioining uppon Desmond.

"CORMOK M^{AC} DERMONDE, } Finnin's Aunt's Sonns.
"TEG M^{AC} DERMOND,

"O'SULLEVAN MOOAR, married unto Finnin's Sister.

"O'SULLEVANT BEAR.

"O'DONNAOGH-GLAN.

"M^{AC} GILLO CUDDIE.

"M^{AC} CREHON.

"M^{AC} GILLO NEWLAN.

"M^C DONNELL.

"HUGH CORMOK of Dungwill.

"CLAN DERMOND.

"CLAN LAWREAS.

"HUGH DONILL BRIK.

"M^C FINNIN.

"M^C FINNIN DUFF.

"CLAN TEIGE KETTAS.

"M^C DONNOGH BARRET.

"M^{AC} CAWLEF.

"O'KIFFE.

"O'KELAHAN.

"O'DALE.

"With many others, and alied by himselfe and his wife unto most of the noblemen in Ierelapd."

Two days after the date of this petition followed a despatch from Sir Geoffry Fenton. His collusion with the men whose names followed that of the Bishop of Ardfert is so glaring, that he might as well have signed their paper, and embodied in it his own advice for the issue of letters to the Vice-President "to lay hold of Florence." It was evidently considered more effective strategy to send the official letter separately. It reached the hands of Sir Robert Cecyll, doubtless, by the same post that carried its counterpart to the Privy Council.

"1597. Febr^y. 14. To SIR ROBERT CECYLL.

"The Earle of Clancar a great Lord in Munster being now dead, and Florence Mac Carthy, by marrying with his heir general, having an ap-

parent pretence to the Earledóm, I fear some alteration will grow in those partes by Florence, who is more Spanish than English; and I received this day advice from Munster that Florence alreadie begins to stir coales, in which respect I wish your Honour to advise with my Lord Treasurer out of hand, to have him either sent for thither, or some special letter written to the Lord President of Munster to lay hold of him, to make stay of him in his person, or to see him assured upon good pledges; for without the one of these two preventions I look that he will be a dangerous Robin Hood in Munster.

"14 Feb'. 1596.

"GEOFFREY FENTON."

Florence needed no warrant from the Lo: Treasurer to compel his repair to London; within ten days of the date of this letter of Fenton he applied to the Vice-President for his passport, and received, as usual, Sir Thomas' certificate of his good and dutiful carriage.

"1597. Feb'. 23. NORREYS to CECYLL.

"R'. Hon.

"I haue ben earnestlie entreated by M^r. Florence M^r Cartye to recomende him to yo^r good fauor in these feowe, w^h, for that his good and dutifulle carriadge towards Her Matie hath meritted noe lesse, I could not but grante him. His suite is at this tyme to be inhabelede to live a setteled course of life on somewhat that his late dicesed father in lawe hath left behynde him; the pticulareties I leave to his owne relaçon, humbly craueinge that you will be pleased to continewe your fauorable regarde of him w^h he acknowledgeth alreadye to have tastede of in lardge measure. Thus leavinge him to yo^r Ho^r regarde, and yo^r. Ho: to Godes divine ptection, I rest moste dutifullie affected to doe you service.

"Moyallo 23 Feb' 1596.

"THO^s NORREYS."

It is impossible not to recognise, in the simple and speedy settlement of the minor claims on this inheritance, the prompt and prudent management of Florence himself. The claim of the Countess met with no opposition from him; that of Donal was admitted—not indeed as of right, but of favour—there remained the pretensions of Browne, and, after them, the rights of the Queen. How he proceeded to deal with the former, we shall presently see. Between him and the effect of his eloquence with Her Majesty there interposed another of those terrible documents which, at various critical periods of his life, pursued him even into the Privy Council with denunciations of his birth, his alliances, his religion, and his cunning! The first claim to be despatched was that of Donal, in whose behalf the will of his father was allowed to take effect; Her Majesty's gracious Warrant in favour of the aged Countess next followed.

"1598. *May 25. ROGER WILBRAHAM to SIR ROB^t. CECYLL.*

"According as you require I have considered all the state of Donell Mac Carthy.

"First I find by pap^{rs} only (and as it seemeth signed by the Earle his Fathers hand) all the parcells mentioned in the Survey, were assigned to the Petitioner Donell and his heirs, by the said Earle, and so the verdictt and Survey true, saving that a parcell called Cannasamad specified in 5th Article in the Survey, is not so called in the Earle's writing, but is called Killegen, which he sayeth is all one thing besides names, and I think his suggestion true because it agreeeth in quantitie.

"The contents of said lands are seven Quarters, some Quarters containing four ploughlands, some three, some five, as the country manner is variable. I think meete, if it please Her Majestie, that he have an Estate to him and his heires males of his body, of the said seven quarters, lying in the remote partes of Kerry and Desmond: And when the Jury in the Survey value each Quarter to be four shillings Irish per Annum I wish the Rent to be encreased to xx shillings Irish per An^m. each quarter of land, with these condicions.

"1st. That there be a saving of all strangers' rights.

"2^d. The Estate to be forfeited if he or his heirs commit treason.

"3^d. That if hereafter upon survey it appears to exceed 7 q^{rs}. he shall pay for the surplussage 20^s p^r. an^m. for each quarter.

"4. It will be convenient letters be written to keep him in possession of such as he or his tenants at will hath had quiet possession of for one or two years last past; and of the rest not to disturb the possessioners, till he have recovered by order of law, or before the gouernor or Lord President. And so returning herein all the papers touching that cause which Your Honor sent me, and submitting the cause to your Honor's good consideration I most humbly take leave.

"From Gray's Inn this 25 May 1598.

"ROGER WILBRAHAM."

"1598. *Aug^t 13. Warrant to the Government in Ireland to allot a sufficient Dower to HONORA COUNTESS of CLANCARTY.*

"Trusty, &c. We greet you well. Whereas we have by our late letters required you to authorize by our commission our President of Munster and others to enquire out and survey all the lands, rents, services and duties which ought to come to us by the death of the late Earl of Clancarie without heirs males of his body, and that the surveyors of those lands should without further warrant allot to Onora Countess of Clancary a reasonable portion for her dower. Now that the said survey may not (as is doubted) be speedily effected, we think mete, if none of our Council of Dublin can be spared for that service, that then other mete persons may proceed herein without delay: and further to express our princely favour for the relief of the said Countess, we do hereby require you that if the said survey of the late Earl's lands may not be effected within two months after the Countesses repair into our realm of Ireland, that then you give direction to our said President of Munster to possess the said Countess of a full third part of all the late Earl's castles, lands, rents, services, customb

and duties belonging to us, and whereof by our laws she is dowable, to hold the same as her dower during her life; and if any other profits and hereditaments of the said Earl may hereafter be found out and discovered for us by survey or other lawful means, whereof she is dowable, you shall by this our authority establish her in the quiet possession of the third part in full satisfaction of her dower, in which designment, as we mean of our especial grace that the said Countess shall have a full third part in certainty for her dower of all the said Earl's late inheritance as may be most convenient for her estate and maintenance, so likewise we expect the other two parts thereof to be reserved so entire to us as may be convenient for our service, and for the best satisfaction of such as shall be humbly suitors to us for those lands. Lastly if it appears to the commissioners of the said survey that the said Countess hath not received a third part of the mean profits of the premises, sithens the death of her husband, then we require you after it shall be found out by jury or otherwise what the mean profits are, and who have received the same, then the Commissioners assign to the said Countess so much as belongs to her for her dower, reserving the residue to us, and for such uses as are expressed in our former letter therein," &c.

Cleared of the claims of Donal and the Countess, the question of the inheritance was much simplified. There still remained a vast possession, which, if the surrender of the Earl was to be held effective, lapsed to the Queen. Of a large portion of these lands Her Majesty had granted, during the Earl's lifetime, a prospective lease in perpetuity to the Brownes; but the Earl, ignoring altogether any rights either present or prospective, in the Queen consequent upon his surrender of his country to her, and recognising, as far as Browne was concerned, only his claim to hold certain portions of his lands as long as he held certain sums of Browne's money, had executed other mortgages of these and other lands on a grand scale, to Florence, as dower with his daughter. Florence adopted the Earl's views of his rights, and proceeded to lay before the Queen his "Reasons" why the Earl's lands ought to descend to Ellen his wife, and to his heirs. Shortly afterwards he petitioned Her Majesty graciously to waive her claims in his favour; to allow him to repay the trifling sums lent by Browne, and to resume all the lands which Browne, by some singular mental process, had evidently convinced himself he was justified in calling his *seignory*. The political condition of Ireland quickened the decision of the Irish lawyers to whom the matter had been referred for investigation, and of the Privy Council, to whose final award the Queen had left it. It had become of importance to conciliate the numerous and powerful sept of the Mac Carthys—none any longer to gratify the Brownes and their allies.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1866.
EIGHTEENTH SESSION.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. V.—PART III.
NEW SERIES.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR MEMBERS ONLY.
1866.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR 1866.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments,
William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January the 17th
(by adjournment from the 3rd), 1866.

The REV. RICHARD DEVERELL, A. M., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Very Rev. J. Bruton, Knoctopher; and Laurence J. Ryan, Esq., Head Master, Kilkenny National Model School : proposed by Mr. J. Hogan.

Denis Caulfield Heron, Esq., LL. D., J. P., 7, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin : proposed by C. H. Foot, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

The Rev. N. R. Brunskill, Danesfort, Kilkenny; and M. J. Whitty, Esq., Gambier-terrace, Liverpool : proposed by Mr. Prim.

The Rev. Hugh Flattery, St. John's, Limerick : proposed by Maurice Lenihan, Esq.

William O'Neill, Esq., C. E., 38, Cook-street, Cork : proposed by George M. Atkinson, Esq.

Henry Fitzsimons, Esq., A. B., T. C. D., High-street, Kilkenny : proposed by Dr. James.

The Report of the Committee for the year 1865 was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows:—

“At the close of the seventeenth year of the Society's existence, it is gratifying to your Committee to be enabled to present a most favourable report of its condition. On the 31st of December, the List of Members numbered 639, showing an increase of nine in the year. 56 new Members were elected in 1865, whilst 47 names had been removed in consequence of deaths, resignations, and non-payment of subscriptions. The contributors to the Illustration Fund are increasing, and your Committee hope for yet more accessions to this list of benefactors before the present year expires.

“The Treasurer's account for the year 1864, which will be laid before the meeting, presents the gratifying features of a considerable increase of income, together with a clear balance of £129 14s. 7½d., all debts and liabilities for the year being discharged. The increase of income cannot, however, be looked on as permanent, having in a great degree arisen from the desire of Members to supply themselves with the back numbers of the ‘Journal.’ The balance was also swelled by the liberality of two Members of the Society, Captain Langton, and Mr. A. G. ‘Geoghegan, who defrayed the entire cost of certain papers contributed to the ‘Journal’—the latter presenting to the Members a continuation of his ‘Early History of Londonderry,’ and the former relieving the Society from the greater part of the cost of printing the ‘Memorials of the Langton Family,’ compiled by Mr. Prim. The example of these gentlemen has, during the past year, been followed by Mr. Daniel MacCarthy, whose donation towards printing the ‘Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy’ will come into the accounts of 1865. The Society has also been presented by Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M.P., with a large number of expensive woodcuts necessary for the illustration of Dineley's Tour in Ireland, which have been engraved at Mr. Shirley's sole expense. Your Committee would fain hope that the good example set by these gentlemen may lead others to do likewise.

“During the past year there were no withdrawals by Members in arrear, but your Committee are sorry to be obliged to place on record the following list of Members whose names are temporarily removed from the Roll for non-payment of subscriptions, but with the option of being restored to Membership on payment of arrears:—

	£	s.	d.
W. E. Martin, Esq. (1864 and 1865),	0	12	0
James O'Reilly, Esq. (1863, 1864, and 1865), .	0	18	0
John Fleming, Esq. (1863, 1864, and 1865), .	0	18	0
Robert J. Mooney, Esq. (1863, 1864, and 1865),	0	18	0
W. Rushton, Esq. (1863, 1864, and 1865), . .	0	18	0
Frank Armstrong, Esq. (1864 and 1865), . .	0	12	0
Miles Byrne, Esq. (1864 and 1865),	0	12	0
J. M. Carton, Esq., M.D. (1863, 1864, and 1865),	0	18	0
B. Fayle, Esq. (1864 and 1865),	0	12	0
Thomas Hewitt, Esq. (1864 and 1865), . . .	0	12	0

	£	s.	d.
Patrick Nowlan, Esq. (1864 and 1865), . . .	0	12	0
Edward Tipping, Esq. (1863 and 1864), . . .	0	12	0
Rev. Joseph Wright (1864 and 1865), . . .	0	12	0

“Your Committee regret to say, that of the 46 Members who were last year temporarily removed from the list for non-payment, but seven availed themselves of the right to re-enter the association by liquidation of arrears, viz. :—

Surgeon J. A. P. Colles,
Rev. P. Meany,
Patrick Mc Gragh, Esq.
P. J. Byrne, Esq.

Thomas Hart, Esq., J. P.
Rev. Stephen O'Halloran,
S. C. Hall, Esq.

whilst two only felt it necessary to discharge their liabilities, at the same time tendering their resignation, viz. :—

Rev. Milward Cooke,

Patrick Durnan, Esq.

The remaining 37 were content to remain under the imputation of being recipients of a publication for which they had not paid.

“The number of Members who, up to the 31st of December, 1865, had increased their subscriptions, in aid of the Illustration Fund, was 190. There are still 449 Members who have not responded to the appeal. Were the exertions of your officers seconded by the liberality of these—the majority of the association—they would be enabled to carry on much more efficiently the objects for which the Society was formed.

“The Fifth Volume of the New Series of the Society's ‘Journal,’ now drawing to a conclusion, will be found, it is hoped, equal to its predecessors.

“During the past year we have lost by death, amongst others, two of our best and most enthusiastic working men. Mr. Herbert F. Hore was the representative of one of the oldest families in the county of Wexford. Possessed of a highly cultivated mind, and endowed with great facility of expressing his ideas, he had devoted himself to the study of Ireland's history and antiquities from the period of the Anglo-Norman Conquest; more particularly, however, as bearing on his native county; and it is greatly to be regretted that his premature death has deprived the public of the full result of his labours. Our ‘Journal’ contains many interesting contributions from his pen. Two papers, written shortly before his death, will soon be published by the Society. Mr. John Windele was one of the original Members of the Society; but long before its establishment he had made a name for himself as an Irish antiquary, and able writer. His wide-spread influence was freely exerted to forward the interests of the Society amongst the residents of his native county and city of Cork, and it is mainly owing to him that so large a number of our Members hail from that district. Many important papers were contributed by him to our ‘Journal;’ and an essay of his, on Irish Medical Superstitions, was in the press when he was suddenly removed from amongst us. It has since appeared in our ‘Journal.’ The Society could ill spare either of those zealous workers.”

It was resolved that the Report of the Committee be adopted and printed.

The Treasurer's account for the year 1864 was laid before the meeting by the Auditors, as follows :—

CHARGE.

1864.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands (see p. 223, <i>supra</i>),	46	6	11½
Dec. 31.	To Subscriptions and Contributions to the Illustration Fund,	254	12	0
	„ Life Compositions,	10	0	0
	„ Subscriptions to Annual Volume,	0	10	0
	„ One year's rent of land at Jerpoint,	1	0	0
	„ Sale of Woodcuts,	1	0	0
	„ Sale of "Journal" to Members,	3	9	0
	„ Donation from Captain Langton towards printing "Memorials of the Langton Family,"	25	0	0
	„ Do. from A. G. 'Geoghegan, Esq., towards printing "The Early History of Londonderry,"	9	15	0
		<hr/>		
		£351	12	11½

DISCHARGE.

1864.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By postage of "Journal,"	21	1	2
	„ „ circulars and correspondence,	10	8	0
	„ Illustration of "Journal,"	16	11	0
	„ Printing, paper, and binding of "Journal" from October, 1863, to October, 1864,	125	12	7
	„ General printing and stationery,	10	13	7
	„ Commission to Collectors,	1	5	7
	„ Sundry expenses,	6	15	11
	„ Carriage of parcels,	0	5	6
	„ Books purchased, including scarce parts of "Journal,"	2	19	8
	„ Rent and caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey,	3	0	0
	„ Rent and assurance of Museum,	14	15	0
	„ Indexing Vol. IV. of "Journal,"	3	0	0
	„ Transcribing documents,	5	10	2
	„ Balance in Treasurer's hands,	129	14	7½
		<hr/>		
		£351	12	1½

Audited, and found correct.

J. G. ROBERTSON, }
P. A. ATYWARD, } Auditors.

There being one vacancy in the Committee as it had stood last year, caused by the death of Mr. Windele, a letter was read from George M. Atkinson, Esq., a Member of the Society resident in London, suggesting that another Cork Archæologist should be se-

lected to fill that vacancy, and begging leave to propose the name of R. R. Brash, Esq., Architect, M. R. I. A.

Mr. Aylward seconded the nomination of Mr. Brash, who was then elected on the Committee.

The election of the Committee and Officers for the ensuing year was then proceeded with, as follows:—

PATRON IN CHIEF :

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

PATRONS :

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
The Most Honourable the Marquis of Ormonde.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin.
Colonel the Right Hon. W. F. Tighe, Lieutenant of Co. Kilkenny.

PRESIDENT :

The Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory.

VICE-PRESIDENTS :

The Worshipful the Mayor of Kilkenny.
The High Sheriff of the county of Kilkenny.
The High Sheriff of the city of Kilkenny.

TREASURER :

Rev. James Graves, A. B., M. R. I. A.

HONORARY SECRETARIES :

Rev. James Graves. | John G. A. Prim.

HONORARY CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM AND LIBRARY :

James G. Robertson, Esq., Architect.

COMMITTEE :

James S. Blake, Esq., J. P., Barrister-at-Law ; R. R. Brash, Esq., Architect, M. R. I. A. ; Rev. John Browne, LL. D. ; Barry Delany, Esq., M. D. ; Peter Burtchael, Esq., C. E. ; Rev. Luke Fowler, A. M. ; John James, Esq., L. R. C. S. I. ; Robert Malcomson, Esq. ; Rev. Philip Moore, P. P. ; Matthew O'Donnell, Esq., Q. C. ; Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C. ; James G. Robertson, Esq., Architect.

Mr. Graves laid before the meeting the Address proposed to be adopted for presentation to the Marquis of Ormonde on the occasion of his attaining his majority. He said it would be readily understood how this could not have been arranged at the time when the other local addresses had been presented to his Lordship, im-

mediately on the occasion of his coming of age. The comparatively few Members of the Society resident in the city could not take upon themselves to speak for so widely extended a body at the moment. It was resolved and agreed to at the meeting, next occurring, that an address should be presented, and it was now ready for formal adoption, if it met the approbation of the present meeting. The following was the address :—

**" TO THE MOST HONOURABLE JAMES EDWARD WILLIAM THEOBALD,
MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.**

" MY LORD,—At the first Annual Meeting of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society which has taken place since your arrival at your majority, we, the Members of the Society, offer our heartfelt congratulations to your Lordship on that happy event.

"Some seventeen years ago, when this Society, now widely spread and firmly established, was struggling into existence, your noble father became its Patron. Fostered by his countenance and support, it gained strength to resist the blighting influences of indifference and ridicule. He threw open to its use the rich stores of his ancestral Muniment Room, and from thence many of the most interesting papers published in its 'Journal' derived their chief value. His highly intellectual mind recognising the importance of the study of the History and Antiquities of the nation—he was, in deed as well as in name, our Patron.

"We are proud to hail your Lordship as his successor ; and we can wish you no better fortune or happier lot, than that you, the representative of the time-honoured House of Ormonde, may be endued with the virtues and be enabled to follow in the steps of your noble father."

The Address was unanimously adopted, to be signed on behalf of the Society by the President, Chairman, and Secretaries.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

By the Author : "Memorials of Angus and the Mearns," by Andrew Jervise, Esq.

By the Kent Archæological Society : "Archæologia Cantiana," Vol. VI.

By the Society of Antiquaries of London : "Archæologia," Vol. XXXIX., part 2 : their "Proceedings," Vol. II., No. 6 ; and "List of Fellows," 1864.

By the Royal Geological Society of Ireland : their "Journal," Vol. I., part 1.

By the British Archæological Association : their "Journal," December, 1865.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society : their "Original Papers," Vol. VII., part 1.

By the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society : their "Magazine," No. 27.

By the Royal Irish Academy : their "Proceedings," Vol. IX., part 1.

By the Smithsonian Institution: their "Annual Report for 1863;" and "Smithsonian Meteorological Observations," Vol. II., part 1.

By Dr. Keating : "Travels," by Aubry de la Motraye.

By the Publisher : "The Gentleman's Magazine" for October, November, and December, 1865.

By the Publisher; "The Builder," Nos. 1173-1185, inclusive.

By M. D'Alamand : a curious carved stone, inscribed with the initials of the name of Robert Hartpole, and the date 1588. It had been inserted in the wall of the cemetery of the old church of Monksgrange, Queen's County, and appeared to have originally belonged to some monument of the family of Hartpole, the proprietor of the surrounding lands. It would be in the recollection of the meeting that this stone had been brought under the notice of the Society by Mr. Prim a few years since ("Journal," vol. iv., p. 99). The present proprietor of Monksgrange, J. Otway Cuffe, Esq., had informed Mr. Prim of its existence, and offered to give it to the Society's Museum, if they wished for it. Mr. Prim had obtained from the Rev. T. Greene, P. P., now of Skerries, but then residing in Athy, a report as to the nature of the sculptures, asking that gentleman also to state if the stone was in any danger of being lost or injured where it then was; as, if not, the Society would prefer having it remain in the locality to which it belonged, their object being not to remove ancient monuments unnecessarily, but to protect and preserve them in their original position, whenever possible. The Rev. Mr. Green's report was, that the stone was securely built into the cemetery wall, and, if left so, seemed in no danger of injury. Since then, however, it appeared that some one had not only extracted it from the wall, but had carried it off to Carlow. M. D'Alamand saw it amongst a heap of rubbish in the yard of an unoccupied house there, and obtained possession of it, for the purpose of preventing it from being lost, which end he considered would be best secured by bringing it to the Society's Museum.

The meeting, whilst expressing much regret that the stone had been removed from the place in which it had formed an historical landmark, were unanimous in thanking M. D'Alamand for securing it from being lost, by bringing it to their Museum, especially under the circumstances in which he had discovered it.

On the part of Mr. Rowe, Carlow, by M. D'Alamand : an Engraved Plan of Dublin, as it stood in 1610; and a curious old brass ring dial.

By Mr. Robertson : some fragments of highly glazed encaustic flooring tiles, and numerous portions of deers' antlers, found toge-

ther in a portion of the cemetery of St. Canice, on the north-west side of the Cathedral.

Mr. Graves considered that, from the quantities of tiles found in that portion of the cemetery, and the half-finished state of some, whilst others adhered one to another, being fused together in the kiln, it was most probable a tile manufactory had been carried on upon the spot, at some distant period, for the purpose of flooring the Cathedral. Could hartshorn be used in producing the glazing for the tiles? If so, the presence of the portions of deers' antlers would serve to strengthen his suggestion.

Dr. James considered, a flux, which would be used for such a glazing purpose as that suggested by Mr. Graves, would undoubtedly be producible from deers' horn.

Mr. Robertson said that, perhaps, it might be deemed to militate against Mr. Graves' view, that it was only the refuse portions of the antlers that were found with the tiles, all the more valuable parts being absent. The valuable portions would scarcely have been used for glazing purposes, and the more worthless portions left.

Mr. Prim remarked that the presence of the worthless portion of the horns seemed to strengthen rather than weaken Mr. Graves' theory. The valuable portions might be supposed to have been never brought to the cemetery; the comparatively worthless portions found there would be exactly what would be used at the tilery; some fragments would probably remain unused, and be left on the spot, with the imperfect tiles.

By Mr. Robertson: a mass of vitrified matter, amongst which there was a good deal of the dross of brass, found under the floor of the north chapel of the Cathedral of St. Canice.

Mr. Graves thought it might have occurred from the melting of the monumental bronzes of the Cathedral after it fell to the possession of the spoliating Cromwellian settlers.

Mr. Aylward mentioned that he had found a very similar piece of vitrified matter in the ruins on the Rock of Cashel.

By the Rev. Newport B. White, Glasson Rectory, Athlone: the following document—a License from a Bishop of Ossory to a Midwife—which he had found amongst some old papers, and thought might prove interesting to the meeting, as being connected with Kilkenny, and possessing a certain flavour of the “good old times:”—

“CHARLES, by divine permission, Lord Bishop of Ossory, to — Elliot, of the city of Kilkenny, widow, Greeting—Whereas by sufficient Certificate by you to us produced we are satisfy'd of y^r ability, to practise as a midwife, we therefore by these presents give you full liberty & lycense to practise and follow the art of midwifry in and thro' our s^d Dioeces during our pleasure, you having first taken the following oath on the holy Evangelists, that is to say—

"I — Elliot above named do swear that I will be diligent, faithful, and ready in my profession of a midwife to help every person, as well the poor as the rich, & that in time of necessity I will not forsake the poor to attend the rich. That I will not force any patient by any paine or ungodly ways to give me any more for my service and attendance than such patient would otherwise do, or than by law and custom ought to be paid. That I will use no unnecessary delays in curing my patients in order to increase fees or rewards to myself. That I will be secret & not open any matter appertaining to my office, unless necessity constrain me so to do. That I will not make or assign any Deputy, but such as I shall perfectly know and for whose ability and diligence I shall answer. That I will not use any sorcery, divination, magick, incantations, witchcraft, or any superstitious, hellish, or horrid meathods to hele my patients, to the dishon^r of Almighty God; and lastly, that I will, when called upon to the sick, if I find the distemper grow dangerous, advise them above all things to send for a clergyman, the physitian of the soul, that when their eternal happiness is provided for, due care may be taken of the body. So help me God."

"In witness whereof we caused our consistorial seale to be hereunto annexed this — day of — 174—.

"Exd. & attested by

"R. J. N. P. D. R. O."

Mr. Graves said, the Bishop named must have been Charles Este, who filled the see of Ossory from 1736 to 1740. From the unfinished state of the document, and no name being attached, this seemed to have been kept as an office precedent. It was indorsed, "Lycense and oath of a midwife." It was part of the old arrangement for bishops to license all medical practitioners. Perhaps the last Kilkenny medical man who took out a license from the bishop of the diocese was the celebrated Dr. Butler, of St. John's Bridge, who flourished at the end of the last century; there was a record of the issue of his license in the Diocesan Registrar's office. A bishop's license for medicine in the old time seemed to be considered as a degree or diploma by the profession.

Mr. Bracken, C. I., observed that he believed licenses to medical practitioners were still issued in England by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury.

Dr. James said the license from a bishop was only an authority to practise within his jurisdiction—his diocese. It was not, he believed, at any time considered in the light of a degree or diploma; but it used to give an important recognition to the degrees or diplomas held by the medical man obtaining it, and was considered to prohibit quackery.

W. H. Hardinge, Esq., M. R. I. A., Keeper of the Records, Landed Estates Record Office, Dublin, presented to the Society a transcript of a most interesting and valuable record, the county and city of Kilkenny portion of a Census of Ireland, made, probably,

for Sir William Petty, A. D. 1659—a document of great national importance, recently discovered by Mr. Hardinge amongst the Marquis of Lansdowne's ancestral manuscripts, and by his Lordship's permission removed to the Landed Estates Record Office, Dublin. Mr. Hardinge had lately laid a general summary of the whole Census return before the Royal Irish Academy, with a full account of the circumstances under which he discovered it. The transcript of the Kilkenny portion of the work, now presented to this Society, comprised fifty-six large sheets of paper, enumerating not merely the number of inhabitants in the city and the various baronies and townlands of the county, but giving their subdivision into the old Irish inhabitants and the new English settlers, and supplying also the names of the chief landed proprietors, under the Anglo-Spanish compound designation of "Tituladoes," and the numbers of the old Irish inhabitants of each family name in every barony, thus making the record one of very great interest indeed. In the city of Kilkenny it appears that at the time 208 people inhabited the "High Towne Ward," and the Tituladoes' names were—Hugh Fox, Thos. Nevill, Richard Baron, Sognez Ridgeway, John Ridgeway, Thomas Taylor, John White, Thomas Talbott, Bartholomew Conor, gent., Thomas Newman, Esq., Henry Baker, William Warring, William Stringer, John Langton, Valentine Reade, Francis Roledge, George Dason, John Browne, Thomas Smyth, Ralph Scanlan, Bulmer Milcod, Parles Bancks, Thomas Chapman, Walter Seix, William Floyd, Thomas Honwen, Conlane Donnell, Richard Inwood, Nicholas Richards, Jonas Hadrach, gent., William Burges, Esq., John Simes, Nicholas Richards, Robert Robins, gent., Jno. Jeoner, Esq., Robert Jone, Thos. Weatherby, Peter Goodwin, Ralph St. Lawrence, Jno. Simes, John Ball, Josh. Ball, merchants. All these except two—Langton and Seix—were Cromwellian settlers; so that the old inhabitants of the better class had been almost totally weeded out from the High Town, or principal portion of the city, from Patrick-street to Watergate. Of the general inhabitants of the ward only 56 are given as Irish, while there were 152 English. In the North-ward the number of inhabitants was 227, of which 68 were English, and 159 Irish; amongst the Tituladoes five Irish names occur, being those of Luke Archer, Thady Corkron, Edmond Roth, Edward Fitzgerald, and John Archdekin, merchants—amongst sixteen English settlers; amongst the latter, Charles Empson, Richard Smyth, and Thomas Wilson only seem to have descendants existing at the present day. In St. Patrick's In-ward there were 143 residents, comprising 42 English, and 101 Irish, and not a single one of the Tituladoes was of the old inhabitants; in the Out-ward, 124 residents, being 49 English, and 75 Irish, Beale Archer, gent., being the only representa-

tive of an old family. St. John's In-ward gives 29 English, and 52 Irish; St. Kennis Ward, 85 Irish alone, but both with English proprietors; St. Kennis' Butts had 10 English, and 130 Irish inhabitants; John Langton, gent., was the only Titulado. In the city liberties the inhabitants were chiefly Irish, but the Titulados nearly all English. The entire number of inhabitants of the city and Liberties was, of English, 421; Irish, 1301; total, 1722. It is curious to compare this with the last census of 1861, when the inhabitants of the borough of Kilkenny alone, without the liberties, numbered 14,174. In the county, the barony of Galmoy possessed 1574 inhabitants, of which 128 were English, and 1446 Irish; Gowran had 3854, being 311 English, and 3543 Irish; Iverk, 1455, of which 99 were English, and 1356 Irish; Ida, Igrin and Ibercon, 1946, being 79 English, and 1867 Irish; Knocktopher, 1362, being 61 English, and 1301 Irish; Fassagh-Deinin, 1741, being 53 English, and 1688 Irish; Kells, 1200, being 50 English, and 1150 Irish; Shillelogher, 1265, being 75 English, and 1190 Irish; Cranagh, 1857, being 79 English, and 1778 Irish; Town and Liberties of Callan, 451, being 86 English, and 365 Irish. Amongst the Irish inhabitants of the barony of Galmoy the principal clan name was Dulany (Delany), 30 of the residents being of that surname. There were 23 Moghers (Meaghers?), 22 Phelans, 21 Codys, 19 Bergins, 17 Brohys (Bropheys?), 17 Kellys, 13 Walshes, and 12 Butlers, &c. In the barony of Gowran, there were 118 Morphys (Murphys), 95 Walshes, 89 Ryans, 43 Kellys, 46 Brenans, 48 Birnes, 40 Codys, 39 Butlers, 32 Neals, 30 Nolans, 25 Phelans, 23 Farrells, 20 Graces, 20 Purcells, &c. In the barony of Iverke there were 87 Walshes, 33 Grants, 22 Datons, 20 Quins, 14 Butlers, 11 Phelans, &c. In the barony of Ida, Igrin and Ibercon, 94 Walshes, 72 Morphys, 17 Gauls, 16 Kellys, 14 Codys, 14 Birnes, 12 Forstalls, &c. In the barony of Knocktopher, 111 Walshes, 22 Ryans, 16 Butlers, 15 Whites, 14 Howlings, 11 Morphys, &c. In Fassagh-Deinin there were 116 Brenans, 35 Purcells, 31 Phelans, 23 Dulans, 20 Kellys, 16 Murphys, 15 Horoghons and Hologhans, 12 Lalors, 12 Moghers, 31 Birnes, 8 Duins, &c. In the barony of Kells there were 61 Shees and Sheas, 31 Walshes, 23 Butlers, 22 Keeffs, 17 Moghers, 12 Kellys, 11 Quiddehys, &c. In Shillelogher there were 18 Morphys, 17 Moghers, 12 Phelans, 11 Nolans, 10 Flemings, 10 Donells, &c. In the barony of Cranagh there were 41 Graces, 31 Walshes, 27 Phelans, 22 Butlers, 18 Moghers, 17 Dulans, 16 Dullahuntys, 15 Comerfords, 14 Kellys, 13 Birnes, 12 Morphys, 12 Coghells, &c. In the town of Callan all the Irish names given are, Mogher, 8; Butler, 6; Comerford, 4; Lenan, 4; Phelan, 4; and the Titulados' names were, James Morphy, gent., Derby Doyle, gent., John Balfremon, gent., Patrick Voice, gent., John Warren, gent., Roger Boe, gent., and

Ephron Beall, gent.; of whom half, *i. e.* Morphy, Doyle, and Boe, must, from their names, have been Irish. The total number of the inhabitants of the county and city of Kilkenny together, at the time, was 18,427, of which 1442 were English, and 16,985 Irish. By the last census the total of the county and city was 138,689.

All the Members present expressed their sense of the value and importance of Mr. Hardinge's presentation; and it was resolved that the document should be printed in full in the Society's "Journal."

Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan forwarded the following:—

"In looking over some family papers, and bundles of old letters, I discovered one written more than half a century ago, by Mrs. Jeffereys, of Blarney Castle, County Cork, which contains an account of a circumstance interesting in itself as an instance of heroism on the part of the narrator towards her brother, the Earl of Clare, and so valuable, as bringing to light a remarkable event connected with the history of those troubled times, that I feel I am only discharging a duty in submitting it to the notice of the Society. Of the authenticity of this letter there can be no doubt. It has been in the possession of my father, the late Gerald 'Geoghegan, who had the honour of Mrs. Jeffereys' acquaintance, from the day in which it was written; and on his death it came, along with other documents, into my possession, where it now remains. The letter is dated, 9, Molesworth-street, July, 1807; and among other matters, Mrs. Jeffereys writes as follows:—

"My late brother, the Earl of Clare, always was an active, faithful servant to his King and country, and ever supported the Protestant interest both in Ireland, and in the House of Lords, in England, whenever that question was discussed. On the day Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled, when my brother (as Chancellor) was returning from the Castle, after having assisted at the swearing in the newly arrived Lord Lieutenant, a ferocious mob of no less than 5000 men, and several hundred women, assembled together in College-green, and all along the avenue leading to my brother's house. The male part of the insurgents were armed with pistols, cutlasses, sledges, saws, crowbars, and every other weapon necessary to break open my brother's house; and the women were all of them armed with their aprons full of paving stones. This ferocious and numerous mob began to throw showers of stones into my brother's coach, at his coachman's head, and his horses; they wounded my brother in the temple, in College-green; and if he had not sheltered himself by holding his great square official purse before him, he would have been stoned to death before he arrived (through the back yard), at his own house; where, with several smithy sledges, they were working hard to break into his halldoor, *while some others of them had ropes ready to fix up to his lamp-iron to hang him the moment they could find him*—when I arrived, disguised in my kitchenmaid's dress, my blue apron full of stones. I mingled with this numerous mob, and addressed a pale, sickly man, saying, 'My dear jew'l, what ill become of hus! I am after running from the Castle to tell yeas all that a regiment of Hos is galloping down here to thrample hus, &c. Oh! yea, yea, where will we go?' Then they cried, 'Hurry,

hurry—the hos is coming to charge and thrample hus! Hurry for the Custom House.’ And in less than a moment the crowd dispersed.

“ ‘ I then procured a surgeon for my brother, and a guard to prevent another attack, and thus I saved Lord Clare’s life, at the risk of being torn limb from limb, if I had been recognised by any of the mob.’ ”

Mr. Graves said that, having communicated the contents of this very curious letter to John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, that gentleman had sent him the following note on the subject:—

“ The riots on the departure of Lord Fitzwilliam, in 1795, are noticed in all the journals of the day. I have not had time, unfortunately, to refer to them. He was succeeded by Lord Camden, and then commenced the bloody era of the three C’s—Camden, Clare, Carhampton. The populace attributed the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam to the Right Hon. John Beresford—and rightly, as appears by John Beresford’s correspondence, recently published by his grandson, or nephew, W. Beresford, late M. P. for the county of Essex, the celebrated W. B. The work has since been withdrawn from circulation.

“ At the date of Mrs. Jeffereys’ interesting letter, Lord Clare lived at No. 5, Ely-place, which is not far from Molesworth-street, Mrs. Jeffereys’ residence. And when the mob were alarmed by her clever stratagem (so courageously adventured upon), and fled from Lord Clare’s house, they ran off to make a similar attack on the Custom House, then the residence of the Right Hon. J. Beresford, who was charged with sacrificing the public money and the public convenience, by building suites of splendid apartments in it for his family and dependants. The attack on Lord Clare’s house, so graphically described by Mrs. Jeffereys, was probably the occasion of an occurrence that was never made public, and yet is of interest, namely, that Lord Clare got barricades erected in his hall to withstand any effort of a mob to enter by force. The person he employed was a builder of the name of Thomas Brown, late of Baggot-street, Dublin, dwelling at the corner of Lower Pembroke-street, whose premises abutted by the rere on Lord Clare’s, giving facilities for executing the work without any notice to the public. I knew Mr. Brown well, but was of an age when other matters than old anecdotes occupy the thoughts; so that I did not obtain my knowledge from him—he died a very wealthy house proprietor in 1832; but he had much intercourse with my mother’s family, and I was thus familiar with the anecdote from a very early period. Whether it was this service brought him into connexion with Lord Clare, I do not know, but he was very intimate with Lord and Lady Clare. It was to him Lord Clare gave the dagger used by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, on his arrest, as is related in Moore’s ‘Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald’ (vol. ii., p. 94). He made a desperate resistance with it, and the number of wounds he inflicted on his two adversaries, Major Swan and Mr. Ryan, who came to arrest him, is such (says Moore) as almost to exceed belief. Mr. Brown described it to Moore as being about the length of a large case knife, with a common buckhorn handle; the blade, which was two-edged, being of a waved shape, like that of the sword represented in the hands of the angel in the common prints prefixed to the

last book of 'Paradise Lost.' I long had possession of a tinted drawing, made for Mr. Brown, to represent the dagger, and only destroyed it last summer, not thinking I should ever have had an opportunity of detailing these occurrences. His gift of this dagger shows the intimacy of Lord Clare with Mr. Brown, and gives the greater assurance to the story I have just detailed of Lord Clare's having employed Mr. Brown to strengthen his door against attack. But, as I have alluded to Lady Clare's intimacy, I may mention that in the early part of the revolutionary war, when all commercial intercourse was stopped between the ports of France and England, Mr. Brown had some connexion with a Danish ship captain, who contrived to trade thither by connivance, it has been supposed, of both governments. And one of the ladies of the first of the revolutionary statesmen in Paris (Madame Recamier, as I best remember), wished to complete the brilliancy of her equipage by a pug dog, then unattainable in France, whereby she would of course become envied by all rivals for so singular a treasure. Through Lady Clare's influence, this pug dog was intrusted to the Danish skipper, by Mr. Brown; and having duly reached Madame Recamier, she, in gratitude, sent back to Mr. Brown large quantities of the then priceless treasures, French lace, silks, and satins; and after Mr. Brown had given a handsome sample to Lady Clare, there remained for his lady friends enough to make the story of their ravishing beauty current in their households, even to my own day. It only remains to add that this house of the Earl of Clare is now occupied by Sir R. Griffith, and Mr. John Ball Greene, with the large staff of the General Valuation and Survey of Ireland, and bears interesting historical marks of its occupancy by its former celebrated owner. Large though the house was, it was not large enough for the great following of the Earl of Clare, then a large dispenser of power and profits in Ireland; so he had another house, as it were, built in the rear, to form part of the house in Ely-place; and if the cross doors in the hall be opened, there will be seen a large architectural stone staircase, with double flight of stairs, connecting the apartments of both houses; and in each of the large panels of the staircase ceiling may be observed the emblems of Lord Clare's office—the Mace, the Sword crossed, and the purse for the Great Seal dependent."

The Rev. J. O'Hanlon sent the following continuation of his papers on the Topographical Collections made by the Ordnance Survey of Ireland :—

"Resuming my interrupted account of MS. materials for the illustration of Munster history and antiquities, as found in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, and in the Royal Irish Academy, these following are the heads of subjects, extracted from a Catalogue of the Topographical Collection for the County of Clare.—I. Inquisitions, 3 vols., including portions of Kerry and Waterford; Rough Index of Names of Places to do.¹ II. Extracts, 6 vols. (see p. 33—see also Common Place Book L.); Rough Index to Names of Places to do., not arranged.² III. Letters, 3

¹ These volumes are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy's Library.

² These volumes are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. The re-

vols.¹ IV. Memorandums, 1 vol. V. Orthography Letters, 1 vol. VI. Name Books, 137. VII. Parish and Barony Names, 1 vol. VIII. County Index of Names, 1 vol. IX. Ancient Map.² X. Two Plans of the Caher, or Fort, in Moughaun, townland of Tomfinlough, Ph.³ XI. Presentments and other County Papers, 7. XII. Sketches of Antiquities, 22.⁴

"I. For an account of the Inquisitions relating to Clare, the reader is referred to vol. ii., new series, 1858, of the Society's Transactions (note 2, p. 103), where the contents of these volumes will be found correctly described. They are now elegantly bound in 3 vols., and in uniform style. Vol. xix. of the note is now lettered vol. i.; vol. xx. of the note is now lettered vol. ii.;⁵ vol. xvi. of the note, where entitled 'Clare, Kerry, and Waterford Inquisitions,' has since undergone some alterations—the Vol. iii. of present arrangement having been lettered 'Inquisitions and Extracts, Vol. iii., County of Clare, Indices.' In this last volume, we only find 51 pages of Inquisitions, taken in the time of Charles I., and referring to the county of Clare. This is immediately followed by an index to the three vols. of Clare Inquisitions, consisting of forty leaves—for the most part containing 'Nomina locorum,' with paginal references. These leaves are afterwards followed by an index to the six volumes of Clare Extracts, and comprise 168 leaves; these are written on double their number of pages. These indices are alphabetically arranged, and elegantly written out in the English and Irish characters, with proper paginal references relating to every local denomination.

"II. The six volumes of Extracts are in quarto, uniformly lettered and bound. Vol. i. contains 582 written pages, with a rough index of some few pages succeeding; vol. ii. contains 530 written pages, with a rough index of some few pages to contents succeeding; vol. iii. contains 385 written pages; vol. iv. contains 514 written pages; vol. v. contains 458 written pages, with several pages of a rough index; vol. vi. contains 697 written pages, with a few pages of rough index preceding. These extracts are in Irish, Latin, and English. They contain excerpts from an Irish Tract on the Wars of Thomond; Irish Genealogies; 'Annals of Inisfallen,' T. C. D. MSS.; Smith's 'Collections for Clare,' MSS. R. I. A.; Dutton's 'Survey of Co. Clare'; 'Liber Regalis Visitationes'; McFirriss; Lloyd's 'Tour in Clare'; Colgan's 'Acta Sanctorum' and 'Trias Thaumaturga'; 'Annals of the Four Masters'; 'Book of Lecain'; O'Gorman MSS.; 'Book of Lismore'; 'Acts of Settlement and Explanation'; 'Vita

ference to page 33 of the Catalogue has relation to what had been extracted from MSS. belonging to the British Museum, Lambeth, or Oxford Libraries, illustrating the history or antiquities of Clare. The rough Indices to Names of Places (Irish and English) have been used up, when preparing the newly indexed volumes in the Academy, consequently they cannot be found at present.

¹ Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

² Now preserved in the Royal Irish Aca-

demy, and it is to be discovered bound in the third volume of Letters.

³ One of these plans has been cut up for mounting, as I am informed by a pencil marginal note; the other, formerly preserved in press 7, Ordnance Survey Library, is now to be found amongst the Royal Irish Academy Collections.

⁴ Now preserved in the MS. Department, Royal Irish Academy.

⁵ Instead of "325," in the note, read "335 numbered and written pages, &c."

S. Senani; Gough's 'Camden;' Archdall's 'Monasticon;' Translations of Brehon Law Deeds, Assignments, Mortgages, &c.; O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia;' Lanigan's 'Ecclesiastical History of Ireland;' Irish Calendar. These Extracts contain much curious information.

"III. The Antiquarian Letters are contained in three vols., quarto, in the style of binding recently adopted for the Ordnance Survey MSS. kept in the Royal Irish Academy. The first volume contains 374 written pages, with an index of many additional pages preceding. The letters written by the late Professor Eugene O'Curry are in number 13. They are thus dated, viz. :—Corofin, 10th October, 1839, 15th; Ennistimon, October 21st, 23rd; Miltownmalbay, 25th; Kilkea, 28th, 29th, 30th; Kilrush, November, 2nd, 6th; Kildysart, November 7th, 8th; Lunatic Asylum, Limerick, August 21st, 1835. This latter letter has been addressed to George Smith, Esq., 20, College-green, Dublin, and refers to the antiquities of the writer's native county of Clare. A beautiful ink sketch of Mr. Wakeman—*subject*, Tower and Church of Dysart, county Clare, from the north-east—illustrates one of Mr. O'Curry's letters, at page 132. Dr. O'Donovan has written the following 21 letters, with these dates and addresses, viz. :—Corofin, October 14th, 1839, 17th, 18th, do.; Inis Diman, *Anglicæ* Ennistimon, October 19th, 21st, 22nd, 22nd, 23rd, 23rd; Miltownmalbay, 25th; Kilkea, 27th, 29th; December 17th; October 29th, 27th, 28th, 29th; Kilrush, November 4th, 6th; Kildysart, November 7th, 8th. The second volume contains 406 written pages, with an index of many additional pages preceding. The following 19 letters, with respective dates and addresses, are written by Mr. O'Donovan, viz. :—Kildysart, November 9th, 1839, and an apparent addition, dated December 24th, 1840; another long letter, undated, November 11th, 1839; Ennis, November 13th, 14th, 18th; Tulla, November 21st, 22nd, 22nd, 25th; Sixmilebridge, November 29th; Sunday night, 12 o'clock, December 2nd, 1839—no address; Dublin, December 4th, 1839; do. December 6th; do. December 7th; do. December 9th; do. December 10th; another contribution acknowledged as received, December 11th, 1839. Eugene O'Curry writes the following 6 letters, viz. :—Kildysart, November 11th, 1839; Ennis, November 15th, 17th; Scariff, November 24th, 24th; Dublin, December 6th. To these letters we find appended the following map traces, viz. :—Clare, from 'Ortelius improved;' from 'Pacata Hibernia;' from map of Ireland in Speed's 'Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World;' from Province of Munster in do.; from map of Ireland in Mercator's 'Atlas;' from another map in Mercator's 'Atlas,' enlarged by Alfred J. Lynch, 13th September, 1839; from Down Survey. The third volume describes the antient territories in Thomond, written by Mr. O'Donovan, and dated on the title, February 13th, 1841. Two notes follow—one addressed to Captain Larcom, but undated; the other directed to the same gentleman, and dated February 18th, 1841. This volume contains 100 written pages, and all the production of Dr. O'Donovan, excepting historic extracts bound into the volumes. The fine map of Clare County, constructed by Mr. O'Donovan in 1841, on the scale of the Ordnance Survey Index Maps prefixed to the Townland engraved Maps, will be found postfixed; it is folded into this volume, and mounted on strong linen. All the ancient churches, &c., are de-

nominated in the Irish character. This is an invaluable map for anti-quarian purposes.

"IV. The Book of Memorandums contains 592 numbered pages, 4to size, and bound. The memorandums therein are of various sizes, mostly fragmentary notes, clippings from engraved Ordnance Survey Maps of the county of Clare, hand sketches, &c. An index of 17 double-columned pages of Clare townland names precedes the body of these notes, queries, and replies. The historian and topographer will find them varied and curious.

"V. The Orthography Letters are bound in a volume, nearly similar to the one immediately preceding. It contains, however, only 143, and in addition 66 numbered pages, with eight pages of index.

"VI. The Name Books, as catalogued and counted over by the writer, are 137 in number, similar to others so classed and described.

"VII. The Parish and Barony Names are contained in a thin 4to bound volume of 88 folio numbered pages, which of course represent double that quantity of partially filled and written pages, similar in form and matter to others so classed and described—Dr. O'Donovan having settled the Irish and English Orthography of each parish in this county, in his own handwriting. This volume is preceded by a list of 30 different authorities for local orthographical denominations, indorsed 'Authorities, June, 1839.' It has only four columns of an index prefixed.

"VIII. The County Index to Names on the Ordnance Survey Maps is contained in one thick bound volume; it contains 134 leaves, written on both sides. In form and matter it is a volume similar to others of its class and denomination. I find it, however, frequently interleaved with loose papers, which contain denominational and other corrections, alphabetically occurring, with frequent erasures on the opposite page.

"XI. The seven County Documents preserved are:—1. Undischarged Quæres and Presentments granted at the Summer Assizes of 1838, containing about 200 printed 8vo. pages; this matter usually refers to road contracts, and similar county works. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7—All these are 4to printed lists of registered votes for the county, during the years 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838. Under the heads of the several baronies in Clare we find, alphabetically arranged, the number of each freeholder's name on the registry; his own Christian and surname, his place of abode, the situation of his freehold, its value, the place and date of registry; all this executed in pursuance of an Act, 2 & 3 of William IV., chap. 88, and sec. 35. These documents are tied together without a wrapper.

"XII. In the oblong volumes of Sketches, contained in the MS. department of the Royal Irish Academy, we find the following 18 artistic sketches relating to Clare County:—No. 1. Abbey of Corcomroe. 2. Teampul Cronaun. 3. The Abbey of Clare. 4. Stone Cross at Disart. 5. Kilfenora Stone Cross. 6. Figure at Kilnaboy, over the doorway of the Church. 7. The Court of Leimine. 8. Church of Moylougha. 9. Scattery Island Round Tower. 10. Doorway of the Round Tower. 11. St. Cinan's Church. 12. A Church on Scattery Island. 13. The large Church on Scattery. 14. Doorway of the great Church on Scattery Island. 15. The Churches at Oughtmama, near the New Quay. 16. Quin Abbey. 17. Cahir on Knockmooghane. 18. Sections through the Cahir on Knockmooghane. All of these are outline drawings by Mr.

Wakeman; and, as would appear from the dates affixed, they were executed in 1839. The remaining four sketches must probably be sought for in other volumes relating to the county of Clare.

"The Catalogue of the County Limerick Topographical Collection enumerates these matters following:—I. Inquisitions, two volumes (and Index, one volume).¹ II. Names from Down Survey, and Book of Survey and Distribution (see Munster, vol. iii.). III. Extracts, two volumes; rough Index to Places to Irish part of do. not arranged.² IV. Letters, two volumes.³ V. Memorandums and Letters on Orthography, two volumes. VI. Name Books, 171. VII. Barony and Parish Name Book, one volume. VIII. County Index to Names on Maps. IX. County Presentments, 1840–1843, 1846, one copy each. X. Sketches of Antiquities, 46.⁴

"I. The Inquisitions for this county are now bound in two 4to volumes, in the uniform style adopted for the transferred MSS. of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office. The first volume contains 338 written pages. The second volume contains 281 written pages, with a complete alphabetical denominational index of several pages postfixed. These two volumes (corresponding with volumes xii., xiii.) have been further described in vol. ii., second series, for May, 1858, n. 2, pp. 102, 103. The detached index there mentioned, however, may have disappeared;⁵ the more perfect one afterwards written having been substituted in the bound volume ii.

"II. It will be seen from an account already given in these Transactions (vol. iv., new series, p. 126), that Munster (vol. iii.) contains the names from Down Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution, relating to the county of Limerick, as there indicated.

"III. The Extracts are now bound in the uniform 4to style of transferred MSS. According to this new arrangement, the first volume contains 853 written pages, with an index of places and documents (consisting of many pages), prefixed and postfixed. The second volume contains 630 pages, some of which, however, are blank; this volume also is preceded and followed by an index of places and documents to which reference is made. These Extracts are taken out of 'Report from Commissioners of Public Records, Ireland, 1825;' 'Trias Thaumaturga' and 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ;' 'Pacata Hibernia;' Smith's 'Collections for Limerick, MSS., R. I. A.;' 'Ann. Temp. Hen. II.;' 'Annals from Ware;' Smith's 'Miscellaneous Limerick Papers;' Prynne's 'Ecclesiastical History;' Lord Orkney's

¹ These volumes are now kept in the Royal Irish Academy.

² Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, with the exception of the Rough Index, comprising 16 leaves, only written on one page. The first of these entries is *Aradh Clíach* (aradh clíach), 242–2. The figures have reference, first to the page, and secondly to the volume of Extracts, as bound in the former arrangement. The leaves of this Rough Index are loose, but tied up in a blue wrapper, and are preserved in the

Ordnance Survey Office. At present, they are of no practical value, as they have been transcribed into a newer and much better arranged Index, bound with the Extracts, and accessible in the Royal Irish Academy's Library.

³ Preserved at present in the Royal Irish Academy.

⁴ Preserved at present in the Royal Irish Academy's MS. Department.

⁵ This Index appears to have been bound up with the two volumes of Extracts.

'Letters to the Duke of Ormonde;' Lord Clarendon's 'History of the Irish Rebellion of 1641;' 'History of Limerick' by the Rev. P. Fitzgerald; Ware's 'Bishops;' 'Liber Munerum Publicorum;' De Burgo's 'Hibernia Dominicana;' 'Liber Regalis Visitationis;' Archdall's 'Monasticon;' O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia;' Gough's 'Camden;' 'Annals of the Four Masters;' Lanigan's 'Ecclesiastical History;' 'Chronicon Scotorum;' 'Irish Calendar of Saints;' O'Brian's 'Irish Dictionary,' MSS., T. C. D.; 'Annals of Innisfallen,' and Mason's 'Parochial Survey.'

"IV. The Antiquarian Letters. The first volume contains 480 written pages, 4to, with an elegantly written index of many pages preceding. The late Dr. O'Donovan has written the following contributions, with the respective addresses and dates here given: Limerick, July 7th, 1840, 9th, 13th; Askeaton, July 13th, 13th; Cap Jerptine, July 14th, 25th; Ballingarry, July 25th, 26th, 28th, 28th, August 6th, 12th; Burgh na Deise, August 10th; Bruff, August 10th; Tipperary, August 17th, 18th, 18th, July 15th; Askeaton, July 15th. These contributions are all descriptive of the different parish antiquities, which were examined by A. Curry, Mr. O'Keefe, and Mr. O'Donovan. The latter has introduced several rude sketches of antiquities throughout several of these letters. In this volume we also find the following sketches by Mr. Wakeman. 1. Baggotstown Castle, p. 271. 2. Glenogra Castle, p. 379. 3. Dysart, Round Tower at, p. 191. 4. Kilmallock, Chancel of the Abbey of, p. 360. 5. Parish Church at, with its Round Tower, p. 364. 6. South Gate of, p. 371. Together with these we find a tracing of the Castle of the Glin, from 'Pacata Hibernia,' p. 150. The second volume contains 456 written 4to pages, with an elegantly written index of many pages preceding. The late Dr. O'Donovan has written the following contributions, with the addresses and dates here given, viz.:—Several short undated notes on parochial antiquities; August 18th, 1840. Mr. O'Donovan has introduced several short notices on the antiquities of this county, when supervising the writings of his colleagues, O'Connor and O'Keefe; he has also attempted some rude sketches. T. O'Connor has written some disquisitions, undated, to which notes are frequently appended by Mr. O'Donovan. Those dated are Ballingarry, July 28th, 1840; Kilmallock, August 3rd; Brugh na Deise, August 9th, 11th; Pailis na Greine, August 16th. Mr. O'Connor appears to have put the notes of A. Curry into shape, when the latter had traversed and examined the antiquities of different Limerick parishes. Mr. O'Connor introduces some rude sketches into his contributions. P. O'Keefe has written from the following places, viz.:—Askeaton, July 16th, 1840; Ballingarry, July 24th; Kilmallock, August 4th; July, no date. Mr. O'Keefe has introduced some rude sketches with his communications. Affixed to this second volume of letters, we find the following Map traces: Limerick, from Speed's 'Prospect;' from Mercator's 'Atlas;' from 'State Papers;' from Down Survey; Limerick City, from 'Pacata Hibernia.' Also, the following beautiful ink sketches by Mr. Wakeman:—1. Ballygrennan Castle, p. 105; 2. Lickadoon Castle, p. 150. Many extracts are, of course, bound up with these two volumes of Limerick Antiquarian Letters.

"V. The Memorandums and Letters on Limerick County Topography are to be found at present unbound, in two separate parcels, tied up with twine, and without any covering. What I may describe as the

first volume contains 579 numbered pages of scrap information, on local topography. An index of 23 columns to Limerick Memorandums and Extracts precedes, similar in matter and form to MSS. of the same denomination already described. What I shall describe as the *second volume* (or rather parcel) contains 335 numbered pages of scrap information, with about 40 additional pages of MS. matter on the like subject. An index of 16 columns to County of Limerick Orthography Letters precedes, the subject matter and form similar to the parcel before described.

"VI. The Name Books are 170 in number, as carefully counted by me; but I think it quite apparent, that two books have been bound into one book, so that the Catalogue enumeration may be correct. These books are similar to others of the same denomination already described.

"VII. The Barony and Parish Name Book is a thin 4to bound volume of 156 numbered pages, the last page missing. It is preceded by a folded sheet of 32 different authorities, settling the orthography of parochial names in Limerick county. There is also an Index of seven columns. Dr. O'Donovan had in all cases settled the Irish and English nomenclature and derivation for each of these parishes. This MS. is similar to others of the same denomination, as already described.

"VIII. The County Index to Names on Maps is a bound folio volume containing 144 leaves, written on both sides. In matter and form it is similar to other MSS. of its denomination already described. There are frequent erasures of townland names.

"IX. What I find described as County Presentments, &c. are contained in three stitched pamphlets, with blue paper covers. The enumeration contained in the Catalogue will serve to give the reader an idea of their peculiar contents.

"X. The Sketches of Antiquities contained in an oblong volume in the Royal Irish Academy may be thus described:—1. Athlacca Parish, Rathcannon Castle. 2. Bruree Parish, Castle of. 3. Caheravally Parish, Friarstown Abbey. 4. Lickadoon Castle. 5. Another View. 6. Dromin Parish. Maidstone Castle. 7. Galbally Parish, Abbey of Galbally. 8. Glenogra Parish, Glenogra Castle. 9. Church at. 10. East view of. 11. Killbreedy Major, Franstown Castle. 2. Another view. 13. Kilkeedy Parish, Carrigogunnell Castle. 14. St. Margaret's Church. 15. Killeenagariff Parish, Killeenagariff Church. 16. Kilmallock Parish, Kilmallock Abbey. 17. Kilmallock Abbey, from the west. 18. Church. 19. Round Tower and Church. 20. Gate at. 21. Round Tower. 22. Knockaisy Parish, Baggotstown Castle. 23. Lough Gur, Black Castle. 24. Earl of Desmond's Castle. 25. Gateway of. 26. Large Castle. 27. Standing Stone at. 28. Teampul New. 29. Knockaisy Castle. 30. Knocklong Parish, the old house of Knocklong. 31. Monasteranenagh Parish, Abbey. 32. Another view. 33. Mungret Parish, Abbey. 34. Church at. 35. Stradbally Parish, Castleconnell. 36. Uregare Parish, Ballygrennan Castle. 37. Another view. 38. The Keep of. The remainder of the sketches must be sought for in the letters and extracts. The preceding sketches all appear to have been executed by Mr. Wakeman in the year 1840. These are all the materials relating to Limerick County."

The following Paper was submitted to the Meeting:—

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M. A., M. P.,
WITH NOTES BY MAURICE LENIHAN, ESQ., AUTHOR OF "THE
HISTORY OF LIMERICK, ANCIENT AND MODERN."

(Continued from Vol. V., New Series, p. 290.)

LIMERICK.—As it is a maxime generally received by the learned That the Definition of a thing ought to be understood, before speaking of it, I esteem it altogether necessary to relate, what this city is, and whence it draws the Etymology of its name, before I describe what things are to be considered by a Traveller there.

Wherefore its name Limerick is said to take its Originall frō the Guelding's leap, being in the vulgar tongue Leame aneagh in the proper character *leam aneagh*. Verbatim y^e Leap of the Guelding, from a Water w^{ch} runs through the Town, part of the Shannon, where they have a perswasio that a Guelding made a leap over it, with a man mounted thereon; which word by corrupcion of time is speeched into Limerick.¹

It is one of the fairest cities of the Province of Munster, upon the river Shañon, distinguishable thus, the English town and Irish Town.² A well frequented Empory and Bishops see.

The English Town is an Island, and hath a Wall distinct, in

¹ This is quite a new derivation of the name. There may have been a tradition to the effect in Dineley's time; but there are no traces of its existence now. Even the derivation given by Holinshed, viz. :—"Loum-ne-Clugh;" that is to say, made bare, or eaten up by horses, is proved by more authentic inquiries to be apochryphal. General Vallancey, too, gave a far-fetched derivation of the name, when he tells us (*vid.* "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis"), that it comes from the Egyptian word *Lemne*, a maritime port; unde Luimreach, or Limerick, i. e., Lamri-Oike, a town or country near the water. The late truly eminent Professor Eugene O'Curry, one of the very first of Irish scholars, in a contribution to Lenihan's "History and Antiquities of Limerick,"² derives the name from a certain legend given in "The Book of Lecan" of a great

fight between the men of Connanght and the men of Munster, to which the respective kings of both parties brought their gladiators; the hosts on both sides were clad in grey-green luimín (cloaks); and when the combat commenced, the assembled crowd threw off their "*luimins*" in heaps on a strand; and so intensely was their attention engaged by the combatants, that they did not perceive the flowing of the tide until it had swept them away, upon which some of the spectators cried out, "*Ír Luimnocholm-in-inbean anorpd*;" i. e., "cloakly or cloakful is the river now." Hence the name Luiménach, from which O'Curry infers in his letter to the author that "*Luimeneach* *uidchánglapp* (and not *lechánglapp*), or Limerick of the Grey-Green, was the proper old name of Limerick."

² Richard Stanihurst called Limerick "the fairest city in Munster"—a title to

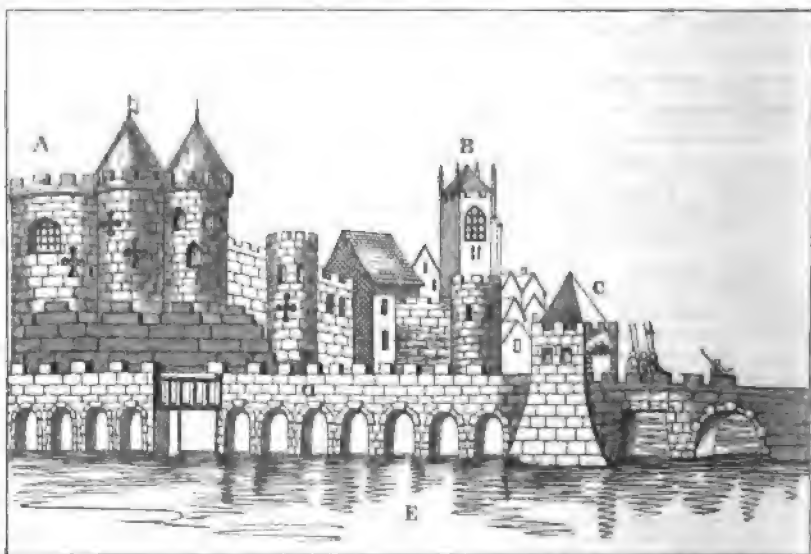
this is kept the main guard, & is seen the King's Castle.¹ The Thomond bridge Gate, and the Balls bridge Gate are the two chiefest Gates thereof.

That part of this city going by the name of the Irish Town is also walled in, here is seen the Cittadel; The chiefest gates of the Irish Town are the St. John's Gate, and the Mongrett gate. Upon w^{ch} Gates are these Inscriptiōns.

The Key-Gate hath this Inscriptiōn:—

CAROLO REGE
REGNANTE
PETRO CREAGH
PRÆTORE
ANNO DOMINI
MDC. XLII.²

Its scituation is in an Island encompassed with the water of the Shannon river, whence the fortification is y^e more considerable. It is sixty miles distant from the sea maine.



A. King's Castle. B. Cathedrall. C. The Watch-House on y^e Bridge. D. Thomond Bridge. E. Shannon River.

which it can lay claim even at this day, as well from its unrivalled situation close by the magnificent Shannon, as from its beauty, and the richness of the land in its neighbourhood, not to refer

to its many other features which have tended to confer fame upon it.

¹ Note in MS. :—"Built by K. John."

² The walls and gates of Limerick were demolished, or nearly so, in A. D.

Upon the Thomond Bridge Gate towards to Citty, observe the Poetry of the Limerick scarlat Robe in black marble & letters of Gold :

The Freeman's Duties without Tax or Rate
Repair'd this Place the Thomond Bridge and Gate.

A°. Dom. M.DCLXXIV.

William York, Esq'. Mayor.¹

1780, when the city ceased to be fortified. The gates were seventeen in number. St. John's Gate partially exists; and close by it was the citadel, the Black Battery, the Devil's Tower, and all that immediate field of the far-famed defence which General Sarsfield made in August, 1690, when the veteran legions of William III. were beaten back from the walls. The Fever Hospital of the city now occupies the site of the citadel; St. John's Gate adjoins. Here even now the marks of shot and shell are distinctly visible, as is also the *breach*, which Sarsfield repaired between the sieges of 1690 and 1691. Dean Story, the historian of William's wars in Ireland, declares, that the brave women of Limerick contributed materially to the crowning victory of 1690. Mungret or Mungret Gate was the southern entrance to Mungret-street, so called from the ancient abbey and schools of Mungret, within three miles of the city, the ruins of which scarcely tell what they had been in the days of their splendour. Mungret Gate disappeared in the year above named; but the inscription over the gate to which Dineley refers is on the original stone, which was dug out from the *debris*, and which about fifty years ago was fixed in the wall of Plassy Mills, within two miles of the city, on the Shannon, where it may now be seen. Of the sculpture on this stone the accompany-

pies the left of the castles in the original :—

CARLOREGE
REGNANTE
PETRO CREAGH
PRIETORE
ANNODNM
1643

In a recent controversy in the Limerick newspapers, a writer contended that the above castles represented the city of Limerick arms, though Ferrar, in his "History of Limerick," states that they are the arms of Mungret. The city arms have been taken from King John's Castle, to which the above bears no resemblance. The question has been set at rest by an article written by the writer of these notes in the "Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator:" the truth is, that Mungret Gate and its new tower were rebuilt in 1643, during the mayoralty of Pierce Creagh Fitz Andrew; in whose time there were several additions made to the walls and fortifications of other portions of Limerick, including Key-gate, or Quay-gate—the inscription on which Dineley gives, but which is nowhere else to be found, as there appears to have remained no other trace of it whatever.

¹ William York was afterwards knighted; he gave a chime of bells to the Cathedral Church of St. Mary, in which he was interred, and where a monumental slab of black marble gives a synopsis of his life and actions. At p. 57, *supra*, will be found a short notice of the history of Thomond Bridge, and of King John's Castle, by the writer of these notes, to which the reader is referred.



ing woodcut, given in Lenihan's "History of Limerick," is a faithful representation. The following legend occu-

Which putts me in mind of the sesion of the Poets, where an Alderman appearing they all made room saying:—

“—— It is a great sign
He has a good store of Witt
Who has good store of Coin.”

The Thomond Bridge is sayd to have bin built by King John, it crosseth the river Shannon, it consists of 14 stone Arches, att the time of whose foundacōn, that of London was but of Timber.

King John also built the Castle.

Observable is the scituation of this City in this that it is so accomodated by the Shannon for Traffick, that though by reason of some Cataracts or rock falls of the sayd river a little above Limerick, the merchants are forced for the space of neer half a score miles to convey their goods by Land-carriage as farr as Killaloo, city & Bishp̄rick; where they may be reimbarcked in boats of burthen into many parts of the Provinces of Leinster and Connaght for above 80 miles, with but once unladeing at Athlone bridge.

This Inconvenience to this famous River, (said to be the longest Fresh in y^e Kings Dominions) by reason of the Craggy Rocks in it neer y^e citty of Limerick was proposed by some, and intended to be taken away during the Governm^t. of the Earle of Strafford for y^e summe of sixteen thousand pounds, and since for half that sume by some Dutchmen to y^e Honourable Henry Earle of Thomond, by turning the course of the river through a new cutt somewhat eastward through a large bogg near adjoining to its old Channell mostly belonging to the last noble Earle, who would have so much land made profitable by it that it is thought it would in some measure answer the charge.¹

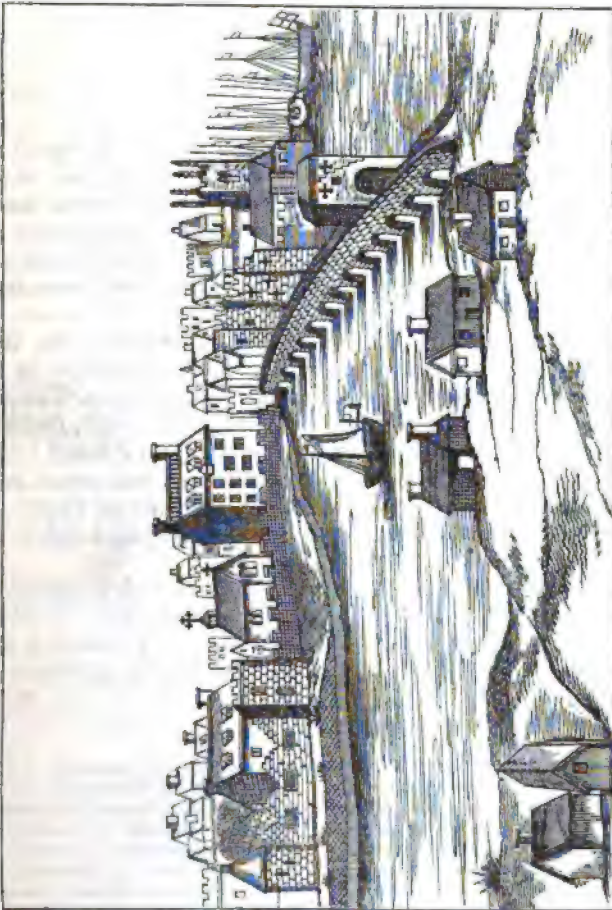
Anno 1600 one Geoffrey Gallway a papist one that had spent some time in the study of the cōon laws of England, being mayor of

¹ The cataracts and falls of the Shannon, within five or six miles of the city, form one of the most exquisite features in the admirable scenery of the neighbourhood of Limerick, celebrated as they have been for their beauty. Doonas (the Fort of the Cataract) is one of the loveliest spots imaginable; and here the Shannon rolls its waters over the falls in an immense volume, capable of setting in motion the machinery of the British Empire. In 1757 the cutting of the Grand Canal was commenced, by means of which, soon afterwards, water communication was formed between Limerick and Dublin, large grants of public money having been voted for the project by the Irish Parliament. To this day the Grand

Canal affords facilities for the conveyance of heavy merchandize by means of barges, supplied with screws and steam apparatus, which ply between Limerick and Killaloe, by the canal; and, passing Lough Dergh, take up the canal again at Munster Harbour, near Banagher. It may have been possible for the Dutchmen referred to by Dineley to perfect their design on the terms mentioned in the text, the comparative value of money being taken into consideration; but the permanency and beauty of the canal would be wanting; and it is only to be regretted that those interested in the canal are not more adequately recompensed by a profitable return for their persevering enterprise.

Limerick, and having perverted some from y^e Church, and for other offences was censur'd by [*sic*] to live as a prisoner in a Castle in y^e countrey, and not to come into the city of Limerick until he had payd a fine unto her Ma^{ty} Qu. Elizabth of four hundred pounds sterling, design'd and layd out for the reparaçõn of Limerick Castle, when he was put out of his mayoraltie a new one was elected for y^e year.¹

THE CITY OF LIMERICK.



¹ Geoffrey Gallway figures in the history of Limerick. He was a lawyer and a baronet—a man of mark and of patriotism; and in the "*Pacata Hibernia*,"

Sir George Carew, President of Munster, gives an account of his dispute with that unbending and resolute Mayor. Sir Geoffrey Gallway was a friend of Dr.

Limerick, why in the Spanish Invasion 1601, they chose not to land there rather than at Kinsale was because it was farr seated in the country, neither could they disimbogue from thence without an easterly wind, w^{ch} is seldom.

The Mongrett Gate carrieth this Inscriptōn thus: —

CAROLO REGE
REGNANTE
PETRO CREAGH PRÆTORE
ANNO DOMINI
MDCXLIII

[A Castle triple-towered with portcullis down is drawn at each side of this inscription. Above the Castle on one side is written *Limerick Arms*, beneath it PROTECTOR NOSTER: under the Castle on the other side are the words ASPICE DEUS; and beneath all is a quotation, from Horace, Odæ lib. I. Od. III., “ Illi robur et æs, &c.”

The Constable of the Kings Castle is the Lord Viscount Blessington.

Under Sr William King the present Gouverner; this Garrison consists of 8 independ^t Companys of foot Commanded by Sr W^m King as captain Major, Mac Guire as captⁿ, Captⁿ. Tho. Cullen, Captⁿ. George Creighton, Captⁿ. Gilbert Talbot, Captⁿ. Swift Nicks, Captⁿ. Francis Jones, Captⁿ. John Motlow, and 3 small squadrons of horse, one out of the Lord Orrery's Troop, one out of the Lord Shannon's, governor of Cork's. And one out of Captⁿ. Henry Boyle's Troop, these 3 last are all by name Boyle, a noble family; Three companys most comōny releive here.

The Key is fair, the Barks and Vessels which discharge goods there are some of 200 Tuns, some more, some less. The largest Merchant ships come no farther than Bunratty Castle, 6 English miles distant. The Key carrieth this Inscriptōn in black marble with Letters of gold in the Wall.

Thomas Arthur, the author of a valuable volume of MSS. in possession of the writer of these notes, and had several transactions—political, personal, and pecuniary—with him. Sir Geoffrey refused to take the oath of supremacy; he was deposed, fined, and imprisoned; and it is surprising that he was not more summarily dealt with by the unsparing President, who held in Limerick a sessions of gaol delivery in the same year (1600), “when several of the Irish were

condemned and executed.” Tradition states that Sir Geoffrey Gallway's castle is the large house in Nicholas-street, near the Cathedral of St. Mary, which is further asserted to have been the first brick-faced house in Limerick; it is yet called the Castle House; the walls are five feet thick, and it contains some ancient mantel pieces. With its high Dutch gable, it is, perhaps, one of the most remarkable buildings in the Englishtown at the present day.

Hæc Mœnia reparavit expensis
Publicis Dominus Gulielmus Comyn
Armiger hujus Familiae et Cognomi-
nis Vicessimus [*prætor*] Civitatis
Lymericensis.

Anno Domini MDCXXI.

Sometimes the largest ships reach y^e Poole within half a mile of Limerick.¹

The late Mayor was S^r W^m. King² who was both Mayor & Governor.³

The present Mayor is Captain Anthony Bartlett a Citizen who can neither write nor read.⁴

Besides the Cathedrall dedicated to S^t Mary in the English Town is S^t Muncheon's a parochial Church built by Munchianus first Bishop of Limerick. It was repaired by D^r. Creagh as appears by Inscriptiōn in y^e window. In the Irish Town is S^t. Johns, here are other Churches, but onely these 3 are made use of for Divine service and Preaching, besides w^{ch} are seen the Ruines⁵ of some Abbatial and Monasticall Churches, as S^t Francis Abby &c.

S^t Marys, the Mothers Church, is the fairest with a large high square steeple containing 6 tuneable Bells founded lately by one

¹ In more recent years, it need not be stated, ships of large tonnage anchor at the quays and in the floating docks of Limerick. The above-named William Comyn was Mayor of Limerick in 1610; and some of his ancestors filled high places in the civic annals; but I am not aware that the name survives at this day in Limerick. It is found in Galway and Clare.

² Sir William King, Bart., was an active and influential partisan of William III. He resided at Kilpeacon, (now the property of Major George Gavin, M. P.), in the small parish church of which a mural monument, with a long Latin inscription, which is translated into English in Lenihan's "History of Limerick."

³ Colonel Charles Vereker, second Viscount Gort, who was appointed in 1809, was, according to Lenihan's "History of Limerick," the last constable of the Castle of Limerick—the office having died with him.

⁴ Anthony Bartlett was Mayor of Limerick in 1680. Whether he was able to read or write, I know not; but were I to offer an opinion, I should say that Dineley's account of his literary poverty is rather apocryphal; for I find that in

1671, nine years before, and very likely the same person, Anthony Bartlett, merchant, issued a penny token, of which I have a very perfect specimen before me, and which is engraved in Lenihan's "History of Limerick:" Bartlett's arms, viz., three fishes fretted on a triangle, are on the obverse. Legend, "Anthony Bartlett 1671"—and on the reverse three Castles—1^d. Legend, "Mero · Bart · of · Lymereck*." A man who did not know how to read or write might issue a token, and be captain in a Militia regiment, or in the Line, before now. I knew a County Inspector of Police, a first-class officer, and a Sub-Inspector of Police, also an excellent officer, neither of whom could read or write. There have been mayors at times in all cities, too, whose education was neglected; but it is not probable that a wholly uneducated person should be chosen as chief magistrate in succession to Sir William King, who, admittedly, was one of the best informed men of his time. I have seen documents so recent as the middle of the last century to which persons who held very respectable positions as landlords subscribed their mark, thus, X.

⁵ These ruins have well-nigh altoget-

Mr. Perdue, the chiefest contributor towards the charge of them was Mr. William York anno 1677. both whose Inscriptions on their monuments are read in this Church, amongst others, the chiefest whereof are that of Donagh O'Brien Earle of Thomond and the Sepulture and Monument of the Bishops of Limerick opposite to the former which see.

St. Johns is the next Church to be visited consisting of 3 Isles whose prospect I touched off page [435]. It hath little or nothing to recomend it to the sight of the curious, onely this monument, which see page [not in the MS.]. Its matter is of black marble, carrying this Inscriptiō in Roman Capitals.

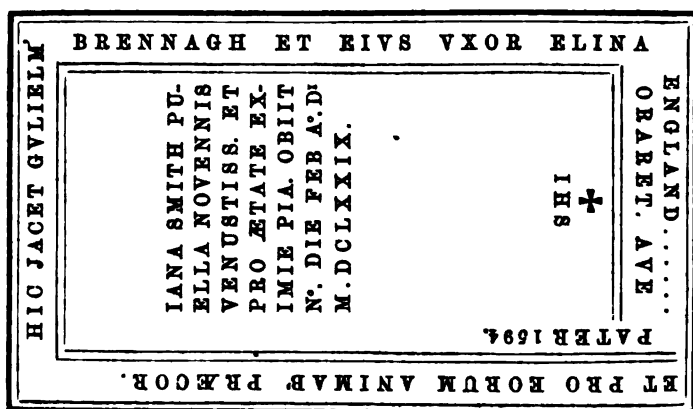
THOMAS POWER QUONDAM CIVIS LIMERICKEN-
SIS ET EIUS UXOR JOAANNA RICE HOC MONU-
MENTUM HEREDIBUS SUIS CONSTRUERUNT
IN QUO AMBO SEPELIUNTUR. ORET PRO EIS
PIUS LECTOR

QUISQUIS ERIS. QUI TRANSIERIS, STA PER-
LEGE FLORA.

SUM QUOD ERIS FUERAMQUE QUOD ES
PRO ME PRÆCO ORA. HOC FINITO A° DNI

M.D.C.XXII.

St. Muncheon's hath nothing in it worth note onely that the Rebels of this city having lost their estates, lost also their right to bury in their quondam proper vaults in the Churches, as appears by this Grave stone w^{ch} carieth another Inscriptiō of later date, written antipodes as it were to the former.



ther disappeared, if we except those of the Dominican monastery, near which the Convent of Mercy is built in the Englishtown, and a small portion of the

ruins of the Franciscan Abbey, which may yet be seen at the reere of some houses in Mary-street; these are fully described in Lenihan's "History of Limerick"—

In St. Marys¹ on the Pavement & right side of the Altar almost underneath the ballasters and neer the Earle of Thomonds Monument is read this Inscriptiō in this Character :—

*Sic Juste Magister Andreas
Creagh quondam istius ecclesie
decanus.*

Without y^e Quire in the body of the Church, adjoining to the foot of the back of the Deans seat, upon a Tomb² is read this Gingle upon the name of him who cast the Bells of this Church, in Roman Capitals. Thus

HERE A BELL-FOUNDER, HONEST AND TRUE
UNTIL THE RESURRECTION LIES PURDUE
WILLIAM PURDUE OBIT III^o
X^{bris} A^o Dⁱⁿⁱ. MDCLXXIII.

A little lower than this upon the Grave-stone of one sayd to be a person skilled in the Laws, is such a parcell of Irish Witt and

but none of these ruins are calculated to afford an idea of the extent of the remains of these abbeys and monasteries in the days when Dineley visited Limerick. On the site of St. Francis' Abbey was built, in 1750, a county court house, which was afterwards converted into a corn store, and which is now closed up—a sad memorial of decaying trade, and altered fashions as to localities in Limerick.

¹ St. Mary's Cathedral and its monuments, ancient and modern, deserve a more lengthened notice; whilst of St. John's and St. Munchin's Churches, having been rebuilt since Dineley wrote of the city, and many if not most of their monuments having been destroyed as well by war as by consuming time, it need only be stated that, though there are many fragments lying about the cemeteries of these churches, none are worthy of particular observation here. Those whom Dineley designates "the Rebels of this city" were, in point of fact, the ancient possessors of its wealth, influence, and rank; and though Cromwell and Ireton "stamped them out" for a season, even when Dineley wrote they held a fair share of their own, at least as merchants and traders, though in

municipal affairs their names ceased to appear on the mayoralty roll, or on the roll of the sheriffs, or as members of the corporation.

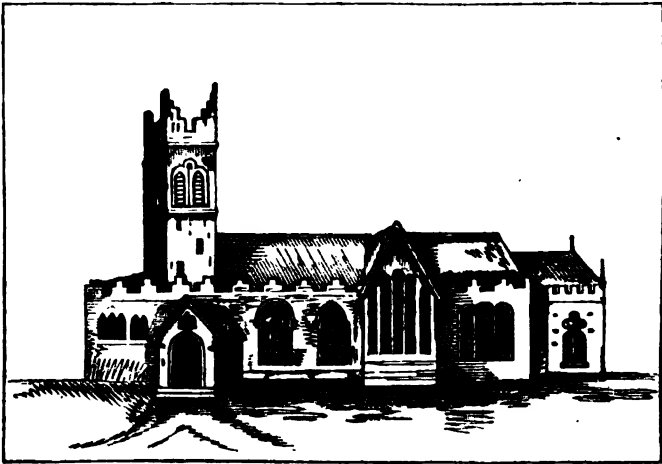
In reference to St. Mary's Cathedral, however, some of the monuments described by Dineley remain, though many of them not in their original places. The monument of Donough O'Brien occupies its ancient position; and on two black marble ledges of the monument are placed the recumbent figures of the Earl and his Countess—figures which were broken in the civil wars of 1641, as stated in the monumental inscription. The monument of Dean Creagh, described in the text, was removed from its old place in 1862, and put in a recess in the north transept of the Cathedral, close by which is the very ancient tombstone with the floreated Calvary cross, &c., described also in the text.

² Of this monument there is no trace; neither is there of that of Alderman John Stretch, which is mentioned in the next paragraph in the text. The Purdues were noted Bellfounders. They cast bells for Bristol and Salisbury Cathedrals; and three of the bells belonging to the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny, were cast by Roger Purdue, A. D. 1674-5.

Learning that I could not omitt it. It is in a sort of Roman Capitall letters as followeth :—

JOHNE : STRETCHER : ALDERMANE : THIRD : SONE : TOO : BARTHOLMEWE :
 THIS : MONUMENTE : MADE : IN : FEBRUARYE ; MOST : TRUE :
 WHERE : HEE : ANDE : HIS : HIS : HEYRES : MALES : RESIGHT : THEYRE : MORTALLE : BOWE :
 TYLL : CHRYSTE : DO : COME : TOO : JUDGE : ALL : MANS : ATTE : ONS.

ST. MARY'S OF LIMERICK.



In the Chapter house of this Church of St. Maries almost opposite to the entrance on the right hand is an ancient fair Inscriptiōn in the wall of so difficult a character, as it hath pussed some antiquaries, as I was inform'd by the Verger who introduced them, all that I could make out were these 3 or 4 words & the Date.

Hic iac3. Galfrid' art
Ino dñi M^o u. xix^a

This Inscriptiōn is eight or seven lines. The date is One Thousand five hundred and nineteen.¹

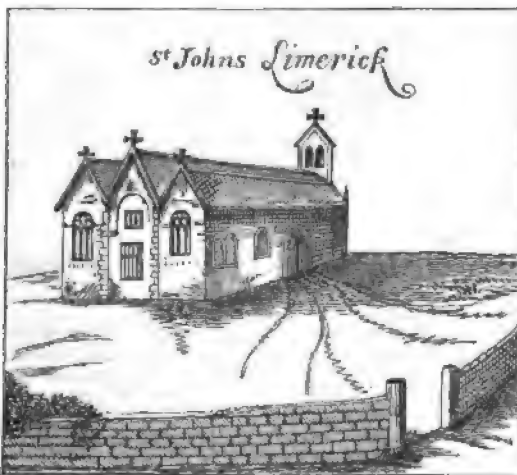
¹ On the subject of this monument, the writer of these notes contributed a paper, which was published in this "Journal," p. 114, *supra*, this being no other than the tomb of Galfridus Arture, of which Dineley seems to have known even less than the antiquaries and historians who followed him, until we solved

the riddle. We refer the reader to the paper in question, merely with this observation, that the monument has been removed from its old place to the north transept, close by the position which the Hartstonge monument occupies, which is described in the next paragraph of the text.

The Monument upon the late Recorder of Limericks Lady is of black Marble with an inscrip̃on of Roman Capitall Letters in Gold as on the other side this leafe (Note this Hartstongue is now one of the Barons of his Ma^{ties} Excheq^r of this Kingdom.)

[Here is drawn a small blank mural tablet surmounted by a flaming heart.]

THIS SMALL MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY STANDISH HARTSTONGUE, ESQR. RECORDER OF THIS CITY, IN MEMORY OF HIS DEAR WIFE ELIZABETH DAUGHTER OF FRANCIS JERMY OF GUNTON IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLKE ESQR. BY ALICE HIS WIFE YE DAUGHTER OF SE ANTHONY IEBY OF BOSTON KNT. WHO DIED THE 5TH OF JULY MDCLXIII. AND LIETH BURIED IN THIS CHURCH, WHO HAD ISSUE ELEVEN CHILDREN WHEREOF SEVEN ARE NOW LIVING MD.CL.XXVII.



St. Johns having nothing in it worthy of note but one monument of Thomas Power, I returne to the Cathedrall, where neer the Altar, between that and the Bishops seat, observe the remaines of the two famous Bipp̃s of this Diocess, the one being built in the wall, and the other being the statue of Bipp̃ O Dae conserved by the Great Donah O'Brien who erected the Monument underneath to his Memory.

In black marble with an Inscrip̃on in Letters of Gould.

[Here is drawn a mural tablet of two stages, surmounted by an obelisk, crowned by a flaming heart with the following inscriptions.]

BARNARDUS IACET
HIC EN ADAMVS
EPISCOPUS OLIM
OMNIA NON VIDIT
SOLOMONIS AT
OMNIA VANA.

*Sufficient God did give me
which I spent
I little borrowed and as
little lent
I left them whom I lov'd e-
nough in store
Increase this Bishoprick
Reliev'd the Poor.*

NEMO MIHI TUMBAM
STATUAT DE MARMO

[Here is drawn the recumbent effigy of a Bishop, robed and mitred.]

HÆC EST EFFIGIES REVERENDISSIMI VIRI CORNELII O'DAE QUONDAM EPISCOPI LIMERICKENSIS QUI AD MONUMENTUM HOC NOVUM EPISCOPORUM LYMERICKENSIV AD PERPETUANDAM MEMORIAM ET HONOREM TANTI PRÆSULIS TRANSLATUS FUIT UT HIC CUM FRATRIBUS SUIB REQUIESCERET XIV DIE IUNII AN^o. DNI
MDC XXI.

REMOTUS HUC FUIT SUMPTIBUS NOBILISSIMI HEROIS DONATI COMITIS THOMONÆ TUNC HONORATISSIMI PRÆSIDENTIS PROVINCIÆ MOMONIAE.¹

¹ Cornelius O'Dea was one of the most eminent of Limerick's prelates; he was consecrated A. D. 1400, and resigned the See of Limerick in 1427. For an account of his life and actions, his splendour and munificence, his mitre, crozier, and seal, see Lenihan's "History of Limerick." The monument exists; but the effigy suffered the fate of all the effigies during the wars which desolated Limerick in the seventeenth century. O'Dea was of the race of Clancullen, and re-

lated to the royal house of O'Brien. Hence the care bestowed upon his monument by Donat O'Brien, Lord President of Munster—a care which has been continued to our own day by the O'Brien family, as it is only within the last few years that the Hon. Robert O'Brien, brother of Lord Inchiquin, expended a sum of money in renewing and gilding the inscription on the tomb, and in otherwise securing the monument from danger and decay.

That which is cutt off by the narrownes or obscurity of the upper draught is thus in its proper character.

SUFFICIENT GOD DID GIVE ME WHICH I SPENT,
I LITTLE BORROW'D AND AS LITTLE LENT
I LEFT THEM WHOM I LOV'D, ENOUGH IN STORE
INCREASE THIS BISHOPRICK RELIEV'D THE POOR.

NEMO MIHI TUMBAM STATUAT DE MARMORE FAXIT
URNULA EPISCOPULO SATIS SATIS ISTA PUSILLA PUSILLO
ANGLI QUIS VIVUS FUERAM ET TESTENTUR HYBERNI
CÆLICOLI QUIS SIM DEFUNCTUS TESTIFICENTUR.

This Inscription relates not to this Tombstone but y^e last monument of Bishop Barnard Adams, being the last but one.¹

This Tombstone² is seen adjoining to that of Dean Creagh within the Ballustrade and between the Altar and the monument of the Earle of Thomond.

[Here is drawn a tombstone with a floreated calvary cross, on either side of which are shields of arms; that on the dexter side bearing three lions passant gardant for O'Brien, that on the sinister a chevron between three Irish brogues³ for Arthure.]

These armes are given by the great O'Briens.

These armes are given by the name of Arthur heretofore a considerable family of this Town, great Benefactors to their Church.

The ruines of their mansion house is seen in y^e street not farr from y^e church, with a curious well wrought door case in black marble & the same Armes which are seen on the top of a Buttres, at y^e east end of St. Maries.

On the outside of the right Isle going up to the Altar, unto which is lately affixed a stair case to go up to the Gallery and Organs, is obscured by the sayd staircase a very ancient Monument adjoining to the Wall, with this Inscription under the Armes on the top, in Roman Capitall Letters.

¹ Bishop Bernard Adams's monument is just over the tomb of Bishop O'Dea, and it was also defaced during the civil wars; there is no effigy remaining, but the inscription exists. Adams was advanced to the see in 1604; he was well informed, and compiled "The Little Black Book" of Limerick, which is in the possession of the Registrar of the diocese. He made an abstract of the property of the See from the ancient record, the "Black Book;" or, "Liber Niger," of which a description is given in Lenihan's "History of Limerick;" the abstract, which is in the handwriting of Bishop Adams, is in the possession also of the Registrar of the diocese.

² I have referred to this tombstone in note ¹, p. 433; it may have been the monument of an ancient bishop of the see.

³ What Dineley quaintly and erroneously designates by the name of Irish brogues are none other than three clariions, the arms of the once great Arthur family of Limerick, and are engraved on many ancient and comparatively modern tombstones in St. Mary's Cathedral. The monument described by Dineley exists in the identical place to this day. The legend in old raised English characters above the shield, is simply Thomas Artur; the final *e* is broken off. The Arthur family were about 800 years connected with Limerick.

LUMNIA [*Lumina?*] QUÆ LECTOR TUA CERNUNT HISCE JOHANNI
MURIS SCULPTA SACRIS QUADRANT INSIGNIA CAVE.†

Coming out of the Quire on the right hand adjoining to the uppermost Pillar upon a Grave Stone of two foot square is this read

FIFTEEN YEARS A MAYD, ONE YEER A WIFE
TWO MONTHS A MOTHER, THEN I LEFT THIS LIFE
THREE MONTHS AFTER ME MINE OFFSPRING DID REMAIN
NOW EARTH TO EARTH WEE ARE RETURN'D AGAIN.‡

Now to leave the sacred and come to the prophane buildings the first and most frequented which offered itself was the

EXCHANG, a walk so called, over which in a chamber of the whole length thereof the city coön Counsill meet, this was the Guift, and built at the sole Charges of W^m. York at the time of his Mayoralty, except the grounds & 70ft.

The County Court is kept in the ruines of St. Francis Abby which on Sundays is used as a conventicle, the preacher is one Bailly.

There are two faires a year, viz. that of St. John Baptist and St. James, the latter whereof is after the manner of Bartholomew fair London and continues a fortnight, during which time no arrest can be made in the Town for debt, in signal whereof a white Glove is hung out at the Prison.

The Present Bipp of this Diocess is the Right Reverend Father [in] God, Dr. Simon Digby of that noble family whereof was the late Earle of Bristol, who besides the possessing of all good Qualities belonging to that sacred charge and Profession, limns and draws in little to admiration.

The Reverend the Dean of Limerick is Dr. Hind a worthy Divine once of Brazen Nose Colledge in the University of Oxford.

The Family of the ARTHURES also beare Gules thus viz. a Cheveron between three Irish brogues Or. The pulling off a mans shoe seemeth to have been a note of infamy as Moses Deut: 25 where if a man happen to dye without issue then his next kinsman should marry his wife & raise up to his brother a name among the Israelites, which if he refuse to do, then upon complaint by her made to the Elders, he was warned before them, if then he refused to marry her, then came the Woman to him in the presence of the Elders & pull'd off his shoo and did spitt



† i. e. Galloway. This, the Galloway monument, is of black marble, and was one of the most exquisite specimens of canopied mediæval work in the cathedral. The shafts and pillars and canopies remain, but the inscription has been

terribly battered and defaced. For an account of this ancient Limerick family, see Lenihan's "History of Limerick," and Sir Bernard Burke's "Landed Gentry of Ireland."

‡ Of this monument there is no trace.

in his face & say as in Deuteronomy 25. The Shoe is a note of Progression fitt for Travellers. In y^e scripture it is taken for Expediçōn as Psal : 60. And proceeding to Idumea I will cast my shoe over it.¹

Here is also in the North East part of the Town a fair Tanyard² in the ruines of an Abbey.

DROUMCORE is a castle so called in the middle of the Irish Town, which took its name from its scituation, upon a rising back or tump of ground, Droum signifying, back, & Core odd, frō the name of y^e first founder, of whose name w^{ch} was [blank] they could find not one other among the Brittaines at y^e conquest of this Kingdome under Strongbow, so that they nam'd him *Core w^{ch}* signifieth odd. Att the same time came over one *Stapylton*, which was a very remarkable forwarder of the conquest, and the natives being at a loss how to Irish that name, they nam'd him *Gaule Duff w^{ch}* is black English, of whose family are at this day by that name.³

THE MANUFACTURE.—The ordinary Traffique is Frize, Corne, Cattle, Rape, Hides, Tallow, Beanes, Barley, Salmon, Butter⁴ which they transport for France, Spayne, and Holland.

¹ The monument of the Arthurs may be seen on the top of the buttress on the east side of the cathedral; but the "Irish brogues" are none other than the clariens referred to in note 3, p. 437. The family tomb of the Arthurs is immediately below the monument, near the eastern wall of the cathedral.

² This tanyard, which is yet in existence, was first established soon after the suppression of the abbeyes and monasteries by a member of the Sexten family, as we learn from Father Moony's MSS., preserved in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. The site on which it was formed belonged to the great Franciscan Abbey, and the locality to this day goes by the name of "The Abbey." In the reign of James I. "The Abbey" was constituted part and parcel of the county of Limerick; a countycourt house was erected in it, as we have already seen in note, p. 433; and the voters of the Abbey voted at county elections as of the barony of Pobble Brien. The tanyard now belongs to a Mr. O'Donnell.

³ Dineley calls this castle "Droumcore," and gives it a name and a derivation which I believe to be apocryphal. In the Arthure MSS., some of which were written sixty years before Dineley made his tour, the castle, which was then in existence, is stated to have been called Thomcore; it is so called in White's MSS., and in Ferrar; and it was built

in A. D. 1400, according to the Arthur MSS., by one Thomas Balbeyne, or Corre, a citizen of Limerick, and given by him, according to his will, which is preserved in the Arthure MSS., to the corporation (provided a brother of his, who then resided in Bristol, should not return to Limerick), on consideration that prayers should be said for the repose of his (Thomas Balbeyne's) soul: these facts appear in Lenihan's "History of Limerick." This castle existed up to twenty years before the close of the last century, when a market house was built on the site; but in some years afterwards, even the market house was removed, and nothing now tells, except tradition, where this famous castle had stood.

⁴ The traffic in butter continues; if not to France and Spain and Holland—to England. Of salmon the abundance is enormous; but the citizens justly complain that its sale has become a monopoly, which well-nigh excludes them from the slightest participation in the benefits of the most prolific and profitable salmon fishery in Ireland—we may add, in Europe—and one of the most ancient. The salmon weir has been an object for ages past of royal grants, inquisitions, leases, &c.; and in more recent years, of extensive and expensive litigation between the successors of the ancient fishermen of Limerick and Mr. Malcomson, of Portlaw, who purchased Mr. Gabbett's

They come from Dublin to Limerick for Canary.

The Salmon Weire out of Town, having a Castle without timber or nayle in the middle of the river : here the custome is to grant tickets for salmon gratis to all strangers who will eat them upon the place, this the Corporaçon is obliged to, though they set it for 200l p annu.¹

Quarries of black marble are in such plenty about the Town, y^t Castle, Cittadel, Walls, Bridges, houses, other buildings, are form'd therewith, and it serves for pavement to the streets.²

The Inns of the best accommodaçon are at Mr. Francis Whittemares, the signe of the Globe, and at one Mr. W^m. Allens in the same street, att both w^{ch} places is a better draught of Claret, though not so great, as in most Taverns of London.³

Their chiefest Importaçon are Wines, Salt, Madder, Hops, but the best of the latter come out of England.

From Norway Deal boards.

interest in the lease of the weir, which he held from the corporation, and with which weir a "several fishery" from the weir to a distance of three miles westward of the Shannon waters has been judicially established in an appeal to the House of Lords. The castle on the Great Lax weir has been a frequent object of attack and defence in Cromwell's wars, and in those of William III. and James II. It is quite true that in the reign of Charles II. the freemen of Limerick were empowered to obtain salmon; each freeman received one fish once a year; but he was compelled to discuss its merits, otherwise to eat the salmon, in the castle.

¹ A custom more honoured in the observance than in the breach, and thoroughly reasonable, not only because the aldermen of the corporation thereby hospitably admitted strangers to partake of this excellent fish, but because they thereby recognised a gracious exception to their monopolist right to this free gift of nature.

² The quarries at Garryowen, Altamira, Rossbrien, Ballysimon, &c., produce very fine black marble, and limestone, with which many of the buildings of modern Limerick have been constructed. The fronts of the houses referred to by Dineley have been faced with red brick since the commencement of the last century, when too the gables were reconstructed after the Dutch fashion, and several of them retain the quaint architectural peculiarity to this

day. Among the most perfect and beautiful of the more recent uses of the Limerick stone, or as it may be called, marble, are the buildings of St. John's Catholic Cathedral, the Catholic Church of St. Alphonsus, the Convent, Orphanage, and Church of the Sisters of Mercy at Mount St. Vincent, &c. Mr. Barry, the architect of the Westminster Palace, was in treaty some years ago with the late Mr. Staunton—the then proprietor of the Ballysimon quarries—in reference to the supply of marble from Ballysimon, but for some cause the negotiation fell through. The Catholic Cathedral of St. John's, Newfoundland, has been partially faced with, if not built of Ballysimon marble.

³ From very early times Limerick has been celebrated for its wines. An inquisition taken in the reign of James I. shows how the merchants of Limerick complained of the oppressions and piracies to which the ships which conveyed their wines from Spain were subjected at the hands of the petty chieftains who inhabited either shore of the Shannon, from Loop Head to Cratloe, and who levied black mail *ad libitum* on every ship that carried wines to the city. Francis Whittamore was mayor of Limerick in 1682; and Whittamore's Castle, in Mary-street, is worthy of the attention of the antiquarian. We may observe that to this day certain residents of London send to certain wine merchants of Limerick for hampers of crusty old port.

That which is further observeable in y^e Salmon Weire above named is, that the castle or watch house belonging to it, hath neither Timber nor nayle in it.

In the hands of the curious of this Town was lately an Elk's head found in a marle pitt in the river Shannon of a prodigious largeness. The Horns whereof had one Palm distant from the other ten foot and half, and each palme was 20 inches over; these hornes were fixed to the head, and some of the Teeth in it. The Beams were by computation about 25 inches round.

One Thomas Phelps the Quaker is sayd to have sent one hence into England of 14 foot wide, found in a marle pitt in the County of Tipperary, where several are found supposed to have bin there ever since the Flood, because no History takes any notice of their ever having seen any such beast living in this Kingdome.¹

The Distinction of this city into English and Irish Town hath bin ever since the Conquest and first reduction in the Reign of Henry II^d. when the English took to themselves the best of the town, wall'd it in, and excluded the natives: yet those very English in process of time have degenerated into meer Irish and have forfeited their estates as such, one whereof was Brennah w^{ch} signifieth Welsh, and whose monument is before men^coned in S^t. Munchcons Church.

The Water Gate leading out of the English Town to the county Court, which is sett up in the Ruines of an Abbey, is inconsiderable, with a little niche over it whereon I suppose stood a small Image of S^t. James, because of this wrote thereon.

SANCTE JACOBE

DEFENDE NOS AB HOSTE.

HIC BELLONA TONAT SEDET HIC ASTREA RENASCENS

HAC PIETAS AD AQUAS, AC SACRA PANDIT ITER

ANNO DOMINI MDC. XL VII.

R. R. CAROLI DOMINIC FANNING PRÆTORE

DAVID OREAGH ET JACOBO SEXTON VICEC.²

This Gate is at the end of Bonfield lane.

D. Fanning held out this Town against Ireton Cromwells son in law, for which he was hanged at his own door & his house is demolished to this day.

Memorandum, Dominic Fauning was Mayor of this city in the

¹ The skeletons of fossil deer continue to be found at Ballycullane Bog, within eight miles of the city; and a Mr. Hinchy has recently sold some admirable specimens to Lord Powerscourt, &c. Lough Gur, within eight miles of the city, has

offered several specimens of fossil deer, elks, &c.

² A small fragment of this inscription was preserved in the front of one of the houses near Mass-lane, in "The Abbey." Vicec. stands for *Viccomites*, Sheriffs.

first year of the Rebellion in England, A^o. Dñi 1641, and about the year 52, when this city was taken by the Usurping Power, he was condemn'd to be hang'd by Ireton who beseig'd it, and who from such a certain day that he offered them good conditions for y^e surrender thereof, he excepted, of the chiefest Persons that opposed the surrender, each day one to forfeit life and estate, whereof y^e said Fanning was one who was executed: upon the same score also underwent the same fate Major G^{ral} Robert, Robert Purcell, S^t. Geoffrey Galloway Barronet was excepted but made his escape. But the Bipp of Emely was executed, the Bipp of Limerick for the time being, Geoffrey Baron Barrest^r at Law, Dr. Higgins Doctor of Physick, who had a pardon sent him but too late, Thomas Stretch, then Mayor of Limerick.¹

Y^e *Sextons* are of a family which for its fidelity to the Crown of England in the time of Henry the eight, in discovering a Rebellion to the L^d Lieutenant, and preventing the delivery up of this Town to the enemy, got a very considerable Estate, and Priviledges above others who keep them to this day viz. To have Precedency of the Bipp and all the civil Magistrates here except the Mayor, to have two votes in common Councill.² The sherriff James Sexton in the last Inscriptiō on the other side this leaf is of the same family, though not in a direct line.³

No Mayor is made without the approbatiō of the Lord Lieutenant.⁴

Their onstome is to shut up the gates at 9 in the evening in winter, and at 10 in summer delivering the keyes to y^e Governor, and to open in the mornings at four in summer and seven in winter.

The keyes of the city Gates at night are never trusted any where but in the house of the Governor with a guard also upon them.⁵

¹ A MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, called "An Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction," gives some extraordinary particulars of the concealment, capture, sufferings and judicial murder of Dominick Fanning and his fellow-citizens at the hands of Ireton's soldiers. Lenihan's "History of Limerick" throws a good deal of light on the terrible doings of these eventful times.

² See the printed "State Papers." Archdall adds, that it was customary for the Mayor and Corporation to wait on the head of the Sexten family on the first day of salmon taking, and to present him with the first salmon taken in their weir at Parteen.

³ The first of the Sexten family was Edmund, who was a sewer in the King's (Henry VIII.) chamber; he is said to

have been descended from the ancient Thomond family of Sesnan—he was sent over to Ireland on the suppression of the abbeyes, and well did he perform his behests to the royal devastator by whom he was commissioned and largely rewarded. He was a man of bravery and ability; he wrote a Chartulary, &c., which is preserved in the British Museum, and which is like, in many respects, the Arthure MS., in the possession of the writer of these notes. His preservation of Limerick from a meditated attack by Lord Leonard Grey is described in Lenihan's "History."

⁴ This was the case under the "New Rules" issued for the government of the corporation in the reign of Charles II.

⁵ Dr. J. W. Geary, J. P., is said to be in possession of one of these keys, which,

The Houses [of] most of this city are tall built with black unpolisht marble with partition walls some of 5 foot thick, and have Battlements on the top, and the best Cellars, for so many, of any city in England or Ireland.

The Tholsel Court¹ is a fair Building with this Inscriptiōn on the outside at the end.

EXTITIT E RUINIS HOC EDIFICIUM
THEMIDI SACRUM ANNO CHRISTI
MDCLXIV REGISQUE CAROLI
SECUNDI XVI.
PRÆTORE RADOLPHO WILSON
MILITE.

Carrying also this Inscriptiōn on the side in Roman Capital Letters.

ROCE BIPARTITA DOMUS HÆC SUFFULTA COLUMNIS
OCCUPAT ALMA GELLIS IMA SUPERNA THEMIS
PUBLICIS EXPENSIS
JORDANUS ROCHE PRÆTORE
CIVITATIS
ANNO SALUTIS MDCKL.

The lower part of this Structure is upon arches, and was design'd for an Exchange and the upper part for the Town Court.²

Out at St. Johns Gate a mile distant are seen the ruines of a fair Castle built by the s^d Roche, and burnt by Ireton or y^e Lord Inchiquin in the seige when he lay down before Limerick, there have escaped about it the fairest Orchards in the Countrey.

The City Walls³ are fair and strong with a pav'd walk thereon as are those of Shrewsbury and Chester in England, with addition of some Bastions Bulwarks and Fortificaōn carrying some Inscriptiōns thereon as namely on that part of the Walk which adjoines to the right side of the aforementioned Mongrett Gate in Roman Capitalls.

HANC PROPUGNACULI MOLEM AD HOSTILES
IMPETUS PROPULSANDOS EXCITATAM TABULATO
STRAVIT FASTIGIUMQUE IMPOSUIT FRANCISCUS
FANNING. PRÆTOR MDLXLV. ET
IM. VICECOMITES. P.D.M.

when shown by him to Chubb, of London, surprise was expressed by that celebrated locksmith at the beauty and complexity of the workmanship.

¹ For Dineley's sketch of the Tholsel, see next page.

² The city gaol, in Mary-street, was built on the ruins of the Tholsel; and

the gaol itself may now be said to be a ruin; the roof is off, while the lower portion is occupied by a nailor's forge, and a miscellaneous shop, in which one Michael Moloney frequently exhibits some literary and artistic treasures.

³ Of the city walls we have already written in note ², p. 426.



Upon the Citty Wall on the left side y^e Mongrett Gate in the Walk is also read

CAROLO REGNANTE
 PETRO CREAGH PRÆTORE
 HUIC MURI PROPUGNAULO TAGGE
 BUS HIC COMMUNITI
 SUNT
 ANNO. R: S: MDCKLIII.¹

The Anciente Lanes and Streets of this city are, for the most part, Castle² building, each Inhabitant having been so affraid of his neighbour, that many partition Walls are six foot thick.³

Managh & Grady which signifieth Emanuel & Grady an under receiver of some chief Rents to the R^t Hon^{ble} y^e Earle of Thomond gave a Guinney towards the founding of the tenour Bell in S^t Maryes Limerick called Thomond Bell on purpose to perpetuate his name, and that this Inscriptiōn might be cast thereon, which is

¹ Of this inscription there is no trace.

² Limerick used to be styled "a city of castles." Each of these fortalices became a stronghold whenever the outer walls of the town were taken.

³ The walls of the houses in the Englishtown and Irishtown are very thick; but it is improbable that they were so built for the reason advanced by Dineley.

seen at this day, in as choice termes as was that of Counsellor Stretch in the Church.

NOBLE MR. GRADY FOR THE LOVE HE DOTH OW
UNTO THE BELL CALLED THOMOND
A GUINNEY DID BESTOW.

It was usuall in old times, and some of later date though ancient quality make their own monuments living.¹ As the present R^t. Hon^{ble} Henry Earle of Thomond himself who lately erected his, and putt up the remaines of the marble gilded Effigies of his Hon^{ble} Ancest^{rs}. (defaced in the time of the late wars of Ireland & the Rebels) to preserve their memory, page [].

Those that living, do build their own Tombs, would (without doubt) lay this charge upon whom they intrust with their Wills; and employ their last dayes altogether in the Service of God, if they did not in their life time see, by others that heires and Executors chiefly bury the memory and honour of the dead with the corps: slighting their fidelity to the dead. Concerning this an ancient Inscriptiō before the general conflagraçōn was seen painted against the wall of St Edmonds parish church in Lumbard street London thus

- ' This. Than the behobynth ofte to hābe yis' in minde
 ' That. ' Thine. Hat' thow gebeth wyth yin' hōnd yat' sall thow fynd
 For Widowes be slofull, and Chyl dren beth onkynde
 Executors beth covetous and kepe all yat yey fynde
 If any body ask wher the deddys goodys becam.
 ' They answer. Hey answere'
 ' Virgin. So God me help and Salidam,^a
 He died a pore man
 Hink
 ' Think on this. on yis'

Upon these monuments they used to engrave such like sentences to this effect

FALLAX SÆPE FIDES, TESTATAQUE VOTA PERIBUNT
CONSTITUES TUMULUM, SI SAPIES IPSE TUUM.
OF
CERTA DIES NULLI, MORS CERTA, INCERTA SEQUEMUR
CURA, LOCET TUMULUM QUI SAPIT IPSE SIBI.

Ending for the most part with, Vivus sibi posuit, Vivus fieri fecit;

¹ Witness the monument set up by Cox, Archbishop of Cashel (to which see he had been translated from Ossory),

in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny; not forgetting the satiric epitaph *affiche* to it during his life.

Se vivo fecit; Vivus fecit; Vivus faciendum curavit, Vivus hoc sibi fecit monumentum.

Some conclude monuments of their own erection with Sibi et conjugi, sibi conjugi & liberis, sibi et posteris.

And others who would have none other entomb'd therein have thus: Hoc monumentum hæredes non sequuntur, or, Rogo per deos superos inferosque ossa nostra ne violes.

Half a mile out of Limerick on the Thomond side on the side of the Causeway is a stone with this Inscription in Roman Capitall Letters thus

THIS PAVEMENT WAS WHOLY ENDED
AT THE CHARGES OF THE CORPORA-
TION
JAMES WHITE FITZ JAMES
ESQR. MAYOR A°. DOM.
MDCXXXVIII.

He beareth Argent Trefoyles slipped sables 2. and 1. by the name of Vanderlure.¹

[Here is drawn a blank mural tablet, surmounted by a shield charged with arms of Vanderlure, as above, impaling Fitzgerald, a chevron Ermine; crest, a forearm holding a star or mullet.]

HERE LIETH MARTHA
WIFE TO GILES VANDER-
LURE ESQ'. who died y°.
28 day of January 1678.
in the 40th year of her age
daughter of y° reverend John
Fitzgerald late Dean of Cork
her Mother was Katherine
Boyle Daughter to y° most Re-
verend Richard Boyle Arch-
bishop of Tuam She had issue
8 sons & 7 daughters.

¹ Giles Vanderlure appears to have been the father of that Giles Vandeleur who first projected the County Infirmary,

which was situated in "The Abbey," without the walls. There is no trace of the monument.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April 11th (by adjournment from the 4th), 1866.

HENRY FIZSIMONS, Esq., M. A., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Monsr. de la Ponce, M. R. I. A., &c., Tours, France : proposed as an Honorary Member by A. G. Geoghegan, Esq.

The Hon. Robert O'Brien, Old Church, Limerick; Franz Thimm, Esq., 3, Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, London; the Rev. W. C. Lukis, Wath Rectory, Ripon; and the Rev. Henry Stuart Fagan, Bath : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Alexander George Richey, Esq., LL. B., Barrister-at-Law, 27, Upper Pembroke-street, Dublin : proposed by W. Anderson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

The Rev. W. F. Bindon, A. M., Mothel Rectory, Leighlin-bridge : proposed by the Rev. R. Deverell.

E. H. Comerford, Esq., M. D., John-street, Kilkenny : proposed by Mr. J. Hogan.

Edward Anderson, Esq., Jun., 68, Grafton-street, Dublin; and Maurice F. Kelly, Esq., Graiguenamanagh : proposed by Mr. Prim.

John Ribton Garstin, Esq., M. A., M. R. I. A., 21, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin : proposed by G. V. Du Noyer, Esq.

Richard Raleigh, Esq., Patrick-street, Limerick; and John Connolly, Esq., Solicitor, George-street, Limerick; proposed by M. Lenihan, Esq.

The Rev. James Graves laid before the Meeting the reply of the Marquis of Ormonde to the Society's Address on the attainment of his Lordship's majority :—

“ TO THE MEMBERS OF THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

“ MR. DEAN, AND GENTLEMEN,—I beg to offer you my grateful thanks for the address with which you have presented me, on the attainment of my majority. I am aware that my beloved father took deep interest in

the prosperity of the Society, and was glad to have it in his power to further its efforts

"Your appreciation of his character and cultivated mind is very acceptable to me; and I heartily respond to the wish which you have expressed with so much kindness, that I may be permitted to follow in the footsteps of my revered parent.

"I am, Mr. Dean, and Gentlemen,

"Your obedient and obliged Servant,

"ORMONDE.

"*Kilkenny Castle, February 3rd, 1866.*"

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Sussex Archæological Society: "Sussex Archæological Collections," Vol. XVII.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Nos. 15 and 16.

By the Archæological Institute: their "Journal," Nos. 86 and 87.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: their "Transactions," New Series, Vol. IV.

By the Royal Institution of Cornwall: their "Journal," No. 5.

By the British Archæological Association: their "Journal," for March, 1866.

By Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq., F. S. A.: "The Reliquary," No. 23.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for January, February, and March, 1866.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1186–1199, inclusive.

By Mr. Maurice F. Kelly: a silver groat of Queen Elizabeth, and three pieces of late painted glass (one of them an entire pane, with a portion of the leaden sash in which it had been set) said to have belonged to the Abbey of Graigue. He wrote:—"These, with others, remained stowed away in an old window which shows light to the loft over the present vestry in the Roman Catholic Church, up to about two years ago, when they fell into my possession."

The Rev. James Graves said that the glass was not older than the beginning of the last century. It probably belonged to a partial fitting up of the abbey for purposes of religious worship which took place at the time that the modern belfry was placed on the west gable.

By Mr. J. Kelly, High-street, Kilkenny: a gun-money half crown of James II.

By Robert Malcomson, Esq., Local Secretary, Carlow: a curious semi-globular shaped stone, having a cup-like hollow formed

artificially on one surface. Of this stone, Mr. Malcomson observed :—" It comes from William Duckett, Esq., of Russellstown Park, county of Carlow, upon whose estate there it was found in the course of last month, by workmen employed in drainage operations, upon land which had never been broken up."

Mr. Prim pointed out that this stone was an example of the rude beginning of a curious class of antiquities, which in one stage of their development presented somewhat the appearance of a stone chalice. They had in their Museum more than half a dozen specimens of the antique in various stages. In the last stage the antique presented an approximation to the shape of a candlestick ; the specimen sent by Mr. Duckett, through Mr. Malcomson, was in the earliest stage. The suggestion made as to their purpose was, that they were primitive lamps, the hollow being used for containing oil or fat. He would not pledge himself to the correctness of the theory, which, however, should serve till a better solution could be offered.

By Mr. Robertson : a drawing of one of the Early English lancet windows of the interesting old church of Clomantagh, between Freshford and Johnstown.

By the Rev. James Graves : a curious ring of brass, which had been found at St. Canice's Cathedral, in the vault discovered at the north side of the communion table, and presumed to have been the old Ormonde vault. The ornamentation of this ring showed it to be antique ; from its shape it was not likely to have been intended for the finger. It was found by Mr. Monaghan, the contractors' superintendent of works. Also a large piece of mortar, incorporated with which was a considerable portion of the leaf of an old prayer book printed in black letter, being the Epistle for St. Stephen's Day. It had been found in taking down the eighteenth century wall which had been built across the Lady Chapel, separating the Chapter Room from the Bishop's Court, and which was now removed.

By Mr. Robertson : a highly glazed encaustic flooring tile, found in digging that portion of St. Canice's Cathedral known as the " Hermit's Cell."

Mr. Prim said that, about twenty years since, when Dean Vignoles was clearing away the earth, which had in the lapse of time accumulated round the walls of the Cathedral, so as to reach the original level of the cemetery, the walls of an inclosure had been found at the north side of the choir, and at the east end of the north choir aisle, which appeared to have been originally covered in by a roof shedded up against the choir wall. It was no part of the original structure of the Cathedral, but was a very ancient addition. Its use had been a matter of speculation, till all doubt was set at rest by the discovery in Trinity College Library of a portion of a MS. Latin history of the Diocese of Ossory, of which there could

be no doubt Bishop David Roth was the author, and in which it was stated that adjoining the north side of the choir, and close to the external wall of the church, an anchorite's cell was attached, whence, from an aperture in the wall, near the right or Gospel side of the high altar, the enclosed anchorite could behold the performance of the Divine mysteries. In sinking a hole for a scaffolding pole within the area of this cell, about a month since, the workmen engaged in the present restorations at the Cathedral came upon a grave, lined with flags, and the eastern end of which was formed by a hollowed stone, prepared to receive the head of the person interred therein. As it was unquestionably an ancient grave, the fact of its being in such a place suggested the inference that the anchorite who had tenanted the cell during life, had been interred there on his death; and it was determined, as the grave had been already partially opened, and a portion of the skeleton exposed, to carry the investigation further, and see if anything had been buried along with the body which would indicate whether the anchorite had been an ecclesiastic or a layman. Mr. Robertson and he (Mr. Prim) had superintended the investigation. They found that the grave had been covered by thin flags, similar to those which composed its sides, but several of them had been broken and were pressed downwards by some superincumbent weight. The grave was coffin-shaped; six feet six inches in length; a foot wide at top; one foot eight and a half inches at the shoulders, which was the widest part, and thirteen inches at foot. In removing the clay which it contained, some very old roofing slates were turned up, as well as the encaustic tile presented by Mr. Robertson, and several fragments of other tiles, besides a large oyster shell, in a very much decomposed state. The skeleton—that of a tall man, exceeding six feet in length—was found quite perfect, lying with the feet to the east, and there was no vestige of any grave-clothing, ornament, or implement of any kind remaining. The remains lay about a foot below the top of the flags forming the sides of the grave; and on examination it appeared that the latter ran down below the flags which formed its bottom. It was resolved to ascertain the reason of this; so, removing the bottom flags, they soon found that another body had been laid beneath. These, forming the skeleton of a man about five feet ten inches in height, were obviously the remains of an earlier tenant of the grave—in fact, the person for whom it had been originally constructed. In order to see if any other interments had taken place there, they examined the ground beneath the second skeleton—under whom no flags had been placed—and came on sand which had never been disturbed. They then caused the remains of mortality to be carefully replaced, and the grave filled in and covered up in the manner in which they found it. The result of the examination sufficed to ground an inference that two of the anchorites

who had tenanted the cell, one succeeding the other, had ultimately been interred within it, and in the same tomb.

Mr. Andrew Jervise of Brechin, N. B., sent the following observations relative to the sculptured boulder at Clonfinlough described by the Rev. James Graves at p. 361, *supra* :—

“The paper and sketches relating to the Clonfinlough boulder are peculiarly interesting, and afford instances of the striking affinity which exists between the antiquities of Ireland and Scotland. I trouble you with this note merely to let you know that we have in this quarter some such traces of ‘the fairies’ as appear upon the Clonfinlough stone. A small undressed block of granite lies by the side of the mountain stream of the Turret, in Glensk, near Lord Dalhousie’s shooting lodge of Millden, and upon it the figure of a human foot, of small size, is very correctly and pretty deeply scooped out. This is called the ‘fairy’s footmark;’ but of its origin or history nothing is preserved, although stories were rife, not long ago, of wonderful doings of fairies in the locality.

“Prehistoric remains, such as stone coffins or cists, and ‘elfshots,’ or flint arrow heads, have been found near the place. The so-called Druidical circle of Colmeallie, is about a mile to the eastward; and St. Drostan, Abbot of Donegal in Ireland, whose name is still associated with old churches and fountains in the glen, is the acknowledged founder of Christianity in the district. Ussher says—upon what authority I know not—that St. Bride or Bridget was a native of this glen.

“Many years ago I took note of another example of these ‘footmarks,’ which was found in the parish of Carmyllie, also in Forfarshire. This was discovered in the course of making agricultural improvements some thirty-five years ago, on which occasion stone coffins or cists were got, and in one of these was a bronze (?) ring, of about three inches in diameter, now said to be lost. Apart from the cists there was a rude boulder of about two tons’ weight; and upon the lower side of it, as my informant told me, was scooped the representation of a human foot. This too was associated with the elves; for the hillock upon which these discoveries were made was called the ‘fairies’ knowe;’ and tradition says that, but for a *spirit* that warned the workmen to suspend operations when they began to prepare for the foundations of the parish church, the church would have been built upon that spot!

“Unembellished boulders of considerable size are here; and some fine specimens of flint arrows, and other objects of antiquity, have been found in the neighbourhood, as well as underground chambers. The parish church, which, however, is not an old foundation, was dedicated to the Virgin.

“Whatever the use or origin of these curious carvings may have been, I have little doubt but further inquiry will lead to the discovery of more of them both in Ireland and in Scotland; and until a number of examples are collected, and note taken both of the prehistoric and historic peculiarities of their respective localities, it were idle to conjecture as to their purpose or age.

“The sepulchral chamber at New Grange seems to be of a singularly interesting type; and it appears to me that the concentric markings upon

the stone in the foreground (fig. 2, Plate I.) bear a strong resemblance to those which were got in a 'Pict's House' in the Island of Eday, in Orkney, engraved in 'Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,' vol. iv., p. 186. And I feel assured that, when the Supplemental volume of 'The Sculptured Stones of Scotland' is issued by the Spalding Club (which I believe will be ere long), you will be struck with the similarity of the *grape*, or trident-looking figures, and other objects which are carved upon the walls of some of the caves on the coast of Fife, to those upon the Clonfinlough boulder.

"While writing, I may mention another point which shows some analogy between the history and traditions of the two kingdoms: A small parish, adjoining Brechin on the north, is called Stracathro the older spelling of which is 'Stracatherach.' According to local story, three Danish generals fell there at a remote date, and were buried near the church, where their graves were shown at no very distant period. Taking the name of the parish, and the tradition, into account, it is curious to notice that Dowling ('Ann. Brev. Hib.') speaks of one Stracatheras, a Danish giant, who obtained a victory over the Irish in 1105, and that he was afterwards slain.

"Both Irish and Scotch writers tell of a battle that was fought near Stracathro in 1130, of the slaughter of the rebel leader, and the defeat of his army. The King's Ford, on the river North Esk (the *Tina* of Richard of Cirencester) is near the church; and the name of the parish is said by some to mean 'the strath, or valley where the king fought.' Possibly others may be able to give a different definition; also to account for the hitherto (so far as I know) unaccounted-for name of *Braul*, which is given to a spring well near the church.

"With the *meles* of 1130 the name of no such personage as Stracatheras is associated, nor has the name of any one of the Danish generals been handed down; still it is possible that Stracatheras may have had to do with some of the forays which took place in the district, and inquiry into the points referred to might prove curious and interesting.

"But I must conclude, and apologize for the length to which my letter has extended, and with a fond hope that the Society may long continue to flourish."

The Rev. J. O'Hanlon sent a continuation of his papers on the Ordnance Survey Manuscripts:—

"The following is the list of materials, according to the Catalogue, for illustration of the topographical, antiquarian and statistical details relating to the county of Cork.—I. Inquisitions, 7 vols. (with Index of Places, 1 vol.)¹ II. Local Names, extracted from the Depositions for the county of Cork, A.D. 1652, 1 vol. III. Barony Constables' Lists, 23. IV. Presentments granted in 1844, one copy. V. List of Names in Duhallow Barony, from Sketch Map. VI. Names and Descriptions from Down Survey and Book of Distribution (see Munster, vols. i. and ii.).

¹ Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy's Library.

VII. Extracts, 5 vols.; Index of Places to same, 1 vol.¹ VIII. Rough Index of the Irish part, not arranged. IX. Rough Index of Names to vol. i. of Extracts, not arranged.² X. Extracts from Book of Lecain and 'from *Pacata Hibernica*,' not bound. XI. Memoir Papers—see detailed list annexed. XII. Letters, Memorandums, Sketches, and Ancient Maps, 4 vols., unbound. XIII. Orthography Letters, 5 vols., and Index, unbound. XIV. Name Books, 392; and 8 Revision Books. XV. Barony and Parish Names, 1 vol. XVI. County Index of Names on Maps, 3 vols. XVII. Sketches of Antiquities, 32.³

"I. The 7 vols. of Inquisitions are now bound in six,⁴ quarto shape, and in the uniform style of binding adopted for the Royal Irish Academy. On referring to the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, vol. ii., second series, July, 1858, p. 102, note, an abstract of contents as noted in these several volumes may be found. The Rough Index,² there also noticed, has been bound up with the seventh and last volume of these Inquisitions.

"II. This is a thin folio volume, covered with brown paper, and it contains 37 written pages, with double-columned list of local Denominations, written by the late Eugene O'Curry. Where the originals for these Depositions relating to the County of Cork exist, I have not yet ascertained. This is a bare list of townlands, with occasionally the names of parishes and baronies where they are situate, appended.

"III. The Barony Constables' Lists, 23 in number, are long and narrow printed lists of the townlands, with their respective acreage, and spaces left for applotment, under a different heading. The townlands are given in numerical and alphabetical order, under the heading of various parishes and baronies, to which they belong. These lists are all covered with thick blue paper.

"IV. The Book of Presentments, sewed and unbound, contains 176 small folio printed pages. It contains the usual fiscal information found in such documents; its chief interest refers to the date at which these presentments were made—viz. at the summer assizes for the county of Cork, 1844. To the local residents of this county at that period, so far as their grand jury administration is concerned, these pages are of most importance.

"V. This list of Names, taken from the Sketch Map, and referring to Duhallow Barony, is comprised in 8 written unbound folio pages of foolscap paper, with two quarto leaves, relating to Matherly Parish denominations, East Muskerry Barony, loosely inserted. These townland denominations have been prepared evidently as materials to use during the engraving of the Ordnance Survey Map of this county. The names are elegantly written in black and red ink.

"VI. The Munster volumes (i. and ii.) are bound folios, transcribed from the Custom House Records, Dublin. The first of these volumes is preceded by a complete Index to the contents, 43 pages, in double columns, of townland denominations, alphabetically arranged, with parish in which situated following, and the pages where they are to be found. This

¹ At present in the Royal Irish Academy.

² At present in the Royal Irish Academy.

³ At present in the Royal Irish Academy.

⁴ Volumes 5 and 6 are bound under one cover.

refers to descriptions taken from the Down Survey. The first volume contains 546 numbered pages besides; but more than half of these pages are blank. Nearly one half of the written pages are large, and folded in usual map form into the volume. The second volume resembles the first; but it is not so correctly indexed. There are only three pages of Index, in triple columns, of denominations, with reference to following pages where alluded to appended. The numbered pages are 324; but a very considerable number of unpagéd leaves are written on; for we find throughout this volume only folio or one-sided paging on each leaf. By reference to the Index, the nature of the contents in both of these volumes will be sufficiently understood.

"VII. The Extracts are in quarto shape, bound in the usual style adopted for the Royal Irish Academy. The first volume contains extracts from O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia;' from Lanigan, 'Irish Calendars;' 'Vita Sci Barri, episcopi et Confessoris, ex Codice Killkenniensi,' Marsh's Library, with an English Translation; Colgan's 'Acta Sanctorum;' De Burgo's 'Hibernia Dominicana;' Ecclesiastical Enumerations of Rectories, &c. in Cork County, apparently taken from Visitation Books preserved amongst the MSS. of Trinity College. There are 681 written pages in this volume, with Index of 9 double-columned pages preceding. The second volume contains extracts in Irish from the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' with English translations; Pedigrees by Mc Fibriss; Life of St. Finbarr, Life of St. Finchu from the 'Book of Lismore;' Extracts from the 'Book of Lecan;' and from the Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell,—the latter five subjects being in the Irish language and character. There are 694 numbered pages in this volume. The third volume contains extracts from 'Desiderata Curiosa Hibernia;' Gough's 'Camden;' Townsend's 'Survey of Cork;' Ware's 'Bishops' and 'Antiquities.' This volume contains 535 numbered pages. The fourth volume contains extracts from Archdall's 'Monasticon Hibernicum;' Trotter's 'Walks through Ireland in 1812, 1813, and 1817;' Crofton Croker's 'Researches in the South of Ireland' and 'Annals of Innisfallen.' This volume contains 827 numbered pages. The fifth volume contains abstracts of grants of lands, and other hereditaments, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, A. D. 1666–1684. These extend from p. 1 to p. 536. Besides these, we find Abstracts of the Conveyances from the Trustees of the Forfeited Estates and Interests in Ireland, in 1688. These latter extend from p. 537 to p. 720, the last in this MS., which is preceded by an Index of 77 double-columned pages, giving all the denominations contained in the body of this volume. These extracts appear to have been transcribed in the years 1839 and 1840, as stated on the respective title pages of some amongst these volumes. There is an Index, referring to the four previous MSS., bound separately, and it contains all the denominations, with volume and page references, in 174 leaves, written only on one side. It is bound in a style corresponding with the Extracts.

"VIII. Here we find, tied up in blue wrapping paper, 58 detached foolscap folio leaves, written only on one side, in Eugene O'Curry's handwriting. We have first the Irish names occurring throughout the Extracts in English, and afterwards Irish orthography and characters, with reference to the pages and volumes where introduced.

"IX. The Rough Index, to which allusion is here made, cannot be found in a separate tract; but I am sure, it will be discovered in two different volumes of Extracts preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, as already noticed.

"X. Extracts from the 'Book of Lecain' referring to the county of Cork will be found in eleven 4to pages, all in Eugene O'Curry's handwriting. This little tract is altogether in the Irish language and characters, and to it we find appended the scribe's remark:—'This tract left unfinished by order of Captain Larcom.' It refers to the O'Driscoll's territory. About 70 pages 4to, and loosely but most legibly written, comprise excerpts from the 'Pacata Hibernica.' As an appended note informs us, these extracts are also left unfinished. Both little tracts are stitched, and unbound.

"XI. The Memoir Papers relating to Cork are found in the Press of the Ordnance Survey Library; they have been already described in a former number of this 'Journal.' They only relate to statistics of Bandon town.

"XII. The Letters, Memorandums, Sketches, and Ancient Maps are tied in four parcels, and are yet unbound. The first parcel comprises 616 numbered pages of miscellaneous scraps, with information obtained from different persons; an Index of five pages precedes. The second parcel comprises 540 numbered pages, with four pages of Index preceding; and there are many interesting Maps and Traces found amongst these leaves. The third parcel contains 707 numbered pages, without any accompanying Index. The fourth parcel contains 604 numbered pages, without Index. The leaves found in all these parcels are usually of quarto size and shape; the matter contained in them is of an exceedingly varied and miscellaneous character.

"XIII. The Orthography Letters, in five parcels, are also unbound, with the detached Index, in 24 quarto pages, triple columns. The first of these parcels comprises 400 numbered pages; the second comprises 400 numbered pages; the third comprises 400 numbered pages; the fourth contains 295 numbered pages; the fifth contains 436 numbered pages. These parcels are very similar in form and contents to Memorandums already described; they are called Orthography Letters, because the correct spelling of townland names had been sought from different sources, in order to obtain greater accuracy for the purposes of map engraving.

"XIV. The Name Books numbered 392 on the Index—which as I have counted them are complete as to number—contain the usual matter already described in former communications under this head. They are also similar in size and form to those others so described. Cork being the largest of the Irish counties, its townlands are proportionably numerous, and they require a great number of these Name Books to give topographical statistics in detail. The eight Revision Books are also complete, and belong to this denomination; but, as their names seem to indicate, they have been added to the rest for the purpose of correcting information inserted in some of the Name Books previously completed.

"XV. This is a 4to bound volume of 301 numbered folio pages, with

six pages of Index preceding, besides one folded sheet, containing no less than 32 different record authorities for settling the orthography of local names. This is precisely similar to other volumes having a like designation. In all instances, the Irish and English spelling of the townlands has been settled by that celebrated scholar, the late lamented Dr. John O'Donovan.

"XVI. The three folio bound volumes of Index to Names on Maps were compiled in 1844, and are precisely similar to others of a like denomination, heretofore described. The first alphabetical volume, extending from A to C, contains 119 leaves, with writing on either side. The second alphabetical volume, extending from D to K, contains 105 leaves with writing on either side. The third alphabetical volume, extending from L to Z, comprises 114 leaves, with writing on either side. These several volumes have been often referred to, for purposes of engraving, or correcting the Ordnance Survey Maps.

"XVII. The Sketches of Antiquities are bound in an oblong large portfolio, and are as follows:—1. Meshanaglish Castle. 2. Old Church of Aglish. 3. Ancient Stones in Ballymodan Parish. 4. Ballinacorriga Castle. 5. Ancient Stone at Kilnegnady. 6. Carrigadrohid Castle. 7. Large Window in the Tower of Cloyne. 8. Doorway of the Round Tower of Cloyne, seen from the inside. 9. Kilcrea Abbey. 10. Kilcrea Castle. 11. Castle Derry. 12. Castle Donovan. 13. Domdaniel Castle. 14. Old Church of Kilbonane. 15. Kilbeg, near Bandon. 16. Bandon Bridge. 17. Monteen Castle. 18. Round Tower at Kinneigh Church. 19. Entrance of Tower at Kinneigh Church. 20. Ship-Pool Castle. 21. Castlemore. 22. Cluandeneen Castle. 23. Heathen Temple at Templebryan, from the north-west. 24. Heathen Temple at Templebryan, from the south. 25. Remains of Old Church of Templebryan. 26. Stones supposed Druidical at Castlenelact. 27. Dalaun at Kilbarry 15 feet high. 28. Dalaun in Danish Fort, at Maskeagh, 6 feet high. 29. Lower Moss-grove. 30. Ballinroher Castle. 31. Old Castle at Timoleague. For the most part, these are elegant pen and ink sketches, taken by Mr. Wakeman in 1841, as we find by the date appended. The thirty-second drawing, apparently missing according to the Ordnance Survey Catalogue, is not found in the Royal Irish Academy collection, unless some one of the Druidic Sketches of Stone Monuments be considered as including two several detached drawings on the same sheet of paper. This may be the proper inference, more apparent after an inspection of the portfolio drawings.

"The antiquarian staff had been dismissed at the time when statistics were in course of collection in order to illustrate Cork County. Hence, we have none of Dr. O'Donovan's valuable Topographical Letters, relating to local antiquities; nor was any other person appointed for the purpose of collecting such information. Cork was the last county, as I have been informed, in which *employés* of the Ordnance Survey Staff finished that task on which they had been engaged by Government, previously to preparing the Maps for engraving. We have to regret, that this county's antiquities had not been locally investigated by some competent antiquary; for at present, the records collected in accordance with an admirable system have been left incomplete, so far as Cork has been con-

cerned. I believe the Government had determined, about the time of the Cork Survey, in 1844, to discontinue collecting materials for parish and county histories. These records have not been published since, owing to an abandonment of the original plan and intention. Had the complete design been accomplished, it need hardly be observed, an object of national and imperial importance would have been attained. Its relinquishment cannot be sufficiently regretted, but may we hope the project has only been postponed? In any other civilized country but our own, the comparatively small amount requisite to complete a work, that has already involved Government in a considerable and unavoidable expense, would not be refused, in consideration of the numerous advantages that might thus be secured."

M. de la Ponce, of Tours, communicated the following genealogical and biographical notice of the descendants of Hugh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, and Earl of Tyrone:—

"The heroic struggle sustained during fifteen years, at the end of the sixteenth century, by Hugh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, and Count of Tyrone, at the head of the Irish who remained faithful to the religion of their fathers, and to their nationality, against all the British force, was one of the most remarkable historical events of that epoch.

"English and Irish historians have transmitted to us with more or less veracity the events of this memorable drama; but none among them, to our knowledge, left precise documents relative to the descendants of the *Tyrone branch* issued from the Prince Hugh O'Neill, that illustrious Chief of the fifteen years' war.

"As may be seen in a genealogical notice inserted by M. Borel d'Hauterive in his '*Annuaire de la Noblesse*' (Anno 1859—a notice which we wrote, and of which we accept the entire responsibility)—the Tyrone branch is represented, in our own times, by several descendants; but the direct descent of Prince Hugh O'Neill is represented only by Louis Jacques Tiburce, Count O'Neill de Tyrone, landowner at Martinico; and François Henry, Viscount O'Neill de Tyrone, his younger brother, Sub-Prefect of Saumur (France), and member of the Legion of Honour.

"As this assertion may be a subject of surprise for those who, on the affirmation of several eminent historians, have been until now persuaded that the family of Prince Hugh O'Neill was extinct since the middle of the seventeenth century, and even before, (1), we think it opportune to publish here the documents on which our own personal conviction is based: these documents will be accompanied by quotations authentic and textual."

"Hugh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, Baron of Dungannon, in 1558, by the death of his father Ferdoragh, and recognised as Count of Tyrone when the Parliament assembled in Dublin in 1585, was born about the year 1543 (2), and died at Rome, the 20th July, 1616, at the age of seventy-three (3).

"He was married three times:—1st, to Judith O'Donnell, Princess of

¹ See, for the quotations at the end of the present notice, p. 460, &c.

Tyrconnell; 2nd, to the sister of Henry Bagnall, English Marshal; and 3rd, to Catherine Magennis, sister of Arthur first Viscount of Iveagh (4 and 9).

"From these marriages were born four daughters, and four sons.

"The daughters were:—1. Lady Sarah O'Neill, married to Magennis of Iveagh; 2. N. O'Neill, married to O'Cahan of Limavaddy, whose hostility to his ancient chief had a good deal to do with the flight of the latter; 3. N. O'Neill, who married Owen O'Toole, Lord of Hy-Murray; 4. N. O'Neill, wife of M'Mahon (5).

"Mention will be made of the legitimate sons subsequently, but it is necessary first to mention two sons of the Count of Tyrone—*id est*, *Turlough Brasilagh* and *Conn*—that we have reason to consider illegitimate; their illegitimacy seems evident for the following reasons.

"The inscription engraved on the tomb of Hugh O'Neill, son of the Count of Tyrone, at Rome—an authentic copy of which we hold in our possession—informs us that this young lord was *the eldest* of the children of this Prince; and that in 1609, the date of his decease, he was only twenty-four years old; he was consequently born in 1585, and there is a further authentic proof indicating his being *the eldest son* of the Count of Tyrone (6).

"Now, 1st, Turlough Brasilagh, son of O'Neill, commanded, in 1600, a body of 50 cavaliers in the army of his father, *and his children* were at that date at the head of 200 foot soldiers in the same army (7). Since, then, in 1600, Turlough could not be less than forty, he was consequently born about the year 1560; that is, about twenty-five years before Hugh, the eldest legitimate son.

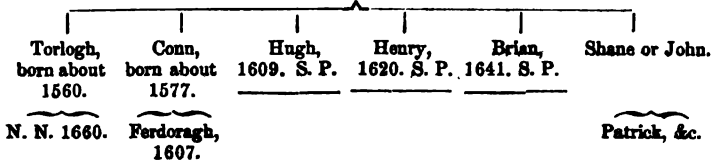
"2nd. In 1595 Conn O'Neill, son of O'Neill, took possession of Fort Monaghan; in 1599 he commanded 3000 men; in 1600 *Conn O'Neill, natural son of Tyrone*, was wounded (8). After that, in the same year, he was at the head of 20 cavaliers, and 100 foot soldiers (7); and in 1607 Ferdorcha, his son, probably an infant, followed into exile the Count of Tyrone, his grandfather (9).

"Now, in admitting that Conn O'Neill was only eighteen years old when, in 1595, he took the Fort Monaghan, he must have been born in 1577; consequently, eight years before the birth of Hugh, the eldest legitimate son.

"From what precedes it seems difficult not to conclude that Turlough and Conn O'Neill were born before the first marriage of the Count of Tyrone, and that consequently *they were illegitimate*; such is, moreover, the opinion of Abbé M'Geoghegan relative to Conn (8.) It is surprising, however, that the Count of Tyrone had no legitimate children before the age of forty-two.

"Before tracing to our own times, as we intend doing, the descendants of Hugh O'Neill by Shane, or John, the youngest of his legitimate sons, it may not prove uninteresting to give a short biographical notice of the elder brothers in the order of their birth. The following will show the descendants of the Count of Tyrone in 1607.

HUGH O'NEILL, Count of Tyrone, died in 1616, at Rome.



BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE LEGITIMATE SONS OF O'NEILL.

"I. *Hugh O'Neill* of Tyrone, Baron of Dungannon, was the eldest legitimate son of Prince Hugh, Count of Tyrone (6). He was born in Ireland in 1585 (6). In 1600 he commanded a troop of 100 horsemen in his father's army (7), and in 1607 he followed the family on the Continent (9), and accompanied them to Rome, where he died unmarried on the 23rd of September, 1609, aged twenty-four (6), and was buried in the church of St. Peter's in Montorio, where his epitaph can be read to-day (3).

"II. *Henry O'Neill* of Tyrone, Baron of Dungannon in 1609, and Count of Tyrone in 1616, was the second son of Prince Hugh O'Neill (6), and was born about 1586. In 1600 his father sent him to the King of Spain, from which country he was recalled in 1603 (3); but it is probable that Henry did not leave Spain, as he does not figure among the members of his family who, on the 14th September, 1607, followed their father on the Continent (9), and that he was employed in the Low Countries in the service of Spain thirteen years after (10). However this may have been, he was assassinated at Brussels some years after the death of his father, at the age of about thirty-four, without leaving issue (1 and 10).

"III. *Brian O'Neill*, Count of Tyrone, about 1620, third legitimate son of Prince Hugh O'Neill. Nothing particular is known about him except that, in 1607, his parents took him to the Continent (9); but everything induces us to believe that he was the Colonel of whom all historians make mention without giving his name, who died the 27th of January in Catalonia (11). He might have been at this time fifty-three or fifty-four years old, and Carte adds that he left a natural son called Hugh.

"Let us now turn to Shane O'Neill, whose posterity is the object of the present notice.

"IV. *Shane or John O'Neill* of Tyrone was the youngest of the legitimate sons of Prince Hugh known to us, and most probably he had for his mother Catherine Magennis (4 and 12). He was born about the year 1599, and in 1607 was taken with his parents to the Continent (9)—to the Low Countries first, then to Rome, where he lost his father in 1616. He might have been then seventeen years old; and, all the property of his family having been confiscated in 1613, he went, like his brother Brian, to ask for service in Spain (13).

"He was employed in the Low Countries with Owon Roe O'Neill, his near relative, when Brian, who had become a Colonel, and had the title of Count of Tyrone since the death of his elder brother, Henry, assassinated at Brussels in 1620, was himself killed on the 27th January, 1641, in

Catalonia, at the time he was preparing to put himself at the head of the Catholic Confederation in Ireland (11).

"Owen Roe O'Neill having then been made chief of this Confederation, John O'Neill followed him in Ireland, and received the command of the cavalry in his army (14).

"In 1648 Owen Roe, attacked on all sides, was obliged to take refuge in the province of Connaught (15), where John O'Neill accompanied him, and fixed his residence in the county of Mayo, where he died about the year 1653. The name of his wife, whom he probably married in Flanders, is unknown; but it is certain that he left a son named Patrick, of whom the following notice gives an account (17).

"V. *Patrick O'Neill* of Tyrone, born in the Low Countries about the year 1622, followed his father in Ireland in 1641; and about 1646 he married Catherine O'Doherty of Ardmir and Inisowen (19), and had one son (17).

"VI. *James O'Neill* of Tyrone, born in 1660, in the county of Mayo, was baptized in the parish church of Rathfrann, in the said county. He had for godfather Dominick O'Donnell, and for godmother Honora de Burgh (18). He left a son, fifteen years of age (17).

"VII. *Henry O'Neill* of Tyrone, only son of the above, was born in 1688, in the county of Mayo; but he came and settled in the island of Martinico, where he became a Captain in the militia.

"In 1739, he obtained from Hugh M'Curtin—an eminent Irish annalist, mentioned by Edward O'Reilly in his 'Irish Writers'—a genealogy of his family (17), and died in his residence at Basse-Pointe, the 9th October, 1756, at the age of sixty-eight. He left three sons.

"*Nota.*—The descent from this *Henry O'Neill, Count of Tyrone*, down to *M. Louis Jacques Tiburce*, and *M. François Henry, Viscount O'Neill of Tyrone*, his brother—such as it is inserted, and may be read in the 'Annuaire de la Noblesse,' Anno 1859, p. 243—is proved and verified by authentic documents, legalized, and preserved in the archives of the latter, now Sub-Prefect of Saumur, as follows:—

"VIII. Jacques Henry O'Neill, died about 1783; elder son of Henry O'Neill, 1756, above.

"IX. Paul François O'Neill, died about 1810.

"X. Jacques II. O'Neill, died 1839.

"XI. Louis Jacques Tiburce, born 14th April, 1810. | François Henry, born 14th September, 1812, Sub-Prefect of Saumur.

AUTHENTIC AND TEXTUAL AUTHORITIES.

"(1.) The family of Dungannon (Tyrone), the chief of the O'Neills, is now extinct. The next in dignity was that of Clanaboy, which now represents the whole Tyrone line. (Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, 'Dissertation on Irish History,' p. 230.)

"Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, died in 1616, leaving a son, who was married, but had no children. (T. Wills, 'Lives of Illustrious Irishmen,' vol. ii., p. 435.)

"A few years after (1616), his son, [O'Neill's] was found strangled in bed at Brussels, and in him the most distinguished branch of the great

Irish house of Hy-Níall became extinct. (Borlase, 'Reduction of Ireland,' Thomas Moore, 'History of Ireland,' vol. iv., p. 219.)

"(2). Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, at this time (1598) was about fifty-five years old, but in the full vigour of middle age. ('Annals of the Four Masters,' 1598.)

"(3). ('Annals of the Four Masters,' *ad Anno* 1616, Text and Notes, edited by O'Connellan.)

"(4). Hugh O'Neill was first married to a sister of Red Hugh O'Donnell, and secondly to a sister of the Marshal Sir Henry Bagnall; and it appears from the 'Annals,' that he was a third time married, his last Countess being the sister of Magennis, Lord of Iveagh. ('Annals,' *supra*, Notes, p. 629.)

"(5). Hugh M'Mahon, grandson of the late Tyrone. (Sir William Betham, 'Genealogy of the M'Sheehys,' 1854; and Curry, 'Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland,' pp. 7 and 384.)

"(6). 1. The inscription of the tombstone, at Rome is thus:—

"D. O. M. *Hugonis Baroni de Dungannon, Hugonis Magni O'Neilli, Principis et Comitis Tyrone, PRIMOGENITO, &c.—Occidit nono kal. Oct. MDCIX. Ætatis sue XXIV.*

"2. Dungannon, 8 April, 1614.—'Racione attincture Hugonis, nuper Comitis Tyrone; et *Hugonis O'Neale*, Baronis de Dungannon, *filiis et heredibus* dicti nuper Comitis; et *Henrici O'Neale*, *filiis secundi dicti nuper Comitis*, de alta prodicione attincti devenerunt.' ('Inquisitionum Cancell. Hibern. Repertorium, Ultonia, Tyrone;' Appendix No. 1, Jacobi I.)

"(7). 1600. Forces of O'Neill:—Of horse, O'Neill's own guard, 100; *his son Hugh*, 100; *Conn, another son*, 20; *Turlagh Brasilagh, O'Neill's son*, 50. Of foot: *Conn O'Neill, the Earl's son*, 100; *Turlagh Brasilagh's sons*, 200. (Fynes Morison, and 'Annals of Ireland,' *supra*, p. 659.)

"(8). In 1595 *Conn, son of O'Neill*, besieged and took Fort Monaghan.

"In 1599 O'Neill sent *Conn O'Neill*, at the head of 3000 men.

"In 1600, on the side of the Catholics, *Conn O'Neill*, NATURAL SON OF TYRONE, was wounded. (Abbé M'Geoghegan, 'History of Ireland,' vol. iii., pp. 507, 529, 550.)

"(9). The persons who accompanied O'Neill (in 1607) were the Countess, namely *Catherine*, the daughter of Magennis; her three sons, *Hugh, the Baron, John, and Brian*; *Ferdorcha*, son of *Conn, the son of O'Neill*, &c. ('Annals of Ireland,' *supra*, Text, p. 715.)

"(10). In 1600, O'Neill sent *Henry, his son*, still quite young, to Spain, to His Catholic Majesty, to ask for help. (Abbé M'Geoghegan, vol. iii., p. 547.)

"In 1603 O'Neill sent letters to the King of Spain, recalling *his son* from that country. ('Annals,' Notes; and Fynes Morison.)

"In 1620 *Henry*, who was in the Spanish service, was assassinated at Brussels. ('Annals,' p. 716, Notes; Thomas Moore, vol. iv., p. 219.)

"(11). In 1640, although Tyrone had been many years dead, *a son worthy of his fame and name was still alive*, who commanded a regiment in the Spanish service, &c. (Thomas Moore, vol. iv., p. 219.)

"1641. Hugh de Tyrone *had a son*, who commanded a regiment in Spain. He died at S. Flew, in Catalonia, *without leaving any legitimate children*. (Abbé M'Geoghegan, vol. iii., p. 667, Notes.)

"1641. Above all, designs [of Roger O'More] met encouragement from *the son of the late unfortunate Hugh O'Neill*.—He had obtained a regiment in the Spanish service, &c. (T. Wills, 'Lives,' &c., vol. ii., p. 420.)

"1641. In the meantime *the Earl of Tyrone* was killed. He took the title of Count of Tyrone since the death of his elder brother Henry. (T. Wills, p. 423.)

"1641. An emissary arrived from Spain, *from the Count of Tyrone*, (he was so called): the report of the Count's death did not diminish their courage. (Leland 'History of Ireland,' vol. v., pp. 262 and 268.)

"*The son of Hugh* died at S. Flew, in Catalonia, the 27th January, without leaving legitimate descendants; he left, however, a natural son named Hugh, to whom Philip IV. of Spain gave his father's regiment, and promised him letters of naturalization. (Carte, 'Life of the Duke of Ormond.')

"(12). Dr. Keating, in 1650, contemporary of John O'Neill, declares him positively to be *the last existing son* of the Count of Tyrone who died in 1616. (Keating 'History of Ireland,' Genealogies); see No. 16, *infra*.

"(13). 1625. The said Knogher M'Donnell M'Swyne ys dead in Spayne, and the said Neale Ballagh M'Swyne is now living beyonde Sea in *the King of Spayne's army*, WITH O'NEALE'S SONNES. ('Inquisit. Cancell. Hibern. Repertorium, Ultonia, Donegal,' No. 3, Caroli I.)

"(14). 1642. In the meantime, *Shane O'Neill*, whom his commander (Owen Roe) *had posted in the rear of the cavalry*, advanced with his twelve companies to support, &c. (T. Wills, 'Lives,' vol. iii., p. 23.)

"(15). Under these circumstances *O'Neill* (Owen Roe), retired into Connaught, &c. (T. Wills, 'Lives,' vol. iii., p. 23.)

"(16). John, Hugh (the Earl), Ferdoragh, Conn Bacagh, Conn Mor, &c. (Dr. Keating, 'Genealogies,' Commerford, 'History of Ireland,' p. 204.)

"(17). *henríġ O'Neill nóí ata anoir an Oslean ngóirpéir Map-
tinfoco.*

Mac Seamúir,
Míe Pabprúġ,
Míe Sean,
Míe Aob,
Míe an Fírbopcaob,
Míe cufn bacafġ,
Míe cufn móir, &c.

Et hic Henricus filius erat
Jacobi,
Filii Patricii,
Filii Johanna,
Filii Hugonis,
Filii Ferdinandi,
Filii Quinti Claudi,
Filii Quinti majoris, &c.

(Hugh buidhe M'Curtin, antiquar. Hiberniæ.) A Genealogy on parchment, written in Irish, with the translation in Latin, in 1739.

"The original is preserved in the archives of M. François Henry O'Neill de Tyrone, Sub-Prefect of Saumur (France).

"(18). *Jacobus O'Neill*, PATER SUPRADICTI HENRICI O'NEILL, *natus*

fuera in Comitatu Mayo, in parrochia de Rathfrann, et baptizatus erat per Walterum M'Keil, parrochium, anno 1660. Patres et matres [sic] qui responderunt pro eo fuerunt Dominicus O'Donald et Honora de Burgo. (Hugh M'Curtin, Genealogy above, No. 17.)

"(19). Certificate delivered in 1784, by the Corps of Officers of the Brigade of Walsh, in garrison at Martinico, attesting *that James Henry O'Neill is the descendant of James O'Neill, his ancestor, born in the county of Mayo, son of Patrick O'Neill and Catherine O'Doherty, of the ancient and illustrious family of the O'Neills; from the verification of the title, and examination of the original genealogy.* (This document, in legal form, is in the possession of M. Francis Henry O'Neill above mentioned.)

APPENDIX.

"A gentleman, who did not give his name, made, in an article addressed to the 'Irishman,' observations relative to a fact we advanced in the '*Notice of Hugh O'Neill, Count of Tyrone and his Descendants*'—notice written by us, and published in the same paper on the 19th September, 1863,—a fact, which the learned gentleman qualifies as a 'most material mistake.' His observation may be resumed thus:—

"Brian O'Neill, one of the sons of the Count of Tyrone, could not have been a Colonel in the service of Spain, and die at St. Flew in Catalonia in 1641; as he was murdered at Brussels, in 1617, at nine years of age, being already a page of the Archduke of the Low Countries.

"To this we answer:—

"1st. We never affirmed that Brian was the Colonel who died in Catalonia in 1641: we simply said: '*Everything induces us to believe that he was the Colonel,*' &c., which is quite different.

"In fact, if Brian was not this Colonel, whose name no historian mentions, he could not have been *Hugh*, Baron of Dungannon, the eldest legitimate son of Count of Tyrone, as he died in Rome in 1609. (See the authorities, No. 6.)

"It could not have been *Henry*, second son of the Count, as he died murdered at Brussels a few years after his father's death in 1616. (No. 10.)

"Further, we proved that *Shane O'Neill*, another legitimate son of Hugh, was in Ireland about the year 1646, with his relative Owen Roe O'Neill. (No. 14.)

"If *Brian*, another legitimate son of this Count, is not the Colonel who died in the Spanish service in 1641, what is the name of this Colonel, who was legitimate son of the Count of Tyrone? We should be happy to learn this fact from the anonymous gentleman.

"We see, moreover, in a work that cannot be called in question, that in 1625 *several sons* of Prince Hugh served in Spain. (See No. 16, in the vouchers.)

"2. The 'Annals of the Four Masters' place *Brian O'Neill, son of the Count of Tyrone*, in the number of persons who, on the 14th September, 1607, left Ireland to go to the Continent. This Brian can have nothing in common with the Brian mentioned by the gentleman whom we answer. For, if this Brian perished at Brussels in 1617 at the age of nine years,

he was only born in 1608, and consequently at an epoch posterior to this departure for exile in 1607.

"It is rather to be presumed that this child was grandson or grand-nephew of the Count of Tyrone, then sixty-five years old.

"The learned gentleman tells us that young Brian received, when he was confirmed, at the age of seven or eight—it is very young even to be a page—the Christian names of *Philip Albert*, as a *souvenir* of his protectors.

"This reminds us of a fact probably unknown in Ireland, which is that, towards the year 1635, 'Hugh Albert O'Neill, Count of Tyrone, married, in the Low Countries, Anne de Hennin, eldest daughter of Maximilian de Hennin, Baron of Liederkerke, Viscount of Brussels, Count of Bossut, &c., Knight of the Golden Fleece, who died on the 8th December, 1625, and of Alexandrine Françoise de Gavre, his wife.'

"Now, Albert Maximilian de Hennin, Count de Bossut, eldest brother of the said Anne de Hennin, and consequently brother-in-law of Hugh Albert O'Neill, was killed at the siege of Arras in 1640. He was consequently an ally and contemporary of Owen Roe O'Neill, who, as it is well known, distinguished himself at that siege.

"(See 'Histoire généalogique de la Maison Royale de France,' &c., par le P. Anselme, Paris, 1736, tome 1^{re}, p. 257, ligne 97. This work is in great repute in France.)"

The following papers were submitted to the Meeting:—

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Concluded from page 402.)

Nicholas Browne held Her Majesty's *Patent* for a lease in perpetuity of many thousand acres of the lands of the late Earl of Clancar—mountains, rocks, bogs, and glens, as he himself described them; castles, lakes, mines, fisheries, as they were enumerated by old Sir Warham St. Leger; the fairy shores, the matchless waters of Killarney spread away in landscapes of endless variety and beauty through the fastnesses of Desmond, and formed a seignory probably not inferior to the patrimonial seignory of Hoggesden. All this was accurately set forth in Browne's *Patent*; and it was not easy to perceive how, consistently with honourable regard to the Sign Manual, that could be set aside! It had been prepared by his father's lawyers. If it contained a flaw—if "any ceremonies wanted wth the extremity of the lawe in transmu-

tation of propertie requyrythe"—certainly the hand of Florence had not been in it. A flaw, glaring and fatal, it did contain! A single word had been left out; a single word too many had been introduced; and, when the finger of Florence pointed to the fatal passage, Browne's patent became a weapon pointed against his own breast. "Should the Earl die without *heirs*," said this delusive document, *then*" (and of course, by implication, not otherwise), "did the Queen assign the seignory to Browne for ever!" Alas for the reliance upon legal shrewdness! Ten or more years had elapsed since this patent had contented the acute Sir Valentine, and his martial son; and it occurred to neither of them that an *heir* was all this while living and moving amongst them, and that since those days several more young heirs had come trooping into the world as fast as the years came round. This very patent, it was now discovered, by insertion of the word *heirs*, and omission of the word *male*, itself plainly showed that, as the contingency on which the grant was to take effect had not occurred, no claim could be pretended for Browne! whilst the mention of *heirs* at all made it manifest that Her Majesty's gracious intention had been, that, if the Earl *should* leave any, the conditional grant to Browne should be null, *because* the lands would be theirs. Such was the legal interpretation of what Her Majesty's gracious meaning had been, when she promised those lands to Browne for ever! Such was the pitiless answer to the Memorial of the poor English Gentlemen!

"Suspensi Euripylum scitatum oracula Phœbi
Mittimus, iaque adytis hæc tristia dicta reportat."

Thus was at last given that gentle caveat for which Browne had once plaintively solicited, "in case it were intended to give all to Florence, as he pretended." Had this model Undertaker possessed only the usual enterprise and tenacity of his class, he would have secured his retreat into the flourishing English County from which his father had set out upon his pilgrimage of contradiction, before Donal should be back, with his short lesson of civilization forgotten; but Nicholas Browne was unaccustomed to defeat; the lands of Clan Donal-Roe, of Bally M'Daniel, and Malahuff were trophies of twenty years of successful warfare; they had not been easily come by, and they were not to be easily snatched from the grasp that had held them so firmly and so long! Whilst Florence was preparing his "Reasons," and Norreys and Robinson their report, and friendly recommendation of him to the Lord Treasurer, Browne and others, as the reader has seen, were in conclave, inditing that famous Memorial to the Privy Council, in which a last and solemn warning was put on record, gravely attested by signature and seal, of Florence's friendship of old with Jacques and Stanley,

of his ambition and great alliances, and of "the coming of himself and all his house out of Spain." The outcry against this last scandal to the feelings of the petitioners affords, at least, gratifying proof of the firm faith of these learned men in the antiquity and truth of our traditions.

Doubtless the ancestors of Florence *did* "come out of Spain;" but it was scarcely ingenuous, whilst communicating so grave a circumstance, to pass over the fact that their sojourn there had been but a brief incident in the history of their race; for they staid there but 170 years. Florence's ancestors were the descendants of Magog the Scythian, not of Thubal the Spaniard. It is an undeniable *genealogical* fact that Mylesius was born in Spain, A. M. 2690; but Baath was born to Magog, in Scythia, A. M. 1708; between these two ancestors of Florence intervened twenty generations, and a period of 980 years. Nenual, the eldest son of Feniusa Farsa, retained the inheritance of his father, and ruled in Scythia; the descendants of his brother, Niul the Linguist, from whom Florence was 103rd in descent, wandered widely, backwards and forwards across the earth; their steps are traceable over the plains of Shinar, into Egypt, to Lybia; back to Scythia, to "Golgotha the stormy;" to Cappadocia; to Galatia, where they abode 300 years; thence to Spain; again to Scythia, thence to Egypt, and finally, once more to Spain. Such was the paternal ancestry of Florence, and such their migrations! Furthermore, it was well known that in the female line Florence was descended from Pharaoh Cingris, whose daughter, Scots, was the wife of Niul the Linguist. Had these archaeological gentlemen more carefully read the hieroglyphic inscription upon the obelisk erected at Zan or Goshen by Florence's maternal ancestor, they might have better informed themselves of the prosapia of their great adversary, and have discovered in him, to the great furtherance of their petition, even more dangerous hereditary tendencies than their Memorial proclaimed; for Niul was the intimate friend of the leaders of the great revolutionary movement which resulted in the drowning of his father-in-law, with all his army, in the waters of the Red Sea. It was to ponder well upon the perils of these facts to the English nation, and upon the necessity of distributing Florence's property amongst Springe, Browne, and the rest, to avert them, that the poor English Gentlemen solicited a meeting of the Privy Council in the fortieth year of Queen Elizabeth! A less venerable signature than that of the Bishop of Ardfert (although the prelate is presumably the person whom Sir Robert Cecyll calls "Sir Walter Rawleig's last silly priest") would have better served the purpose of these poor English Gentlemen. Unfortunately for them, Robinson, Wilbraham, and Norreys were names more in repute with the Privy Council; and the document which *they* attested was not in accord with the logic of the Memorial.

"Reasons that FLORENCE MAC CARTHY alleged to prove that the EARL of CLANCAR's Lands ought to descend to ELLEN his Wife, and to his Heirs.

"Donell Mac Carthy Mor Earle of Clancar sonne to Donell Mac Cormac Leirie was by the old Lord Roche, called David Roche, taken prisoner, and Sir Henry Sidney, then Deputie, mistrusting the rebellious intentions of Gerald the last Earle of Desmond, sent the aforesaid Donell Mac Carthy Mor into England, to the intent that by Her Majesties good usage of him he might be made an instrument against the said Desmond. The Queene of her bountie both bestowed money upon him to defray his charges, and made him Earle of Clancar. And in the patent of his Earldom did grant unto him both the said title and all his lands, to him and to the heirs males lawfully begotten; whose son and heir [Teige] the Baron of Valentia being dead, he went again to England, as well to recover some of his lands that the English undertakers of Munster challenged, as to get his lands to be confirmed by Her Majestie unto his daughter, who at that time by his consent was to be married to Florence Mac Carthy, for the performance whereof bonds of £6000 did passe betwixt the said Earle and Florence. His lands he obtained, but no grant to his daughter, because no surrender of his was extant or formerlie made, yet neverthelesse Her Majestie agreed to pass him a grant of his lands, on the condition that his daughter would marry an Englishman, which the Earle adopted, and accordingly made his surrender; which condition and surrender in Law is Void, because his daughter was formerlie married to Florence aforesaid; as alsoe that the said surrender was never duly perfected. Moreover Donell Mac Cormac Leirie, Father to the said Earle, in his lifetime entayled all these lands to his onlie sonne the aforesaid Earle of Clancar and his heirs; and for want of such issue in him, to the heirs of James Earle of Desmond by Ellen his daughter, wife to the said Desmond, and sister to the aforesaid Earle of Clancar, and the remainder to the right heirs of the aforesaid Ellen for ever, which [right heir] is Ellen daughter to the Earle her brother, and wife to Florence aforesaid, considering that the said Earle of Clancar survived Sir James of Desmond her sonne, and Eleanore, wife to Edward Butler, her daughter, who both died witout issue. This Entayle made by Donell Mac Cormac Leirie was perfected, and diverse of the witnesses yet living that were at the perfecting thereof, in the first and second yeare of Phillip and Mary, and now readie to be produced."

The suit of Donal had been decided some time since in his favour, and he had hurried back to his native country; for he judged wisely that the bogs and wilds of Desmond were safer for him than too continuous proximity to Her Majesty's Tower of London. But the suit of Florence made tardier progress. Notwithstanding the favourable report sent home by the legal authorities in Munster, no satisfactory intelligence reached him from England. He had never yet visited the saloons of Cecyll but to his advantage; and, although he had but recently left London, and his presence in Munster was of the utmost importance to him, he yet determined to re-

turn thither ; for the state of Ireland now left the English ministers but a choice between him and some chieftain like Donal, perhaps Donal himself. There was a dark cloud over Ireland ! The day that Carewe had foreseen, and foretold four years before, was at hand ; and the English authorities were already counting in dismay their friends and their enemies, their soldiers, their warlike stores, and their money. The result appalled even the stout heart of Ormond himself, who wrote home that " at no time had England been so ill prepared for a great struggle as at that moment ; " and yet that a great struggle was at hand was apparent to all men. As usual, the rumours of coming Spaniards were revived, and universally credited. At this critical moment Florence waited upon the Vice-President of Munster, and requested his customary letters of recommendation to Cecyll : Sir Thomas, with his usual courtesy, bore willing testimony to his good and dutiful carriage towards Her Majesty. Florence in this interview casually adverted to the uneasiness caused by the rumours of a Spanish invasion, and informed the Vice-President confidentially that, when last in England, he had offered, upon emergency, to procure, by agents of his own, reliable information out of Spain of what might be destined against Ireland ; that Sir Robert Cecyll had gladly accepted of his offer, and that he now proposed sending a trustworthy person thither for that purpose. Norreys was sufficient of a statesman to manifest no surprise at such an arrangement ; but the matter had not been mentioned in the Minister's despatches to him, and he, with more than his usual prudence, reported this interview to his Government

" 1598. *May 30.* SIR THOMAS NORREYS to SIR ROBERT CECYLL.

" R^T. HON^{BLE},

" This gentleman Mr. Florence Mac Cartye being (as he sayeth) directed from Her Majestie to learn such Spanish intelligences as from tyme to tyme he could, hath by the examination of some latelie come thence, understood that there are now remayning in great credit and estimation two of his kinsmen, who are such as being accordingly dealt with may doe Her Majestie verie acceptable service, and now he, intending presentlie to send unto them a frend of his owne, and a verie trustie messenger, with his effectual letters to persuade them thereunto, hath entreated me to advertize your Honor hereof, and withal to recommend his poore and weake estate altogether decayed, to your Honors good regard, whereunto humblie submitting himself, and doubting not but your Honor in your wonted favour towards him, and for the better encouraging him to continue his good affection to Her Majesties service, will be a mean for the repairing thereof in such sort, as your Honor shall think meete. Whom now leaving to your gracious consideration I doe rest, readie at your Honors commandment.

" THO^S. NORREYS.

" *May 30, 1598.*"

No mischief came of this suspicion of Sir Thomas Norreys; indeed, no official notice appears to have been taken of it. It is certainly surprising that Florence, with the full knowledge of the charge so frequently made against him of his Spanish tendencies, should thus ingenuously inform the Minister of his having two near relations in great repute at the Spanish Court; but, like the matter of the bonds, and the common purse to enable him to do great things in Munster, it was a formidable accusation on the lips of Barry, Browne, and the Lord Chief Justice, but a harmless, nay a prepossessing admission, when made thus incidentally by Florence himself.

Florence took his departure, not directly to England, but in the first instance to Dublin, that he might procure additional letters from Ormond, then Lord General of Her Majesty's forces in Ireland. His application was made at a moment when the presence of every man on whom the authorities thought they could place reliance was a matter of urgent importance, and Ormond consented to his departure with evident reluctance; the brief letter which the impatient old man wrote to Sir Robert Cecyll is characteristic:—

“1598. *June 12. ORMOND to CECYLL.*

“This bearer Florence M^cCarthy is now to make repair into England about some suit of his own, which in regard to this dangerous time, he may be hardly spared from hence, I am heartily to pray you to favour him in his lawful suits, and that he may be despatched from thence; whom I leave to your favourable regard, and so I commit you to Gods most blessed guiding.

“From Dublin this 18th June 1598.

“Your fast assured Friend,

“*Tho^s. ORMOND & Oss.*”

It would be desirable to avoid, if possible, further reference to the political condition of Ireland until the matter of the inheritance to the Earl's estates were conducted to its close; one or two more letters of Florence will suffice for this purpose; but in those letters are allusions which necessitate some mention of the state of Munster. Donal, so recently graced by Her Majesty's permission to inherit the estate left to him by the will of his father—whose energies hitherto had found but insufficient scope in the obscure adventures of an outlaw, whose celebrity was yet but in its dawn—had waited for no authority from Queen or Council, but immediately on his return from England, had put himself into communication with O'Neill and the Geraldines, had taken into his pay 500 bonaghts, or hired soldiers, and, to the amazement of Munster, had proclaimed himself, under favour of O'Neill, MacCarthy Mor! From the merely incidental notice of this occurrence, in a despatch to the Privy Council, it would appear that the Vice-President of

Munster attached no great importance to the assumption, nor saw in it anything that greatly concerned the Queen's Government. Had there been no authority but his to oppose to the ambition of Donal, it is probable that all the Clan Carthy must have submitted to him, for O'Neill was looked upon as little less than King of Ireland at the time; he had called into being a new Earl of Desmond, who had been immediately accepted by all the Fitz Gerald's, and he now secured to Donal the support of every man who was in action, and of every *bonaght* who was under arms; for these hired soldiers, although in the pay of a multitude of minor chieftains, all acknowledged a supremacy in O'Neill; but there was something between Donal and the great prize, which not even O'Neill could remove.

Endorsed—"SIR THOMAS NORREYS to the Privy Council, by the hands of Spencer.

"In Desmond Donal M^c Carthy, base sonne to the Earle of Clancar, opposeth himself against Darby M^c Owen M^c Carthy for the Earldom; but they agree both to be Traytors to Her Ma^{ty}. O'Sullivan Mor doeth as yet refuse to give the Rod (according to ancient custom) to either of them."

This despatch removed an illusion under which the Queen and her Chief Secretary had been conducting their policy with regard to the Irish Septs in Munster, and which had influenced them hitherto in their treatment of Florence. They had too hastily concluded that the Earl's surrender of his country and rights of chieftainship would have put an end for ever to all sept titles, sept election, and in short to Tanist law amongst his followers. The only hesitation in the Royal mind, since the death of the Earl, had been whether his lands should be "undertaken," and his title left extinct, or lands and Earldom bestowed upon Florence. Whilst the Queen hesitated, Donal decided! and his decision quickened that of Her Majesty. The Earldom not even Donal cared for, or he would assuredly have assumed it as readily as he did the chieftainship; but he had no wish to meddle with Her Majesty's titles of honour; he remembered that "in the first degree bastardy is no bar to succession amongst the Irish," and he saw no invasion of Royal rights, in his assuming the title borne by his ancestors for centuries. Donal, therefore, proclaimed himself chieftain of South Munster; and during the short period that he bore the time-honoured title of Mac Carthy Mor he proved that, in valour at least, no member of his race since the days of King Dermot—not Finin of Ringroan, nor Donal-Mor-ne Currah himself—had surpassed him! Fortune, too, which had so long preserved him from Browne's pursuit, and the perils of the Queen's horsemen, had in reserve for him a triumph

such as had been rarely accorded to any mere Irishman since the days of Henry the Second. Donal had the honour of meeting in fair fight the Queen's "Lo : L^t. Gen^l." the gallant Essex, and the exquisite enjoyment of chasing that illustrious functionary before him, not only out of his own domains, but far on his way to the confines of Munster ! Donal Mac Carthy has not received from the writers of his country that eulogy which his warlike exploits deserved. Much obscurity hangs over the expedition of Essex into Munster—all but absolute darkness over his expedition out of it ; English writers are wholly silent with regard to it, and our native historians have allowed its incidents to lose their distinctness ; but tradition has connected the name of Donal with a name destined not to perish but with the history of his native country. An achievement of which Donal has a large share of the glory, has fixed upon the spot of its performance the name of "Barnaglitty, or the Gap of Feathers"—the Gap, or pass, strewn with the plumes of that fugitive English chivalry, "the most numerous and the choicest that had ever accompanied a Deputy into Ireland." Florence saw, and cannot have failed to admire, the audacity with which, in defiance of all authority, his base brother-in-law assumed a title beyond all others coveted by himself, "præ quo, vel Cæsaris titulus in Hi-berniâ sordet," and hateful to the Queen ; the following petitions show how adroitly he could turn the circumstance to his advantage :—

"1597. *Feby.* 12. FLO. to [CECYLL].

"May it please Your Honour to understand your suppliant Florence M'Carthy's humble suit unto Her Ma^{ty} is for the demaine lands of his father in law the Earle of Clancarthy, and specially for two parcells thereof, thone morgadged by his sayd Father in law about 12 or 13 yeres past to his daughter, your suppliant's wife, for her mariadge goods, as appeares by the presentments of the office, signed and sent over hither by Sir Thomas Norreys, and the Queenes Attorney of Mounster, w^{ch} Your Honour hath, and by the sayd Earles deade of mortgadge, ready to be shewed, w^{ch} parcell of land called Castell lough, the Palice, and Balcarbry, doth containe 14 or 15 quarters of lands ; the other parcell, called both the Coishmainges, and Onaght, doth containe 31 quarters of lands, and was also morgadged by his sayd father in law to Sir Valentine Browne, and his son Nicolas Browne jointly, for five hundred and three score pounds : there is also another parcell of the sayd Earles, holden by Nicolas Browne, called Clan Donelle-Roe, w^{ch} containeth 7 or 8 quarters of land. Your suppliants humble suit unto Her Ma^{ty} is, that he may obtaine those demaine lands, onely to hold of Her Ma^{ty}, to him and his heires males, together wth such prouision as was due to the sayd Earle of certen Septs of people of his folowers, w^{ch} in that contrey and lands being but a certen quantitie of otthen meale, barell butter, porck, and beafe, which he had yerely of certen Sceptes of his folowers for his provision, And your sup-


licant will not onely yeld Her Ma^{ty} a reasonable reseruacon out of the lands, and remitt unto Her Highnes all such rents, chiefries, duties, pracons, and comaunds, as was, and is, still due to that House, of the Lords of Muskry, Dowalla, Clan M^c Donell, and all other lords of that House, but will also venter his life, and all his people, frends and followers, to recover the same of his enemies, who have now entered therunto wth intent to defeate him thereof, and are becom traytors to Her Ma^{ty}; and will also, whensoever he doth recover those lands, submitt himself to Her Ma^{ty} pleasure for the payment of the sayd Brownes Morgadge, wherin not doubting of Yo^r. hono^rs furtherance, wherof he doth holde himself moste assured, he will allwayes pray for yo^r. hono^r, and rest eu^e readie to do yo^r. hono^r any service that lies in him."

" 1597. Feb^r. 12. FLORENCE's *Petition to recover the mortgaged lands of his late Father in law.*

" My humble suit unto Her most sacred and Excellent Ma^{ty} is, for that parcell morgadged by my father in law to Browne, and a small pece of land wth he also made ou unto my wife for her preferment, together wth som litle prouision of meale, butter, and flesh, wth is due of certen Septs of his folowers wthin that contrey, for the maintenance of his House; wth land I will holde of Her Ma^{ty}, and not only yelde Her Highnes a reasonable reseruacon, but also procure Browne sufficient securities, or morgadge unto him a sufficient quantitie of land for his money, although he got about £2000 thereby already, these 10 yeres past, wherby Browne shalbe satisfied of more then his due, and Her Ma^{ty} shall haue, in certentie, not onely all the comaunds, creacons, rents, duties and cheferies, due unto that House, of other Lords and contreyes, wth was ever the chefest parte of thErls greatnes, and liuinge, but also a reasonable reseruacon out of so much demaines as aforesayd, wth in that wilde craggy, barren, and unprofitable contrey, is the beste thing that may benefit myself, or enhable me to do Her Ma^{ty} servise, considering the p^rent state of that country, and all the people thereof, who have joined wth the Earle of Desmond, and the rest of his adherents, and haue geuen the bastard that was here, a kind of supereoritie over them, maintaining 500 of Tireowens souldiers for him, wherunto they were moved only because Browne (when my father in law mortgaged it unto him) thrust them out of those lands, wth they and their aūcestors eu^e held of my father in law, and his aūcestors, in wth action they will allwayes persist to the last man, and not onely kepe themselves safe, but also bak and maintaine all the rebells of Mounster with that strong country, yf I be not able to assure them, by Her Ma^{ty} speciall grant, that they shall holde those lands of me, as formerly they held them of my father in law; for they are but folowers, whose living is to hoolde, and inhabit their Lords lands, as their manner is in all Ireland; of wth land yf I be able to assure them, I do not doubt (wth some litle meanes) to reduce that contrey very shortly into good quietnes, and conformitie; and wth that contrey and people (wth stands at the bak of all the rebells of Monster so comodiously to annoy them) to do Her Ma^{ty} that service that a thousand men in pay cannot do; and that (in reducing Mōnster

to obedience) will salue Her Highnes above three score thousand pounds; for the performance of w^{ch} service I will ever rest readie to venter, and spend myn owne life, and the lifes of all such as will folow me."

This petition is dated in February : in July his suit had made no further progress. This petitioning for the lands of his father-in-law was becoming as importunate and tedious as the pleading for the Fyne. Had it chanced that Sir Robert Cecyll had lost all remembrance of Florence's proposal to send agents of his own into Spain to procure intelligence *for Her Majesty*, the suit would have come at this time to a sudden extinction ; for there came a despatch from Norreys, which reported some suspicious want of accord between the assertions of Florence and of his agent, and needed some explanation, which the Minister would do well to obtain before Florence's great suit should be despatched.

.—The documents illustrative of this Life of Florence Mac Carthy have so greatly accumulated under the hands of the Author during its progress, and more especially in the political portion of it, at which the narrative has now arrived, that he is forced with regret to admit the hopelessness of the effort, so long continued, to conduct the work to its completion, within the limited space that could be allotted to it in the pages of this Journal. Its Author undertook this biography at the urgent solicitation of the late learned Dr. O'Donovan ; and he has been encouraged during its progress by the lamented Mr. J. Windele, and Mr. Herbert F. Hore, as well as others of our scholars yet spared to us. "An account of Florence Mac Carthy, and the history of the ancient families of the South of Ireland," had long ago been declared, by one of the most eminent of our scholars, as wanting to our Irish literature ; and it was with feelings essentially national that this present work, less comprehensive than that desired by the late Charles O'Connor, was undertaken and continued : hence it was gratifying to its compiler that it should appear in this periodical, which is the glory of the South of Ireland in our day ; and the impossibility of completing it in his lifetime, within the space that could be spared to him, alone obliges him at last to secure—whilst he is permitted—the fruit of his past labour, by publishing it as a whole in book form, and this he purposes to do with little further delay.

ON CROMLEACS NEAR TRAMORE IN THE COUNTY OF WATERFORD; WITH REMARKS ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF ANCIENT IRISH EARTHEN AND MEGALITHIC STRUCTURES.

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WHAT is a Cromleac? If I was asked this question by a critical antiquary, I could not answer it to his satisfaction, nor could he to my own. This is obviously a defect in our archæological nomenclature, and the following remarks are offered with a view to arrive at some definite ideas on this subject.

In such an inquiry as this, the primary consideration should be the form, and mode of construction, of the stone chamber.

If we refer to some of our best authorities for information on this subject, we find the following statement by the well-known Danish archæologist, Mr. Worsaae, in his work on *Danish Prehistoric Antiquities* (translated by W. J. Thoms, 1849):—

“Stone chambers, or cromleacs, or low barrows encircled with stones, which completely accord with the cromleacs of our Stone Period, occur over the whole of Northern Germany, England, Ireland, the northern parts of Holland, and the west and south of France.”

Here the stone chamber is called “a cromleac,” no matter what its form, and the low barrow is considered to be an essential ingredient of the perfected structure, and our ideas thus become perplexed, rather than enlightened, on this particular class of antiquities.

Some antiquaries of note have, however, adopted this definition of a cromleac, as we find in the essay “On the Comparison of Danish Cromleacs with those of Brittany, the Channel Islands, and Great Britain, by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, M. A., F. S. A.,” read before the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, in August, 1861. In this admirable memoir the author is disposed to adopt Mr. Worsaae’s definition of a cromleac, as a tumulus enclosing a chamber formed of large stones placed one upon the other, and surrounded by a circle of upright stones at the base of the mound. At pages 164 and 165, Mr. Lukis admits that a deal of confusion has arisen “from the want of a proper generally recognised nomenclature amongst European antiquaries,” as explanatory of the various kinds of early megalithic remains; and he would have no objection to get rid of the word “cromleac,” at the same time not offering us another name to supply its place.

For my part, I cannot see what valid objection there can be to the name cromleac; and I believe it is now so well established that we must retain it, and that we can do so with every propriety.

In the year 1857 Sir William Wilde, M.D., in the first volume of the "Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," at page 180, when referring to the various objects of antiquity found in the sepulchral chamber discovered in the low tumulus on Knockmaroon Hill, in the Phoenix Park,¹ remarks that "this discovery went far to establish the belief that cromleacs were but uncovered tumuli, which originally contained sepulchral remains." This statement is even more vague than that of Mr. Worsaae, whose ideas on the subject it partially embodies. From this it would appear that to constitute a "cromleac" the tumulus must be "uncovered" (by which I suppose is meant "removed") from off the inner chamber (if there happened to be one), which chamber, when uncovered, then becomes a cromleac. We certainly want something more precise than this.

Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, in his memoir upon British Remains on Dartmoor, accepts the word "cromleac;" and though the name may not date back further than the sixteenth century, and its etymology is unknown, unless it be a compound of the Irish words *cpom*, bowed or bending, and *leac*, a stone, it will answer all the purposes intended, if applied to one particular kind of rude stone structure, and not made to do duty for a whole group of them.

Colonel Meadows Taylor, in his singularly interesting memoir on the Cairns, Kistvaens, and Cromleacs, and other Celtic, Druidical, or Scythian Monuments in the Dekhan, published in the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. xxiv., part 5, 1865, adopts the word cromleac, and thus defines it:—"A rectangular structure, formed of three slabs of stone, and roofed with a horizontal slab, the whole above ground, and open at one side;" while he defines a kistvaen, or stone box, as "a chamber formed of four slabs, and covered by a horizontal slab, whether it has been constructed above ground, or covered by a tumulus." These definitions of the two structures explain clearly the precise difference between them, and they very nearly apply to such remains existing in Europe.

In the "Essai sur les Dolmens," by the Baron de Bonstetten, of Geneva, that learned antiquary classifies the European megalithic structures into two classes:—I. "Dolmens apparentes;" II. "Dolmens couvert d'un tumulus en terre ou en cailloux." The first class includes the following ten varieties:—

¹ A corruption of *Fionn-uirg* (pron. *feenisk*), which means clear or limpid water. See essay "On the Corruptions in

Irish Topographical Names," by Patrick W. Joyce, A.M., "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. ix., part 3.

1. "Dolmens à dalle tombale, ce'st à dire une ou plusieurs dalles posées à plat sur le sol, entre des supports.
2. „ Sans dalle tombale.
3. „ à enceinte de pierres dressées (menhirs).
4. „ sans enceinte de menhirs [*maen-hir*, long or upright stone].
5. „ à compartiments intérieurs.
6. „ simples [rectangular cist with covering slab].
7. „ sur un tertre (tumulus).
8. „ sur le sol naturel.
9. „ supports dressés en hauteur.
10. „ supports dressés en longueur."

The second class includes the following seven varieties :—

1. "Dolmens à corridor et à chambre avec compartiments.
2. „ sans corridor et chambre.
3. „ simples.
4. „ à dalles tombales.
5. „ sans dalles tombales.
6. „ à enceints de menhirs.
7. „ sans enceinte."

So far this is clear, and sufficiently comprehensive; and it would appear that the simple dolmen would most nearly resemble one of our cromleacs.

Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, in his memoir noted above, thus classifies the ancient British remains :—

1. "The sacred circle.
2. The circle cairn, and concentric circle.
3. The barrow or tumulus (the Celtic 'crug' or mound, and the Saxon 'low').
4. The kistvaen, or stone box.
5. The avenue, or parallelithon.
6. The cromleac.
7. The maenhir, or long (upright) stone.
8. The tolmen, or maen-an-tol (holed stone).
9. The logan, or rocking stone.
10. The rock idol.
11. The rock basin (Irish *bullawn*?).
12. The markings and concentric rings on stones.
13. The hut circle, domed or beehive hut.
14. The walled village, or pound.
15. The boundary line.
16. Roads.
17. Bridges.
18. Camps."

Here we have the cromleac, as distinct from the kistvaen or stone box constructed below the soil, or enveloped in a mound; and the two structures need never be confounded. At page 49 it is stated that the sepulchral chamber is not properly a cromleac, and to this I cordially agree.

If we now confine ourselves to the classification of those Pagan or early Christian structures, earthen or stone, or both combined, sepulchral or otherwise, preserved in Ireland, they are capable of being grouped as follows :—

1. The stone circle.
2. The menhir, or standing stone, or gallaun.
3. The barrow, or simple earthen tumulus.
4. The chambered barrow, with surrounding circle of stones.
5. The ringed barrow, surrounded by one or more fosses and mounds.
6. The ringed and platformed barrow, or barrow with flat raised platform attached, the whole surrounded by one or more fosses and mounds.
7. The rath, or earthen circular rampart, surrounded by one or more fosses and mounds, the inner face of the central circle, and occasionally those of the concentric ramparts, being sometimes faced with stone, in which case the term rath-caher may be applied.
8. The rectangular rath, with single surrounding fosse.
9. The cairn, or mound of broken stones.
10. The chambered cairn, with a surrounding row of flags.
11. The kistvaen, or stone box—a rude rectangular stone chamber of four or many more stones covered with flat flags, and constructed either below or on the soil, or covered with a mound of clay and stones : these are called by the peasantry “leabas,” or “beds,” “ti,” or “house,” a term which is seldom applied to the cromleac proper. In some instances the kistvaen is formed by a double row of upright flags.
12. The cromleac, or large block of stone poised in an inclined position on four or more upright blocks, thus forming a rude chamber usually open at one end, and sometimes divided internally by a single upright slab ; the whole bearing evidence of having been constructed on the surface, and never having been enclosed in a mound.
13. The caher, or caissel—a circular enclosure, formed entirely of massive dry masonry, the wall being pierced with a passage allowing access to the interior, and in most instances having had flights of steps leading to a parapet.
14. The cloghaun, or beehive-shaped stone hut, circular or rectangular in plan, either single, or with two or three chambers connected by narrow passages, and formed beneath an equal number of connected domes.¹

¹ See paper by the writer on the ancient Celtic city of Fahan, Ventry, county

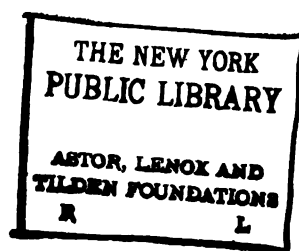
of Kerry, “Journal of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain,” vol. for 1858.

15. The *cnocān*, or stone hut, beehive-shaped, and either circular or angular in plan, the whole covered by a thick wall of earth.
16. The *foslea*, or long rectangular and narrow cell, formed of upright flags, and covered with horizontal flags.
17. The *tolmen*, or holed stone.
18. The rock basin, or *bullau*.
19. The sepulchral dome-shaped chamber, formed of stone, either singly or in groups of three or more, ranged round a central chamber, the whole enclosed in a mound of broken stones and earth, and having a narrow entrance passage from the exterior of the mound.
20. The burrow, or subterranean dome-shaped chamber, single or compound: when the latter, one chamber is connected with another by a low narrow passage; sometimes the burrow is constructed in the centre of a rath, and sometimes in the open country.

We may thus classify some of our most well marked Pagan or early Christian remains; for those structures of the *cloghaun* type may really be comparatively recent, and it is evident that the *cromleac* occupies a very distinct position amongst them.

The primary consideration in this inquiry is the form and mode of construction of the *cromleac*, as distinct from the *kistvaen*, or true sepulchral chamber, no matter what its form. It is quite possible that the *cromleac*, as I propose to define it, was not the absolute burying place or tomb, but was the commemorative mausoleum, as it were, of the tribe, or its most distinguished family or person. So far as my information goes, I have never heard or read of any sepulchral remains having been found beneath the covering slab of a *cromleac*, as I understand the term; and as yet we have, I believe, no instance of a *true cromleac* having been exhumed from a mound of earth or stones. Chambers covered with flat flags have been thus found, but all tradition, and the present appearance of the *cromleac* proper, assure us that they were ever in the same subaërial state as we now see them. I believe that the stone-covered single chambers which have been found in the centre of some tumuli would not in their mode of construction fulfil the conditions necessary to make a *cromleac*, according to my interpretation of the word.

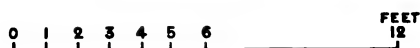
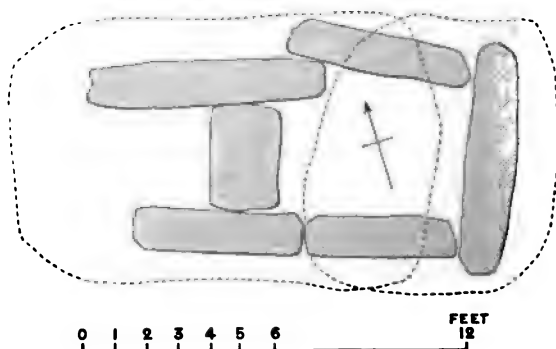
The somewhat remarkable *cromleacs* which form the subject of this paper are not only highly characteristic of their class, but they present some marked and novel features, which up to the present, I believe, have not been described. I allude to the fact that the two outermost upright supporting stones have a transverse stone like a diaphragm between them, very nearly equal to them in height, and which thus closes-in half of the structure, giving it a *kistvaen*





Cromleac, townland of Knockeen, Co. Waterford.

[View looking N. E.]



Plan of Knockeen Cromleac.

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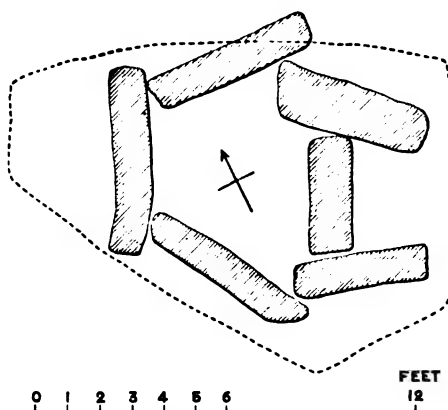
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Cromleac, townland of Gaulstown, Co. Waterford.

[View looking S. W.]



Plan of Gaulstown Cromleac.

character in plan, while in two instances the large table or covering stone rests at its depressed end on a smaller horizontal slab.

The illustration, Plate I., representing the cromleac in the townland of Knockeen, at S. E. corner of the termon wall of the old church (near Sporthouse), Co. Waterford, affords an example of the two peculiarities alluded to; and the whole structure is remarkable for its solidity, and the perfect carrying out of a unity of design.

The orientation of this structure is N. W. and S. E.; the open end, or that presented to the view in the engraving, being that facing to the N. W.

The upright supporting stones are six in number, and are arranged rectangularly, so as to form a distinct chamber at the S. E. end, measuring 7 × 4 feet, by 6 feet 6 inches in height; the side stones at the N. W. end projecting beyond the transverse or diaphragm stone a distance of 3 feet 6 inches.

The large covering slab measures 12 feet 6 inches × 8 feet, with an average thickness of 1 foot 6 inches, thus giving a weight of something like 4 tons; the supplemental covering stone measuring 7 feet × 8 feet.

The height of the supporting stone nearest in the view is 8 feet 6 inches above the present level of the ground and the total height of the structure to the top surface of the large covering slab is 12 feet 6 inches: at the open or N. W. end the supporting stones are 3 feet 3 inches apart. The blocks are formed of the rudely cleaved felspathic dark grey trap of the district.

The illustration, Plate II., is that of the cromleac in the townland of Gaulstown, in the same county, on the northern flank of Carrick-a-roirk Hill.¹

Here we have a structure very similar to the former in general design, though different from it in some details, viz.:—The absence of the lower and supplemental covering slab; and the open end of the chamber facing to the S. of E., while the inner chamber is rudely hexagonal in plan, owing to the peculiar way in which the upright slabs have been arranged (see plan).

The inner chamber measures 7 feet × 6 feet 4 inches at its maximum width, having a height of 7 feet; the diaphragm stone being 3 feet 3 inches wide; the outer open space being 2 feet deep, and narrowing to 2 feet 6 inches at its external edge. The covering or table stone is 12 feet × 7 feet at its S. E. end, with an average thickness of one foot, which thus gives a weight of about 3 tons; the height of the supporting stones at the E. S. E. or open end of the structure is about 8 feet 6 inches. These blocks, like those forming the other cromleac, have been derived from the local trappean rocks. At the distance of 31 feet N. W. from this cromleac there occurs a true kist-

¹ *Anglice*, the Rock of the Prospect.

vaen, constructed in the soil ; this chamber is formed of several large slabs set on edge, and measures 16 feet or 17 feet in length, by about 4 feet 6 inches or 5 feet in width ; it was originally covered horizontally by three flags, one of which yet remains, and measures 8 feet \times 5 feet 6 inches in width.

Here we have clear evidence to show that the kistvaen was a structure very distinct from the cromleac.

The third example (Plates III. and IV.) I have to offer is that of the cromleac in the townland of Ballynageeragh, county of Waterford, and not very distant from that last described.

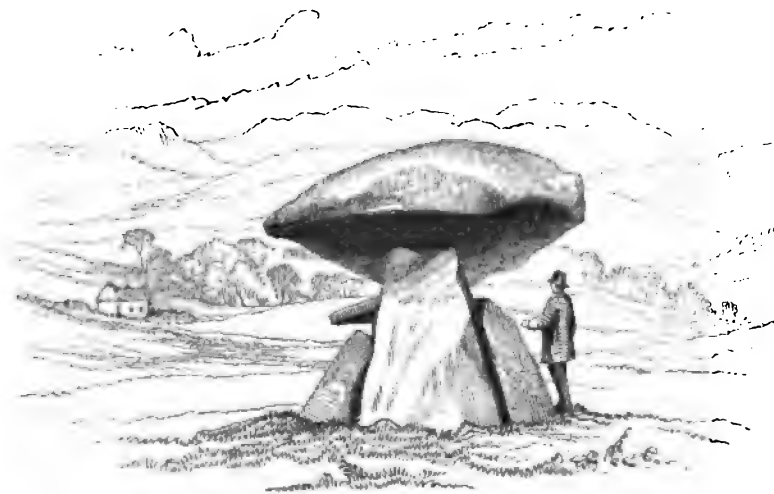
This structure as viewed from the S. E. has a most singular appearance, owing to the form of the covering stone, and the skilful manner in which it is poised on two supports ; that at the S. W. or raised end being an upright slab ; the other, to the N. E., being a rounded flat stone laid on the ends of the remaining three stones forming the chamber (see plan).

The large table stone measures 12 feet \times 8 feet, with an average thickness of one foot, and may therefore be about 3 tons in weight ; and at its most elevated or N. W. end it is 6 feet from the present level of the ground. The chamber beneath is simply rectangular in plan, the stones forming it being all inclined inwards, as shown in the view, looking N. E.

In speculating as to the means by which these large table stones have been so securely poised on their supports, I have long thought that they were not first raised in the air, and then allowed to drop on to their supports, but that they were dragged up an inclined plane of earth, which had been piled around the upright stones, previously securely placed, and were then made to sink gradually on to them by the careful removal of the earth ; and when the covering slab rested securely on these uprights, the mound of earth was totally removed, and thus the structure gained the appearance of having been constructed subaërially.

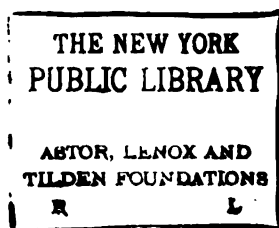
I by no means wish to take credit as being the first to suggest this mode of construction as applicable to our cromleacs, or other megalithic structures, where enormous blocks of stone have been left resting on vertical supports. The late King of Denmark, and for aught I know other antiquaries, have suggested the same theory, which would, I think, apply with equal force to such structures as Stonehenge. That such was the mode of construction actually adopted by the cromleac builders is, I think, almost proved by the fact that we occasionally find half-finished and abandoned cromleacs, as the rude mechanical appliances known to the builders were totally unequal to the completion of the work on the failure of their first rude attempt.

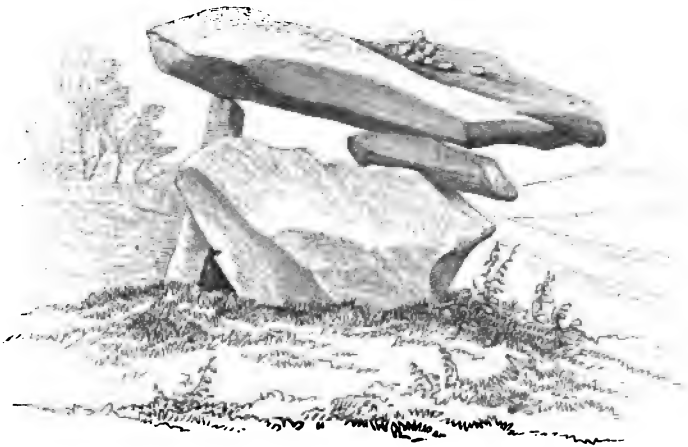
On the west side of the glen, just below Ballyphilip Bridge, county of Waterford, I found an enormous block of grit, one end



Cromleac, townland of Ballynageeragh, Co. Waterford.

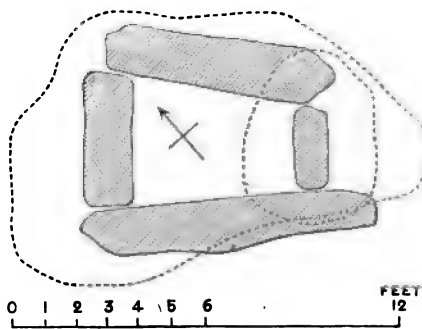
[View looking N. W.]





Cromleac, townland of Ballynageeragh, Co. Waterford.

[View looking N. E.]



Plan of Ballynageeragh Cromleac.

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of which rested on two low supporting stones, while the other was propped up by a wall of dry masonry 3 feet high ; in this instance we have an example of an unfinished and abandoned cromleac.¹ Another example of a defective and abandoned cromleac is to be seen in the demesne of Headford, near the gate lodge ; this consists of an angular block of grey Silurian grit, measuring 9 feet 6 inches \times 6 feet \times 3 feet 8 inches, the weight of which is fully 6 tons ; its eastern edge rests on the ground, while the western side is tilted up and supported by a single block of grit, measuring 3 feet in length by 1 foot 6 inches thick. Some blocks of rock lie near at hand, as if intended to have formed a portion of the structure ; it appears to me that, when the large table stone by some means or other failed to rest properly on its intended supports, the work was abandoned, and some other boulder stone in the neighbourhood selected for the purpose ; at all events, the structure is incomplete.

That the foregoing observations may be clearly understood, I would thus define a cromleac :—

A megalithic chamber, usually rectangular and sometimes open at one end, formed of four or more upright slabs, on which is poised in a *slanting position* a large covering stone, the whole structure resting on the natural soil, and presenting no indications of having ever been enveloped in a mound or tumulus.

I cannot conclude these brief remarks better than by the following quotations—the first, a portion of the review in “The Athenæum” (21st of April, 1866) of Lieut.-Col. Forbes Leslie’s work “On the Early Races of Scotland, and their Monuments,” alluding to the so-called Druids’ altar or cromleac, is as follows :—

“The western maritime division of the Continent of Europe presents vast aggregations of them in various localities, and they are found extending across the Mediterranean, and occupying a wide field in Africa. Recent exploration has traced them over Tartary, and as far as the Chinese frontier, and into the centre of the Peninsula of India. Iranian and Turanian, Caucasian and Semitic, Hamite and Allophyllian, Celtic and Gothic waves of population have swept over the portions of the area which the structures occupy ; but there remains no distinct record of any monument of this class except in the Old Testament.

“These people were neither Druids, nor Phœnicians, nor Gauls, nor Celts who set up these monuments, but a people who once existed all over Europe, Asia and parts of Africa, and whose usages had passed away before any history but that of the Hebrews began.

“On the other hand, the low-age school of speculation puts Stonehenge within the fifth century of the Christian era, and brings down the use of the stone table as a sepulchral monument to a time when the capi-

¹ See the seventh volume of the Antiquarian Sketches presented by me to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, where this cromleac is illustrated.

tals of columns had already begun to display the characteristic forms known in architecture as early English."

The truth of these remarks few will question; and the pleasing fallacy of trying to speculate on the age of such works as evinced by their mode of construction, or the rude devices with which they are occasionally decorated, is admirably exposed by the following remarks of Palgrave, in his "History of Normandy and England," vol. i., p. 49:—

"Celtic history . . . has been rendered the meaningless vacuity of literature by the unbounded speculations of the learned. When will archaeologists be convinced that men-hir and pul-ven, cromleac and kistvaen tell us nothing? and from nothing, nothing comes. You can no more judge of their age than the eye estimate the height of the clouds. These shapeless masses impart but one lesson—the impossibility of recovering *by induction* any knowledge of the speechless past."

So far as our present information leads us, we must believe that the cromleac builders, and the constructors of the chambered cairns, and other megalithic structures, were of a race most widespread over the northern hemisphere wherever it was habitable—that we have lost all record of the locality from whence that race originally sprang, of their name, or their language—and that the present races, who possibly exterminated them, were themselves so rude and unlettered, that they had not the intelligence to transmit to their descendants the traditional history of the people they dispossessed.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 11th, (by adjournment from the 4th), 1866.

JAMES G. ROBERTSON, Esq., Architect, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

William Stuart Trench, Esq., J. P., Essex Castle, Carrickmacross : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

The Very Rev. Dr. Kavanagh, President of Carlow College : proposed by Maurice Lenihan, Esq.

The Rev. Patrick Parker, R. C. C., Duncannon : proposed by R. Long, Esq., M. D.

Mr. Joseph Dunne, High-street, Kilkenny : proposed by Mr. J. Hogan.

Miss Ryan, Kilkenny : proposed by Mr. Prim.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

By the Author : “Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviens,” Tome Troisième, par M. Boucher de Perthes.

By La Société Impériale d'Emulation d' Abbeville : “Mémoires,” première partie, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, et 1865.

By the Society of Antiquaries of London : their “Proceedings,” Vol. II., No. 7, second series.

By the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society : their “Magazine,” No. 28.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne : “Archæologia Æliana,” Part 21, new series.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland : their “Journal,” Nos. 88, 89.

By the British Archæological Association : their “Journal,” for June and September, 1866.

By the Royal Geological Society of Ireland : their “Journal,” Vol. I., Part 2.

By the Sussex Archæological Society: their "Collections," Vol. XVIII.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," No. 47, third series.

By the London and Middlesex Archæological Society: their "Transactions," Vol. III., Part 7.

By the Smithsonian Institution: their "Report," 1864,

By the Authors: "Evans." By T. Reed Appleton, and M. C. Jones, Esqrs.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for April, May, and June, 1866.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1200-1213, inclusive.

By the Author: "Observations on an unpublished Essay on Ireland. By Sir W. Petty, A. D. 1687," by W. H. Hardinge, Esq.

By Mr. J. P. Graves, Waterford: A printed Rent Roll of part of the Estates of the Right Hon. John Earl of Ormonde and Ossory sold for the payment of debts, pursuant to Act of Parliament procured for the purpose. The property to be sold was situated in Kilkenny, Tipperary, Carlow, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wicklow; and the interest attaching to the document was, that it set out the names of all the occupying tenants at the time, with the rent paid by each, very much after the fashion of the Landed Estates Court rentals of the present day.

By the Chairman, on the part of Mr. H. Bruce Armstrong, Burnchurch: a remarkably fine bronze spearhead, and a flint arrow-head in excellent preservation.

By Mr. H. Fitzsimons: a piece of bog butter, to which some of the bark of a tree was adhering, found in the turf bog near Abbeyleix. It seemed as if a large roll of butter had been wrapped up in bark, and then placed in the bog.

By Mr. Maurice J. Kelly, Graigue: a shilling of the reign of Charles I.

By Mr. John Dunne, Garryricken: a "gun-money" half-crown of James II.

By Mr. Rowe, Carlow: a photograph of Kellistown Church, county of Carlow.

Mr. E. Clibborn, Curator of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, forwarded the following communication through Mr. Graves:—

"As many people are curious to know how the ancients moved the great covering stones, and afterwards lifted them on to their supporting stones, which, together, constituted our cromleacs, it has occurred to me to mention to you, for the good of all parties interested on such matters, how the modern Chinese people, without the aid of engineers, move and place great stones, or weights of any kind, as this process was explained to me a few days since by Colonel Haughton, who, I believe, has had several opportunities of seeing work of this kind performed with perfect success

"No doubt the ancients who constructed the cromleacs, and placed the large pillar stones in this country, wanted those great modern cranes by which we are enabled, by a great loss of time, to economize the power or force of men; and, failing in the appliances we have, they economized time, as it were, while they used the force of many men, bringing into effective operation their strength, the number being able collectively to lift the stone to be moved or raised.

"The difficulty in an operation of this kind arises from the impossibility of our getting more than a half-dozen men to lift a stone at the same moment, without the aid of poles, of which we have equivalents in the handles of the common handbarrow, and also in the poles of the sedan chair. In the latter two carriers work simultaneously, and they have the weight to be lifted divided between them; but if they placed cross sticks under the ends of the poles, so that two men might be employed to hold up the ends of these cross sticks, their middles supporting the pair of original poles, the weight would thus be divided equally between the four men. And, again, if in addition to the four men, and the two supplemental sticks, other cross sticks or bars were placed under the second bars, and their ends held up by eight, the load would be divided between them all; and so on, by using more cross sticks, and doubling the number of beams, we might greatly diminish the load each would have to lift; or, by keeping up the same strain which the first pair of men had to bear, one might increase the original load proportionably.

"And again, as to the principle of the cross stick, or pole, with one man supporting each end of it, the load to be lifted being in the middle of the stick, it follows that, whenever the spaces permitted within the limits of a system of poles, cross sticks may be introduced, a man at the end of each of them, and their middle supporting the frame here and there, and everywhere, so that in this way the lifting or carrying force of hundreds of men could be made effective in lifting and moving one great weight.

"The moving of the big stones upon the original pair of poles, or system of poles, could be effected in the same way as blocks are in the marble quarries at Carrara, where the handspike or lever is used with the most perfect ease and success, the number of men employed to move the long end of a lever or handspike being increased at pleasure, and all made available by means of hand ropes. This method, also adopted in the East, was rendered available by the people of Boutan, as explained by the same gentleman to me, in a sort of catapult, by which they managed in the late war to throw very large stones on Her Majesty's troops, to their great annoyance.

"Thus we see that the antiquary may yet find in use amongst half civilized and barbarous peoples plans and contrivances, which may help him to account for things at home to which our mechanical appliances could not have been applied, though, the weights moved and lifted being so great, one is led to infer that the ancients had machinery, or modes of uniting mechanical force, which we are ignorant of; or, perhaps, that the force which individuals were able to exert was vastly greater than we possess. Yet, on the contrary, it seems that we are stronger, larger, and heavier than the ancients; and it also seems as if the people who took a pleasure in lifting great stones were smaller in person than their neigh-

hours, and, like ants, gloried in co-operative arrangements by which they were enabled to work in masses, and thus exhibit evidence of national feeling."

Some discussion took place on this communication, the objection being raised that the quantity of crossing poles, to raise the weight, would go very far to increase that weight to a serious degree. The general feeling of the meeting seemed to be in favour of the theory of the late King of Denmark, as to the great covering stones of cromleacs having been moved to their position by the formation of inclined planes, and the use of rollers to propel them, by great masses of people, up such inclinations.

The Rev. John O'Hanlon sent the following continuation of his researches amongst the Topographical MSS. of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland :—

"The following is a list of MS. materials for illustrating the History, Topography, and Antiquities of Kerry County, as found in the Catalogue of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office :—I. Inquisitions, 2 vols. (part with Clare); Index of Plans to do., 1 vol.¹ II. Extracts, 2 vols., and Index of Places to do., 1 vol.² Rough Index of Places to Irish part, not arranged.³ III. Letters, 1 vol.⁴ IV. Orthography Letters, 1 vol. V. Name Books, 144, and two Revision Books; also, four Books containing Names on the Barony Maps, and Larkin's County Map. VI. Parish and Barony Names, 1 vol. VII. Memorandums, unbound. VIII. County Index to Names on Maps, 1 vol. IX. Sketches of Antiquities, 21.⁵

"I. The two volumes of Inquisitions mentioned in the Catalogue have been already mentioned note ¹, p. 103, vol. ii., New Series, 1858, of this Society's Transactions, where the contents of these volumes have been already described; they were at that time classed amongst the Common-place Books. The Kerry Inquisitions are now bound in one book, but are lettered on the back, vols. i., ii., and iii;⁶ they are bound in the usual uniform style of Ordnance Survey MSS. transferred to the Royal Irish Academy.

"II. The two thick 4to volumes of Extracts comprise information of an antiquarian character, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1841. The first volume is preceded by an Index of ten columns; it comprises 1168 pages, all of which, however, are not written. I find excerpts here from an Irish Life of St. Finan of loto

¹ These volumes are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

² These volumes are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

³ The Rough Index of Irish Names of Places, not arranged, is yet preserved in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office. This Index comprises 69 loose foolscap folio leaves (incorrectly numbered only 66), written but on one side. The leaves are tied up in blue wrapping paper. These denominations, in Irish cha-

acters, with their English equivalents, refer to subjects named in the Extracts.

⁴ Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

⁵ Now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

⁶ These MSS., noted as vols. xvi. and xvii., with the Index to Kerry Inquisitions, are found corresponding with the bound MS. here described; but the foregoing two vols. are inserted in the order of late binding.

1601; 'Battle of Ventry' (Irish); 'The Lazy Fellow' (Irish); 'Pursuit of Dermot and Grany' (Irish); 'Battle of Moylena, (Irish);' 'Book of Lismore' (Irish, R. I. A.); 'Book of Glendalough' (Irish, T. C. D.); 'Book of Lecan' (Irish); 'M. Firbis' (Irish); 'O'Gorman MSS.' (Irish); 'Irish Calendars;' Extracts from Irish MSS. in T. C. D.; Extracts from Archdall's 'Monasticon;' from 'Annals of The Four Masters' (Irish and English); from 'Annals of Innisfallen;' from Lanigan's 'Ecclesiastical History;' from Colgan's 'Acta Sanctorum,' and 'Trias Thaumaturga;' from Gough's 'Camden;' from Harris' 'Ware;' from O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia;' from 'Depositions concerning Murders and Robberies committed in the County of Fermanagh, Tralee, &c.' (MS., T. C. D.); from 'Journey of Sir Henry Sydney' (MS., T. C. D.); from 'The Journey of Sir William Fitzwilliams against the Earl of Desmond' (MS., T. C. D.); from 'Ye Names of ye chief families in ye several Countys of Ireland' (MS., T. C. D.). The second volume is preceded by an Index Locorum of 88 pages to Abstracts of Grants of Lands and other Hereditaments, under the 'Acts of Settlement and Explanation,' A. D., 1666-1684, and to the Abstracts of the Conveyances from the Trustees of the Forfeited Estates and Interests in Ireland, in 1688. The tracts to which this Index refers follow; besides an English account of Kerry, copied from a T. C. D. MS., by Eugene O'Curry; Irish Extracts from a Brehon Law Tract, from 'Leabhar Breac,' from 'Poems,' from 'Leabhar Na Huidhre,' from Keating (Halliday's copy). Besides the foregoing, we find Extracts from Vallancey's 'Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language;' from Archdall's 'Monasticon;' from Vallancey's 'Collectanea;' from O'Brien's 'Irish Dictionary;' from Smith's 'History of Kerry;' from 'Pacata Hibernica;' from Cox's 'History of Ireland;' from Names of Baronies and Parishes, from Vallancey's Map; from Moryson's 'History of Ireland;' from Archdall's 'Peerage;' from Trotter's 'Walks through Ireland;' from 'Liber Regalis Visitationis' of 1615 and from 'Vita S'i Finani Abbatis, & Confessor, ex Codice Kilkeniensis,' in Marsh's Library, Dublin. This second volume has 1194 numbered pages, nearly all of which are written. Both volumes of extracts are beautifully bound.¹ The Index to both of these volumes contains 190 leaves, written only on one side. It is in a separate volume, and corresponds in binding with both the former volumes.

"III. The 4to volume of Letters, containing information relative to the Antiquities of Kerry County, and collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey there in 1841, is preceded by a closely written Index, consisting of 14 pages, with two additional pages of Index to Sketches, Maps, and Traces. The following 46 letters, written by John O'Donovan, are addressed and noted as follows :—1841, Sept. 22nd, 21, Great Charles-street; July 12th, 1841; July 13th, 14th, 15th, 15th. At Listowel, 15th, 17th, 17th. G hōp Tuatāil pōp bhrú na Féile a g-Ciannógta luacpa; Tralee, July 22nd, 24th; Oaingean ui cúir a

¹ According to an annotation in Dr. O'Donovan's handwriting "at Waterville, near Derrinane."

² The foregoing taken from MSS. in

Hodges and Smith's Collection.

³ Some fair Antiquarian Sketches are bound up with these Extracts.

g-Copca Òuibne,¹ 29th, 29th, 30th, 30th, 30th, 30th, 31st; August 4th, 4th, 4th, 7th, 10th, 10th; A g-cafair Saibbín a n-uib Ráthach,² 15th, 16th, 17th, 23rd. At Kenmare, in Gleann O Ruachtain, 23rd, do. 23rd, do. 23rd, do. 24th, 28th; Killarney, in Magh O g-Coinchiad, 30th, do. 30th, 31st; Sept. 1st, 1st, 1st, 6th, 6th, 7th; at Castle Island, 9th, 9th, 9th, 10th. Next in order follow the 29 letters of Thomas O'Connor, viz.:—Listowel, July 14th, 1841; do. 15th, do. 17th, do. 17th; Tralee, 24th, do. 24th, 24th, 26th; Dingle, 29th, 30th, 30th, 30th; do. August, 2nd, do. 4th, do. 5th, do. 5th, do. 6th, do. 9th, 10th, do. 10th; Cahirciveen, 15th, 15th; Kenmare, 23rd; Killarney, 29th; do. Sept. 6th, do. 2nd, do. 2nd, do. 7th; Castle Island, 10th. Next in order, succeed Dr. Petrie's Letters, thus addressed and dated, viz.:—21, Great Charles-street, Dublin, 9th August, 1841, to John O'Donovan; to Mr. Larcom, Sept. 20th; to same, Sept. 21st. Next two notes of Arthers (?) and Edward W. Dunford. A letter signed Fred. W. Burton, Dingle, Sept. 18th, 1841, closes this collection. These letters contain many scattered rude drawings and diagrams. Besides these, there are the following beautiful sketches, by the artist Wakeman, at least for the most part; they are bound in with the 616 numbered pages of this volume:—1. Round Tower of Rattoo. 2. Doorway of do. 3. Doorway in west gable of Rattoo old Church. 4. Teampul Gale, or White Church. 5. Doorway in W. gable of do. 6. Pillar Stone with crosses and Ogham inscription at St. Manchan's grave. 7. Ogham Stone at the Short Strand. 8. Ground Plan of Cahercullaun O'Dun, in Glin North, Dingle Parish. 9. Leac Shiobhaine na n-gimhleach, a stone with an Ogham inscription on shore of Trawbeg. 10. Flag with long Ogham inscription now placed over a vault at the east end of Kilbindun old Church. 11. Supposed arms of M'Carthy More, on ancient flag in Muckruss Abbey. 12. Window in east gable of Teampull Daithlionn old Church in Ballyheigue Parish. 13. Doorway in south wall of do. 14. Stone with cross and Ogham inscription, Kill na g-Colman burial ground. 15. Ogham inscription on stones in Ballantaggart burial-ground, Garfinny Parish. 16. Stone with Ogham inscription in Ballyneesteenig, Cloghane South. 17. Doorway of Aghadoe Church. 18. The Round Castle at Aghadoe. 19. Ground Plan of ancient stone house in Coomawoterig Glen, near Dingle. 20. Do. 21. Cyclopean Doorway in do. 22. Stone with cross and Ogham inscription on Knockeen Hill, near Dingle. 23. Church of Kilmalkedar. 24. Choir Arch of do. 25. Window in N. E. side wall of do. 26. Doorway of do. 27. Building to N. W. of Kilmalkedar. 28. Window in the Church of Gallaross. 29. Church at Gallaross. 30. Window in the Church at do. 31. Doorway of the perfect stone-roofed Church at Gallaross. Besides these, we find the following Maps and Traces, appended to the Kerry Antiquarian Letters, viz.:—1. Castle of Carrigfoile, in Kerry, and a Description how the cannon was planted when it was battered, &c., from 'Pacata Hibernia.' 2. Castle Mang, and River of Mang, from do. 3. Kerry (Traces of), from 'Com. Kerry,' in 'State Papers.' 4. From 'Hibernia,' &c. in do. 5. 'S'igle Draght of Mounster,' in do.

¹ This heading is afterwards repeated over some of the succeeding letters.

² Cahirciveen. It is afterwards repeated in this form in succeeding letters.

6. From 'Kingdome of Ireland,' in Speed's 'Atlas' (1610). 7. 'Province of Mounster,' in do. (1631). 8. 'Irelandiæ Regnum,' in Mercator's 'Atlas' (1636). 9. 'Hiberniæ Pars Australis,' in do. 10. O'Connor's Map of Ireland (Ortelius improved). 11. 'Com. Kerry,' in 'Pacata Hibernia.' 12. County of Kerry, by Charles Smith. 13. Do. 'Down Survey.' 14. Do. Hand Sketch. 15. Do. Railway Map. The foregoing Drawings and Traces are of great value, as illustrations for the historic matter contained in the Antiquarian Letters. They are beautifully, and I am satisfied, correctly, designed and executed.

"IV. The Orthography Letters (quarto size) are tied in a parcel; they consist of loose sheets, and are yet unbound. I find them preceded by an Index of Denominations, contained in fourteen columns. The upper part of the sheets are lithographed directions to the several landed proprietors, requesting them to fill up queries under separate columns, headed—1. Townland, 2. House or Demesne, 3. Popular Name, 4. Spelling recommended by the proprietor: these sheets were issued in 1841 and 1842. In most instances, we find autographs of various country proprietors; and, amongst others, those of the celebrated Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M. P.; his brother, James O'Connell, Esq.; his son, Maurice O'Connell, Esq., M. P.; with several local celebrities. I find the sheets numbered 284; but this number does not include many inserted notes and letters, directed to the Government Officials by landed proprietors.

"V. The Name Books are correctly numbered 144, as I find on counting them, and they resemble in form and subject matter others of the series already described. There are likewise two Revision Books of similar shape, containing certain necessary corrections. We find in them the late Dr. O'Donovan's handwriting, as settling Irish and English orthographies for the Maps and Antiquarian Letters. Of a somewhat larger size are four books, which, according to a descriptive title, contain a 'Copy of the Names on the Barony Maps in the Court House at Tralee, as also from Larkin's County Map, dated 1814.' N. B.—Names not found on the County Map are marked thus X.' These four small books contain merely a list of Townland Denominations, with occasional descriptive notes or emendations.

"VI. The 4to Volume of Parish and Barony Names is preceded by a List of 33 Authorities for spelling, with an Index of Parishes and Baronies, written out in six columns. It contains 106 numbered leaves, representing double that amount of written pages. It is precisely on the plan of other similar County Volumes already described in former communications. The late Dr. O'Donovan has in all cases settled, both in Irish and English characters, the local orthography. I need scarcely observe how valuable these his derivations and emendations are for purposes of topographical or antiquarian inquiry.

"VII. The Memorandums are to be seen in two large parcels, as yet unbound. The first parcel contains 894 written leaves or fragments, mostly on paper of 4to size. These fragments do not include a vast num-

¹ There is no copy of Larkin's Map of Kerry County at present in the Ordnance Survey Library, as I am informed by the Custodian.

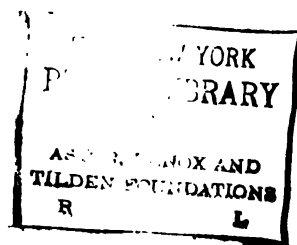
ber of beautiful Antiquarian Sketches by local amateur artists, together with a very large number of map hand-sketches, plans of old buildings, &c. The second parcel contains exactly 700 written leaves or fragments, chiefly inscribed on paper of 4to size. Besides these pages, this second parcel comprises a large number of amateur sketches by local artists, and also several map traces, plans and other diagrams. These two parcels are of inconceivable value for purposes of the Kerry historian, antiquarian, or topographer. There are various fragments of noteworthy information, contributed by intelligent county residents.

"VIII. The folio known as The County Index to Names on Maps is a thick MS. volume, comprising 166 leaves, nearly corresponding in size, arrangement, and denominational matter, with other volumes already described by the writer, in connexion with various Irish Counties. No figures referring to areas are found, however, in this volume.

"IX. In an oblong Portfolio, now kept in the Royal Irish Academy, I find the following Sketches referring to Kerry:—1. Dunurlin. Cloghaun near Ferriter's Cove. 2. Killarney; Muckross Abbey, stone in, said to belong to a MacCarthy More. 3. Kilmalkedar. Stone-roofed building (Church), at Gallarosa. 4. Rattoo; Church and Tower of Rattoo. The foregoing are all I find in this volume, and are roughly finished pencil sketches by W. Wakeman, from which some neater ink sketches appear to have been copied afterwards by him. The latter and smaller ink sketches are found illustrating the volume of Antiquarian Letters, where we must look for most of the 21 Sketches mentioned in the Ordnance Survey Index. It is quite possible, the two uncatalogued Sketches unaccounted for may be found loosely inserted, with many other amateur sketches, now preserved amongst the Memorandums in the Ordnance Survey Office. As all of the latter have been evidently prepared to illustrate the Antiquarian Letters and Extracts, and can serve no other useful purpose where they now remain, I am convinced, on suitable application being made to the Government Authorities, these sketches would be transferred to the Royal Irish Academy, where they might be appropriately inserted in the bound volumes there kept. Amongst these Sketches would be seen well-outlined drawings of the most primitive monuments and ruined churches now remaining in these kingdoms."

This Paper closes a description of Ordnance Survey Records relating to the Munster Province, and that portion of the original collection which has now been so happily and conveniently arranged in the Royal Irish Academy's Library.

Mr. Graves observed, that a striking proof of the usefulness of Societies such as theirs had been afforded by the discovery in their Museum, where it could least be looked for, of a unique impression of the seal of an English monastery, the history of the latter being remarkably connected with the Tudor dynasty. The house of the Friars Observants of East Greenwich, originally established by Edward IV., had received a new foundation charter from Henry VII., in the first year of his reign (1485). Henry VIII. was, also,





NORMAN FONT.

Formerly in the Parish Church of Kells, Co. Kilkenny.

a zealous promoter of their interests until the Friars espoused the cause of Queen Catherine, when Henry suppressed this house and all those of the Order throughout England. On the accession of Mary the Friars were reinstated, and were finally expelled by Elizabeth, in 1559. Mr. Graves said that he was given the impression from which the accompanying engraving has been made, by the late Rev. Dr. Nowlan, P. P. of Gowran, county of Kilkenny, in the year 1849; and he was informed by Dr. Nowlan that he had received the impression about forty years previously from some person connected with the Dominican Abbey, Kilkenny, accompanied by the information that the matrix had been found somewhere about that Abbey, and was believed to have been its ancient seal. It is needless to observe that such could not be the case; the legend reading, in the bold capitals of the latter part of the fifteenth century, SIGILLVM • GARDIANI • GRV WVCESIS •



“The Seal of the Warden of Greenwich.” Perhaps some one of the Friars expelled by Henry VIII. may have been an Irishman, and have found refuge in Kilkenny, carrying the seal of the Warden with him. The device in the field of the seal was the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (to whom, with St. Francis and All Saints, the Convent was dedicated); beneath which is an escutcheon of the arms of France and England, quarterly, ensigned with the head of a cherub. The seal may be assigned to the period of the second foundation of the Franciscan Convent at Greenwich, in the year 1485.¹

The Rev. James Graves exhibited a photograph of the ancient font of the parish church of Kells, from which the accompanying woodcut had been engraved by O. Jewitt, Esq.

This font was of very early date, being decidedly Norman in its character and ornamentation. The bowl presented the form of the Norman “cushion” capital, and was originally carved, as represented in the accompanying engraving, only at one angle—the remaining angles never having received the enrichment which was evidently intended. The material was a freestone, and probably

¹ The Society is indebted to Mr. Albert Way for the electrotpe cast, from which the illustration is printed. The information respecting the Greenwich

monastery is taken from an article of Mr. Way's, in the “Journal” of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xxiii., p. 52, *et seq.*

was imported from England. The pillar was originally higher, one stone being now lost, and the bowl was intended to be lined with lead; the remains of hinges, and of a fastening or hasp, showed that it was originally provided with a cover.

The parish church of St. Kieran of Kells was in existence before Geoffrey De Marisco founded a monastery here, in the year 1183, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This we learn from the fact recorded in the "*Registrum Canobii S. Mariæ de Kenlis*," viz., that, because there were not any Canons Regular then to be found in Ireland, De Marisco appointed the four priests who officiated in the church of St. Kieran of Kells to discharge the office of Canons in the newly founded monastery until he was able to provide himself with others ("*Monast. Anglican.*," p. 1142). The rectory of St. Kieran of Kells must have been about this time appropriated to the monastery. It appears so appropriated in the Confirmation Charter granted by Henry IV., on the 8th of February, in the thirteenth year of his reign; wherein, amongst other possessions, the King confirms the Prior and Convent of the Blessed Mary of Kells in Ossory in the right, title, and possession which they have in the church of St. Kieran, otherwise called the chapel of their said founder ("*Rot. Pat. 13 Hen. IV.*," 53). The rectory remained appropriate to the monks till the dissolution of the Priory, when it was found by inquisition to be part of their possessions ("*Monast. Hibern.*," p. 364).

The date of this font might safely be assigned to the latter end of the twelfth century; and it was probably carved by some of the English Canons introduced by De Marisco, as it bears no trace of Hiberno-Romanesque workmanship. It now, by permission of the Rev. C. Darby, Rector of Kells, serves as the font for the Cathedral of St. Canice, the four angles having been newly carved in facsimile of the original ornamentation, and the bowl otherwise suitably restored.

Col. N. Ludlow Beamish requested the attention of Members to the following query:—

"Having lately become the proprietor of Mourne Abbey, near Mallow, I wish to inquire whether any of your contributors could give any particulars of its history beyond what is contained in Smith's or Gibson's "*History of Cork*," (vol. i., p. 172). According to these authorities, it was a Preceptory of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem founded in the reign of King John, and, strange to say, *by an Englishman*."

The Rev. W. C. Lukis, F. S. A., sent the following observations in reference to Mr. M. Du Noyer's Paper "*On Cromleacs near Tra-
more*:"—

"What is a Cromleac?" These are the first words of an article in this year's April Number of the Journal; and the question is asked by

Mr. Du Noyer, who acknowledges his inability to answer it to the satisfaction of a critical antiquary, while at the same time he admits the inability of such an antiquary to answer it to his. The writer does me the honour to refer to an Essay of mine, read at a General Meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, in 1861, in which I suggested the propriety of getting rid of the word. One of my reasons for, the suggestion was, to remove the very difficulty which he finds accompanies the study of the structures commonly known under this appellation—a name which totally fails to describe the monuments in question, and which has given rise to erroneous views with regard to them. It is admitted that the word is of modern origin, and it is well known that foreign antiquaries apply it to a very different and distinct class of monument.

“Mr. Du Noyer rejects the Danish definition of a Cromleac, which I accept (supposing English antiquaries to be unwilling to part with the word) because I am convinced that it is the one which approaches nearest to the truth; and he is willing to adopt the definitions of Colonel Meadows Taylor, in his ‘Celtic, Druidical, or Scythian Monuments of the Dekhan,’ which are divided by him into two classes—Cromleacs and Kistvaens. The former structure is here described as ‘a rectangular monument, formed of three slabs of stone, and roofed with a horizontal slab, the whole above ground, and open at one side;’ while the latter is said to be ‘a stone box, or chamber, formed of four slabs, and covered by a horizontal slab, whether it has been constructed above ground, or covered by a Tumulus.’ These definitions, Mr. Du Noyer, adds ‘explain clearly the precise difference between them, and they very nearly apply to such remains existing in Europe.’ He then gives us his own definition of a Cromleac in the following words:—‘A megalithic chamber, usually rectangular, and sometimes open at one end, formed of four or more upright slabs, on which is poised in a slanting position a large covering stone, the whole structure resting on the natural soil, and presenting no indications of having ever been enveloped in a mound or Tumulus.’ This structure he considers to have been, not sepulchral, but commemorative—not a tomb, but a cenotaph—and to be ‘distinct from a Kistvaen, or true sepulchral chamber.’ And, lest it should be urged against his theory that monuments fulfilling in all essential particulars the conditions he assigns have been exhumed from their mounds, he is compelled to say that, so far as his information goes, he has never heard or read of sepulchral remains having been found beneath the covering slab of a Cromleac, *as he understands the term*; and that no *true Cromleac* has ever been exhumed from its mound.

“He must allow me to say, that I altogether dissent from his view; and that, instead of throwing light upon the subject, his definition tends to obscure it still more, and to carry us back into those regions of misty conjectures upon which I had hoped students of primeval antiquities had for several years turned their backs for ever.

“Mr. Du Noyer says, that, after suggesting the discontinuance of the term ‘Cromleac,’ I have not offered to supply its place with another name. It is true that I did not at that time offer another more appropriate term; but in an article printed not long afterwards in the ‘Journal of the Bri-

tish Archæological Association' I did so, to which I purpose to revert presently. First of all, I should wish to point out wherein Mr. Du Noyer has failed to clear up the subject. He *assumes* too much; he assumes that the structures, which he proceeds to describe, have always been in the condition in which they now appear; and he assumes, also, that no sepulchral remains have ever been found in them. I am somewhat surprised that he, holding such assumptions for incontestable facts, does not throw in his lot, to a certain extent, with those who in former days of archæological ignorance, regarded them all from one point of view, and declare his belief that 'Cromleacs,' as he understands the term, were structures on which human victims were immolated. From his standpoint I do not see what there is to hinder such a palpable conclusion. Once admit that these stone chambers were originally designed to be exposed to view from the ground level, and that they were not sepulchres, and then what more likely than that they must have been erected by a barbarous people for a special purpose, and that a purpose connected with mysterious religious rites.

"When it is considered that no ancient tradition connects these monuments with the historical period, and that they exhibit all the features of primeval simplicity in their architectural construction, it is not surprising that so few should have endured unimpaired to our day. The great majority of them have suffered from the ravages of time, and the destructive hands of man. We know, however, the ruined edifices of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, erected with all the art and science of the highest civilization, present to our eyes but feeble traces of their pristine magnificence and solidity; why then should it be imagined that structures more ancient, perhaps, than the oldest edifices of these ancient empires, erected with rude shapeless blocks, often of vast size, without the elements of permanent stability—marvellously constructed, when the appliances of so remote an age are borne in mind—should have escaped ruin altogether, and now stand before us in all the proportions and perfectness of their original condition? It appears to me, therefore, that we cannot safely, and with any certain approximation to the truth, lay down a definition such as that of Mr. Du Noyer. It could only be true on the certainty that the structure had never been enclosed in a Tumulus, and that it had never been intended for a sepulchre, both of which points it would be quite impossible for archæologists to grant.

"It may be asked of him, 'Are you quite sure that no vestige of the original covering mound remains; and have the chambers, as well as the surrounding earth, been carefully examined by any person well acquainted with these ancient monuments, and possessed of a knowledge of what kind of objects should be found?' If the first part of the question be answered in the affirmative, it would be no proof whatever that an enveloping mound had never existed. I have seen many structures of this nature, standing up in their naked simplicity, in the immediate neighbourhood of Tumuli containing stone chambers identical in every respect with them, yet yielding similar and unmistakeable proofs of their original purpose. But I cannot remember to have ever examined with care the interior and exterior of such a structure without meeting with some relic of early antiquity that was convincing as to the intention of its builders,

and that intention the construction of a place of sepulture. It is, therefore, much more reasonable on both these grounds to conclude that these monuments belong to one class, than to form two classes—Cromleacs and Kistvaens—and to pronounce them to be distinct, and intended to serve different purposes, on what I cannot but declare is very insufficient evidence.

“With such facts before us, I cannot conceive how any one can maintain that these naked and often deformed structures are complete and perfect monuments, and were never sepulchral chambers. It appears to me to be a libel on the primeval builders to attribute to them such imperfect works. Men who accepted nature’s gigantic and ponderous offerings, and who, without venturing to reduce their unwieldy proportions, employed them with marvellous skill in the construction of their tombs, and were well aware how necessary and all-important it was to strengthen the works of their hands with a firm outer crust of earth or of small stones, were not likely to erect so unstable and dangerous a monument as that which comes under Mr. Du Noyer’s definition of a Cromleac.

“For these reasons, and others, into which I will not now enter, the definition of Mr. Worsaae, and that which I have given in my Essay, are more in accordance with the results of observations and investigations than that which Mr. Du Noyer has adopted.

“One important fact appears to be forgotten by some antiquaries, or at least they seldom or never allude to it, when undertaking to describe and classify these primeval structures, viz. :—That the chambered Tumuli (including uncovered stone chambers) do not all belong to one date, although they belong to one epoch—the Age of Stone, which probably endured for a considerable period. It is not rapidly that civilization influences barbarous tribes, and in those early days of man’s history civilization operated upon them much more slowly than in more recent times. During this long period of the Stone Age it is not improbable that the progress of civilization has left its traces upon the monuments and their contents; and I have attempted to show this in a recent Article in the volume of the British Archæological Association for 1866. It will be seen that some of these sepulchral buildings exhibit an advance in the science of architectural construction, and that differences of form may have resulted from grander conceptions of what was due to the memory of departed heroes and revered chiefs of families. Hence, we may expect to find monuments of various kinds, although they were all erected to serve one and the same purpose. For this reason, it is far more desirable to simplify the classification than to distract the mind with a multitude of ideal subdivisions, as has been done by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson and others. And this brings me to the subject which, at the commencement, I proposed to touch upon before I concluded.

“Holding, as I do most firmly, the opinion that all the structures which are commonly called Cromleacs were once enveloped in a mound, and were sepulchres, I have suggested the propriety of discontinuing the use of this modern word Cromleac or Cromlech by the archæologists of Great Britain (and French antiquaries would do well likewise to put aside their equally inappropriate and modern term ‘Dolmen,’ applied to the same dilapidated structures), and of substituting the term ‘chambered

Tumulus.' This term would include every variety of Tumular monument in which a stone chamber is concerned, and would at once specify the kind of sepulchre when perfect, separating it from the other more simple, though often less ancient, monument—the Tumulus without a stone chamber. When the stone structure is entirely deprived of its enveloping mound, it would then be described as a 'denuded sepulchral chamber;' and in many instances it would be possible, by a careful observation of the site where it stands, to determine whether the Tumulus had belonged to the circular or elongated form. I have lately been residing for some months in the immediate neighbourhood of Carnac, in Brittany, where may be seen at least one hundred chambered Tumuli in every condition, from the most perfect to the most dilapidated; and I can point to very few where I found it impossible to ascertain the form and dimensions of the Tumulus, and to not one from which I have not obtained positive evidence of its sepulchral character.

"I trust I have made it clear that six years ago I had good reasons for approving of the definition given by Mr. Worsaae; and I can only add, that every additional year's practical acquaintance with these monuments has served to settle me more firmly in this view."

Mr. Du Noyer made the following reply to the observations of the Rev. W. C. Lukis.

"In the lengthened remarks which the Rev. Mr. Lukis makes on my paper relating to the classification of ancient Irish megalithic and earthen structures, he says:—'The Danish definition of a Cromleac' (which I reject) 'approaches nearest to the truth.' May I ask the truth of what?

"The word Cromleac is interpreted by all, to mean 'bowed or bending stone;' but the Danish antiquaries apply it to a barrow or mound, with a central chamber, and an encircling row of upright stones. If they called the central chamber 'the Cromleac,' the word would have a definite meaning, but it is quite unsuited as descriptive of *the whole structure*. How, then, does it 'approach nearest to the truth?'

"Mr. Lukis, in my opinion, travels beyond the legitimate field of criticism when he expresses his '*surprise*' that I did not assert that 'Cromleacs were structures on which human victims were immolated:' to this remark I have only to say, that, a person's wonderment at anything has nothing to say to the fair discussion of an obscure point in archæology.

"The Cromleacs which remain to us, from the immense weight of the stones forming them, and the rude though skilful nature of their construction, may have stood as we now see them, from the day of their erection, thousands of years ago; and if left undisturbed will last for thousands of years to come; all argument based on their comparison with the ancient remains of Egypt, Greece, and Italy, as a method of determining their age is futile; their very simplicity being the main element of their strength. Stonehenge could be levelled to the ground by a storm which would whistle harmlessly through a Cromleac.

"There would not, I fear, be the least use in trying to convince Mr. Lukis that a Cromleac had never been enclosed in a mound; for, if I assert that no vestige of an enveloping mound is now to be seen around any of our Cromleacs (as I have defined the word), the answer is now given to

me, 'You have no proof whatever that an enveloping mound never existed.' I say, however, that the '*onus probandi*' rests with Mr. Lukis, and I call on him to supply it.

"Mr. Lukis says, 'He has seen many structures of this nature standing up in their naked simplicity in the immediate neighbourhood of Tumuli containing stone chambers identical in every respect with them;' but are not these stone chambers, covered or naked, 'Kistvaens,' and not true 'Cromleacs?'"

"Cromleacs and Kistvaens are all one *class* or genus, but different as to *order* or species, and my object is to define this difference; and the discussion of the subject should be approached in a fair, candid, and liberal spirit.

"I have long thought, and I quite agree on this point with Mr. Lukis, that all our megalithic structures are not of one date, though they belong to the 'Stone Age;' and I propose in a future number of the Society's 'Journal' to show that it is highly probable that this remark refers to our 'Cromleacs.'

"Mr. Lukis proposes to substitute the term '*Chambered Tumulus*' for 'Cromleac.' How can a term having a compound meaning be applicable to a simple object? How can a chamber be also a Tumulus at one and the same time? If this is Mr. Lukis' idea of simplification, I claim to be allowed in turn to express my 'surprise.'

"We want a name for a species of megalithic structure distinct from our Kistvaens and chambered Tumuli; and 'Cromleac' will, in my opinion, answer uncommonly well. 'A chambered Tumulus' will generically describe 'all Tumuli containing chambers;' that I fully admit; but a chambered Tumulus is not a Cromleac."

The following papers were submitted to the Meeting:—

REMARKS ON A KISTVAEN, AND ON SOME CARVINGS ON AN "EARTH-FAST" ROCK, IN THE COUNTY OF LOUTH.

BY GEORGE V. DU NOYER, M. R. I. A.

AT the northern end of the parish of Monasterboice, and at the distance of about three miles east of Collon, in the county of Louth, there is a large Kistvaen, in a remarkably good state of preservation, called CALLIAGH DIRRA'S HOUSE. It stands on the line of an apparently old wall fence; and it is exceedingly interesting, as tending to aid in illustrating my remarks on the classification of ancient megalithic structures published in the last number of our Journal.

This grave, "House," or "Bed," as such remains are frequently called, measures internally 12 feet 8 inches in length, by 3 feet in width at its western, and 4 feet at its eastern end. In it

we have a typical example of the true Kistvaen, as distinct from the true Cromleac; its form (see Plate I.), is rectangular, and its orientation due east and west; five large flagstones placed on edge form its southern side, with a supplemental stone at the exterior of the last flag at the S. W. angle of the structure; five other flags form the northern side, which is not equal in length to the southern, the difference being intended to be made up by the flag at the east end, which closed up the Kist; a large supplemental supporting stone rests against the third and fourth flags on the northern side, as shown in the view and plan of the chamber; the west end is blocked up by one large flag; and that which closed the east end is now lying on the ground. The whole structure is covered by four large flags. Along the southern side the three most westerly flags are supported externally by five small low blocks, securely set in the ground, like stunted buttresses; and it is possible that similar supports were originally placed around the structure; the whole of which, judging from analogy, must have been originally enveloped in a Tumulus.

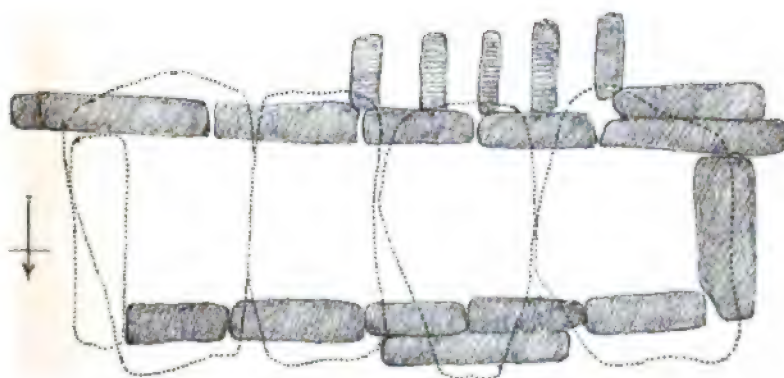
My friend Mr. Eugene A. Conwell, in his interesting account of his explorations of the ancient sepulchral Cairns on the Loughcrew Hills, county of Meath, published in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. ix., part iv. (1867), quotes from a letter by the late Dr. O'Donovan (dated, Kells, July 30, 1836), wherein allusion is made to the celebrated hag of Irish lore called Callighe Bhéartha (Callighe Vēră), who gave her name (Slieve na Callighe) to the range of hills just alluded to. She is supposed to have been buried near this in the parish of Diamor, in a field called Cúl d' móta (i. e. back of the moat). Subsequent research, however, led to the identification of the Kistvaen which I have now illustrated, from the parish of Monasterboice, as being the true grave or "House" of Callighe Vēră; but the local pronunciation of the word has been retained on the Ordnance Survey Map. County Louth, Sheet No. 21.

Since compiling my remarks on the classification of ancient Irish megalithic structures, published in the Journal, No. 52, April, 1866, I have looked further into the subject, and find that it has developed itself on several important points:—First, with regard to the Kistvaens or *true* graves; they are of three varieties, and are capable of being thus classified:—

1st. The Leacht, or simple rectangular chamber formed of four stones, and covered by a single flag, like those so-called Cromleacs so common over the Burren country in the county of Clare;

2nd. The Kistvaen, or Cistfaen, the long rectangular chamber formed of many stones, and flagged overhead, like that which forms the subject of this notice.

3rd. The Cnocan Cist (as it might be called), or long rectangu-



Calliagh Birra's House,
NORTHERN END OF THE PARISH OF MONASTERBOICE,
CO. LOUTH.

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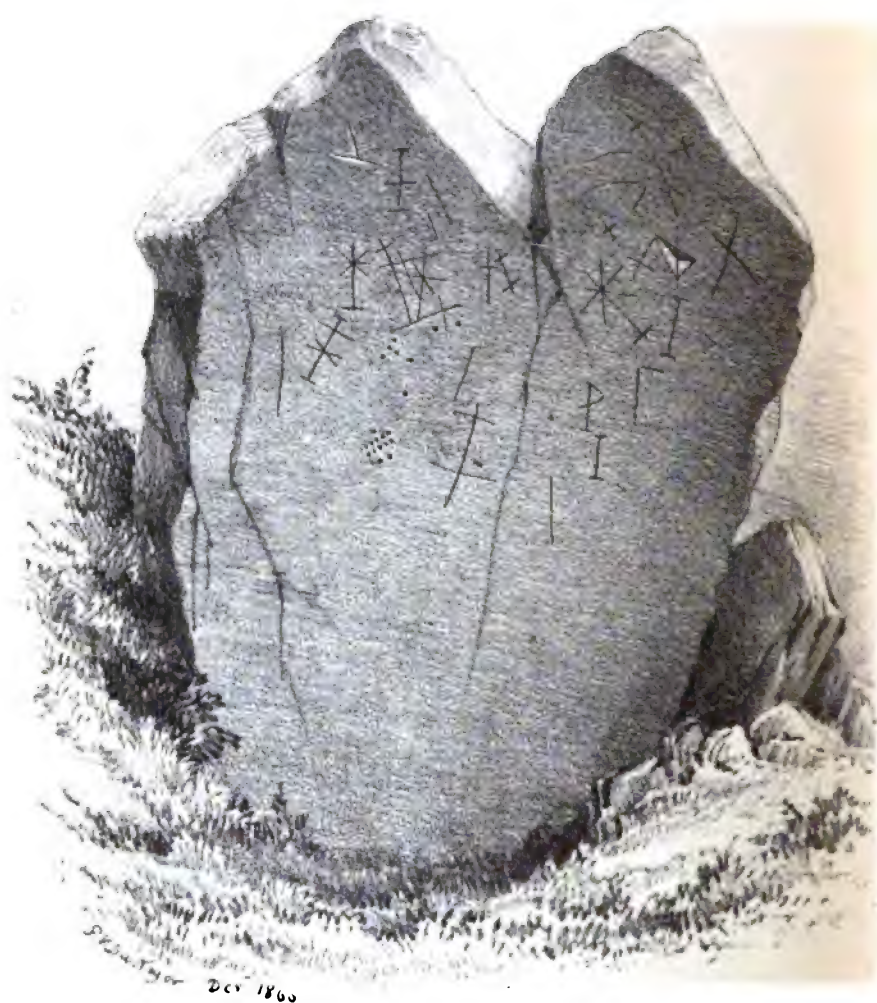
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CARVINGS ON NATURAL ROCK SURFACE,
360 YARDS N.N.E. OF CALLIAGH DIRRA'S HOUSE,
TOWNLAND OF PADDOCK,
CO. LOUTH.
SURFACE OF ROCK 6 FEET HIGH.

lar chamber, formed by a double row of upright slabs some feet apart, the intervening space being filled with *earth*, the covering slabs only reaching across the inner row of the side stones; an example of which occurs on the northern slope of the hill to the south of Sporthouse, county of Waterford. It is quite possible that each of these structures represents a different age, which might synchronize with the order in which I have placed them.

With regard to the Cromleacs, it is a remarkable fact that close to very many of them a Kistvaen has been constructed; and I go so far as to say that, if we had accurate records of what took place close around our existing true Cromleacs with reference to farming or such like operations during the last century or so, we would find that each Cromleac had its attendant Kistvaen, or grave—not that I ever regarded the Cromleac as a “sacrificial altar;” but I believe that it was not the *grave proper*, but rather the commemorative sub-aërial structure to mark the site and fact of the interment either of a king or of a race.

The Cromleacs that I know of to which a Kistvaen is associated are those of Gallstown, county of Waterford; Mounthbrown, county of Carlow; Mountvenus, county of Dublin. The Cromleac north of Dundalk, and that on top of Coolrus Hill, Queen's County,¹ and doubtless many other similar examples, could be brought forward. Moreover, I believe I can show that we possess two distinct varieties of Cromleac; but this point I shall reserve for the subject of a future notice.

At the distance of 350 yards to the N. W. of the Kistvaen called “Calliagh Dirra's House,” I was fortunate enough, in the month of September, 1866, to discover some remarkable markings, “Graffiti,” produced by scraping and punching (see Plate II.) on an “earth-fast,” or natural rock surface of grey calcareous grit. Some of these devices are different from those on a similar rock at Rye-field, county of Cavan, which I described and figured in a previous number of this Journal, and they thus add to our information on this singularly interesting subject.

That these markings are of the remotest antiquity I have not the least doubt, as they are covered by a thick coating of lichen, and some of them are of quite a Rhunic character. It is true that two of these devices, which are close to one another, resemble the Roman letters P, I, yet this resemblance is no doubt accidental; just as some of the devices from the megalithic chambers of Slieve-na-Callighe and also those on some of the carved rocks in Sweden, closely resemble a pair of spectacles—O~O; yet no one for a mo-

¹ See “Transactions of Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society,” for the year 1850, vol. i., first series, p. 131.

ment could think that they had such a significance, though they possibly may be typical of the human face.¹

The most remarkable of the devices on this rock may be described as a cross of eight arms, resting on a short flat pedestal. If this latter feature was removed, we have a close resemblance to the Runic letter H; the mark which resembles the letter P is very similar to the rune of the same significance; and the small simple cross, the upright arm being the longer, is quite like the Runic letter E.²

I have every reason to think that future explorers will show that we have true Runic inscriptions in Ireland; but as yet we have not accumulated sufficient data to enable us to speculate with any probability of arriving at the true date, history, or character of such ancient rock carvings as these. There cannot be a doubt as to their great antiquity; and I believe that they point to that one primitive race which overspread the northern hemisphere long before the formation of the present tribes and mixed races which now inhabit it.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to remark that I have long advocated the theory of the unity of race of that people who carved the rude devices on our "earth-fast" rocks, and constructed our Cromleacs and megalithic structures; and I am gratified to find my views on this subject most markedly corroborated by that distinguished ethnologist, Professor Rüttimeyer, of Basle.

I shall close these few remarks by quoting the words of this *savant*, as given in the results of his investigations of the animal remains from the now submerged lake dwellings in Switzerland:—

"I cannot refrain from expressing my conviction that even the oldest lake dwellings do not by any means exhibit to us the primitive population of our country . . . For my own part, therefore, I have little doubt of the existence, at one time, of a genuine primitive population throughout Europe. This appears to have been proved, as far as France is concerned, by the latest discoveries at Aurignac.³ This seems to be the first place where we can no longer strive against the evidence of a European population who used as food, not only the urus and the bison, but also the mammoth and the rhinoceros; and who left the remains of their feasts, not only to be gnawed by the wolf and the fox, but also by the tiger and the hyena. . . .

"The discovery at Aurignac places the age of our lake dwellings at a comparatively late period, although almost immediately under our peat

¹ See Worsaae, and the Memoir on the Caves of Chaffaud (de Poitou), by MM. Brouillett and Meillett, with illustrations of the carved bones discovered in the stalagmite of the caves.

² See Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," and the last volume of the

Spalding Club, where the cross of eight arms precisely the same as now figured is found on the rock at "Jonathan's Cave," East Wemyss, Forfarshire.

³ See the "Société Philomathique de Paris, extrait de la Séance du 18 Mai, 1861."

beds, with their rich treasures, similar antiquities are found ; nay, still older remains are met with only a little deeper (in the slaty brown-coal of Dürnten, perhaps forty feet under the bed of the Lake Pfäffikon) than those of Aurignac, which have there been gnawed by hyenas, after having been despoiled of their marrow (like the bones at Robenhausen) by human hands.

" This last fact would also point out to us the place where we have to look for the remains of the ancestors of the lake settlers, namely, *under* the glacial moraines ; for it is manifest that the people who inhabited the Grotto of Aurignac were older than the extension of the glaciers, and consequently also witnesses of this mighty phenomenon. At all events, the last gap between geological and historical time is now filled up by the discovery at Aurignac."¹

THE RENTAL BOOK OF GERALD, NINTH EARL OF KILDARE, A.D. 1518.

(Continued from Vol. IV., p. 137.)

EDITED BY THE LATE HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

BEFORE continuing my task of publishing the Kildare Rental Book, I may mention that, on examining the MS. (which is numbered 3756 in the Harleian Collection), I observed that on the inside of the vellum cover there is the library ticket of John Clinton, Duke of Newcastle. This circumstance leads me to believe that this MS., which was taken to England by the Countess of Kildare, widow of the ninth Earl,² was subsequently in the possession of their daughter, Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, known to fame as "The Fair Geraldine;" and that by her it came to her second husband, Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, and to his descendants. Passing from this fact (hitherto unnoticed), I proceed with my introductory observations.

Although this Rental and Memoranda Book of the greatest Anglo-Irish nobleman of his time does not, like the well-known "Household" volume of a contemporary English nobleman, Henry, fifth Earl of Northumberland, drawn up in 1512, disclose the economy and style of living of a wealthy mediæval peer, it fully displays the riches and political and landed relations of the powerful chieftain who was often described, in earnest jest, as "the King of Kildare,"³

¹ See "Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and other Parts of Europe, by Dr. Ferdinand Kellor, translated by John Edward Lee, F. S. A.:" London, 1866, pp. 359, 360.

² See vol. ii., New Series, p. 305; and "Earls of Kildare," vol. ii., p. 57.

³ Cardinal Wolsey so styled this Earl. In 1529, the chaplain to the Emperor Charles V. writes from Ireland to his imperial master that Kildare "is soveraign" in the district round Dublin, i. e., the Pale. ("Earls of Kidare," vol. ii., p. 36.)

and moreover sheds some light on the condition of his tenantry, artificers, and earth tillers—the hardworking men by whom, as says the son of Sirach, the state of the world is maintained. So faint is the insight we antiquaries have into the condition of these lower classes of our ancient countrymen, compared with the flood of light thrown by numberless records on the constitution of the nobility, that we eagerly avail ourselves of a public record such as this (which is preserved in the Library of the British Museum), in order to obtain some microscopic glances into the circumstances, not so much of the great and powerful of past ages, as of their obscure and humble peasantry. And we may be sure, since the wealth of this kingdom depended then, even more than it does now, on the welfare of the occupants of the soil, that our researches have a solid and extended character.

If it be true that, as it seems, the ninth Kildare, the compiler of this register, is the nobleman who is ascertained to have taken the lead in land improvement, we may rationally, when publishing his MS., not only quote his enemies, to the effect that he was “the greatest improver of his landis in this land,” but endeavour to examine and comprehend the course he followed. He was in the vigour of manhood, being thirty years of age, when he began this “Registrall.” Every entry in it shows him to have been a man of business; and we see that his principle as a landlord, particularly in covenanting for his “duties from Irishmen,” was the sound one of obtaining security for the rent. To view and understand what he effected, a brief retrospect must be taken of prior phases of the agricultural classes in the Pale, in order to see how their tenure altered for the better during the progress of general amelioration. In this fertile district agricultural improvement received a novel and vast impetus by the Conquest, particularly by the introduction of leasehold on feudal land; and, since this organic change and movement maintained its largest and most progressive development on the estate of the ducal house of Leinster,¹ a few comments on the information recorded in the manuscript we are now printing with regard to this important topic are of socio-his-toric value. It is to be observed that the agricultural customs of

¹ “Earls of Kildare,” vol. i.

² For the great talent for improvement evinced by the ninth Earl, see the text. The eighteenth Earl was careful of his estate, as appears by his rental, dated 1684 (Harl. MS. 7200). He, however, resided during James II.’s perilous reign mostly in England; and in 1691 is mentioned as an absentee, with a rental of £3500 a year. The only larger rentals on the list are the Duke of

Ormonde, £17,000 per annum; and the Earl of Cork, £14,000 per annum (“Earls of Kildare,” vol. ii., p. 363). About the year 1755 the first four-wheeled waggon used in Ireland was imported by the last Earl and first Duke. The dwellings that he built on his farms were the best then in Ireland, and were long known as “Lord Kildare’s stone houses” (ditto, p. 371; see also Arthur Young’s “Tour”).

the English Pale, of which the shires of Meath and Kildare were the heart, formed the advanced usage of that district, and differed from the customs of Irish counties *in totâ terrâ*.

Fortified in the wish to investigate the early relations between the lords of Ireland and her peasantry by the following inspiring passage in Montalembert's "*Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre*"—

"Celui qui voudrait suivre à travers le cours des siècles les relations de la grande propriété anglaise avec ses tenanciers, en les comparant avec les funestes dissensions de la noblesse et des classes agricoles sur le continent, celui-là écrirait une des pages les plus belles et les plus utiles de l'histoire du monde"—

I desire to call attention to the distinguishing points of Anglo-Irish landlordism, viz., that it combined the feudal and the patriarchal principles.

We obtain from the "*Book of Rights*"—a compilation of the tenth century, and which in some measure supplies the want of a Domesday Book for this country—a faithful idea of the two sorts of tenure which prevailed in Leinster at that time. The compiler, after enumerating the tributes rendered by the *saer-chlanna*, or free tribes, proceeds to specify the renderings and services of the *daer-chlanna*, or enslaved families. The division of these two castes was *nassala*, i. e., noble servants, or vassals; and *biathach*, food men, who furnished *biatha*, i. e., victuals.¹

"The free tributes, as I have heard,
Are they which we have above mentioned,
Of the noble tribes these are due,
Who are upon lands external [to the mensal lands].

"The unfree tribes—a condition not oppressive—
That are on his [the King's] own lands;
Servile rent by them, it is the truth,
Is to be supplied to the palaces [forts] of the chief King.

"The tribute which is due of these
[Is] of fire-bote and wood;
[Also] the renewing of his cloaks, constant the practice,
A tribute in washing and in cleaning.

"There is due of the best party of them
Rua and purple of fine strength,
Red thread, white wool, I will not conceal it,
Yellow blaen [blay, or unbleached linen?] and binnean.

"From the unfree tribes of ignoble countenance,
Who fly with the rent from the land,
Twice as much is due
As they have carried off from their fatherland."

¹ "*Book of Rights*," p. 184.

Here were two distinct races—the *cognobiles*, known, or nobles, being of the *gens* of the conquering nation, and therefore gentry; to whom were subject the serfs, or ignobles. Similarly, in the sixteenth century, the house of Kildare had as tenants its subordinate congener Geraldines, and the servile occupants of its demesnes. But, besides these, there were the freeholders, whose *status* and progress interest us most.

It was provided by the compact between Henry II. and Roderic, King of Connaught, that, if any of the Irish who had fled from the territories of the King of England's barons should desire to return thither, they might do so in peace; and that they should either pay to Henry's officers the tithe of hides which the Irish under O'Connor were liable to pay, or else should perform the services they were anciently accustomed to perform for their lands. The choice was left according as their lords should think best (Rymer). The inferior caste of Celtic tenants who remained within the English Pale retained their appellation of *biadh-tacha* (probably food-providing householders), pronounced betaghs, whence the term "bodach," a synonym for churl, or clown. According to the recital of the famous Statute of Kilkenny, anno 1367, "for a long time after the Conquest, the English of Ireland used the English language, mode of riding and apparel, and were governed and ruled, both they and their subjects called Betaghes, according to the English law."

If a reason were needed for our entering diffusely on the history of the tenantry of the Pale in these notes on the Kildare Rental, we must observe that not only were the Earls of this house markable in later days as leaders in the valuable cause of estate management, but that in earlier times they were at the head of progress, in emancipating their Irish serfs, by admitting them to the benefit of English law, mitigating their condition of servitude, and permitting them to enter on the onward path as free and advancing farmers. In the year 1320 the Earl of that day, on being appointed Lord Justiciary of Ireland, received letters patent from the Crown, authorizing him "to subject such of his Irish tenants to the laws of England as chose to be governed by them" (Cox). He had probably asked for this privilege, which was a brighter jewel than any, and is a proof that in this—of the many which are inventoried in this "Registrall"—in this instance, at least, the nobility were not opposed to any desire on the part of the Irish to obey the King's law.

Probably no collection of archives would inform us what the exact condition of "Irish tenants" was since Lord Kildare had leave to assimilate their legal condition to that of the English. We know broadly that Celtic holders of land were divided into two castes, viz., petty freeholders of patrician birth, members of

the clan which owned the "country," who could not be dispossessed of a share in it, and whose tribute to their chieftain could not be increased; 2ndly, serf tenants, of plebeian or conquered extraction, called "enslaved tribes for servitude," on whom the chieftain had power to increase the rents *ad libitum*.¹ This class of occupiers were on a par with the Saxon dreng and Norman villein. The free and higher class of tenants were bound to receive their lord and his train in their houses, usually for two days and nights in the year, whenever the pursuits of the chase or of war, or the exigencies of the vast herd of cattle that formed his personal property, led him to visit their part of his territory; but, as the inferior servile tenants actually supplied the bulk of the means of bearing these visitations, their condition was miserably contrasted with that of the bondsmen of other countries, where the slave or servant was fed by his master, whereas here the lord was fed by his serfs. Such, indeed, was the broad, dark feature of Celtic tenancy; and we shall presently see that the Earls of Kildare, necessarily practising the custom of the country down to an age when this "coshering" system was deemed barbarous and oppressive, incurred marked and telling reproach. Exercising an exorbitant power over the goods and fortunes of their tenantry, this overweening influence inflated themselves to the pitch of pride that preceded their fall. The high authority they had inherited, resting on the unlimited character of their relation to their numerous vassals, and valuable so long as it was exerted to control and guide these men in the path of peace and improvement, was dangerous to its degree of strength directly it was perverted to rebellious purposes. It rested, strictly speaking, on the illimitable quality of the rent they exacted. Rent was not then, as now, a fixed quantity; the "reserved rents" were so small a part of the actual renderings to Celtic chiefs and Anglo-Irish lords, that their "rentals" are no criteria of their incomes or receipts, or rather of their power to do that which can only be expressed by the phrase then in vogue, viz., to "spend the country," that is to say, to exact and expend all that the country could yield. The real value to the chieftain, the practical expenditure of the clan, consisted in his being received in coshery—a word apparently deriving from *cíos-a-ri*, rent to the King; while his train of horsemen, galloglasses, and kerne, who were rather body-guard than retinue, were put out at livery, or free quarters, called *coinn-mhíodh*, pronounced coigney. In the year 1529, old Finglas, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, calculated Lord Desmond's capability of spending his country as equivalent to a rental of £10,000. Oppressive as these exactions were, they were seldom intolerable. They were sanctioned by their antiquity, by

¹ "Customs of Hy-Many," p. 85.

habit, and by the necessities of countries in which there were few and bad roads, no market towns, and little coin ; and they were thoroughly congenial to the character of a clan. A mediæval Irish rentroll being no proof of the money value of the estate, we are not surprised that the ascertained incomes of our ancient magnates were small; since the facts were, that, though their purses were light, their larders were enormous, and their trains of domestics and followers superabundant. About the time when this Rental was compiled for the eighth Kildare, it was stated¹ that his political rival, "the Erle of Ossorie [afterwards the eighth Ormond] cannot dispend by all his lands by the yere above the some of 500 marks sterling."

The ways by which the Fitzgeralds—who, as we have seen, were of Ofelan, and from whose grant Kildare was excepted—supplanted the Berminghams in Ofaly, and became Barons thereof, and the De Vescis in Kildare, and became Earls thereof, are not precisely known. The loyalty of John Fitzgerald in opposing the Bruces' invasion was rewarded by the title of Earl of Kildare, with some valuable grants. There is an entry in the Harleian MS. 2138, of his descendant's supplication to the Crown, to the following effect :—

"Supplie nostre batcheler, Morice, Comit' de Kyldare, &c. Vu sa chartier à Thomas fiz Johan, nadguers Count de Kyldare, pier le dit Morice, q' heir il est, la fraunchise du countie de Kyldare, ensemblement avec l'Office de Viscount de mesme."

This grant, both of the franchise and shrievalty of the county may have had the effect of making "royal service" from the barony of Naas, and other fiefs in the shire, payable to these puissant lords. The fact that they claimed this royalty from two districts in Leix implies that they had made conquests in this territory, as well as in Ofaly.

Page 144 of the same manuscript has a copy of an inquest taken at Naas, before Lionel, Duke of Clarence, as to the title to Kildare.

By marriage with the heiress of Lord Rochfort, the Earl added her large estates of the barony of Ikethy, and the manors of Carrickmaynan and Rathcoffy, to the county Kildare possessions of his family. As the account of Maynooth in this manuscript, when combined with other statements, gives us a more intimate knowledge of an Anglo-Irish manor than we can derive from any other source (and this is natural, because the place in point was the most considerable demesne within the precincts of the Pale), we now enter somewhat at large on its history. In 1176, Maurice Fitz Gerald was recalled from Wales by Strongbow, who conferred upon him the country of Ofaly, in which was Rathangan, but from which

¹ Carew MS., 602, p. 161.

the town of Kildare was excepted, and the territory of Ofelan, in which were Naas and Maynooth. He then built the castle of Maynooth, as a defence for his property; and also obtained a grant of Wicklow Castle.¹ These fiefs, or fees, are thus mentioned in the Norman poem on the conquest, page 146:—

“ Li quens Ricard pus donout
A Moriz le fiz Geroud;
Le Nas donat le bon cuntur
Al fiz Geroud od tut le onur;
Co est la terre de Ofelan
Ki fud al traitur Mac Kelan;
Si li donat Winkino
Entre Brée e Arklo.”

The Earl Richard then gave
To Maurice Fitz Gerald.
The good count gave the Naas
To Fitz Gerald all the honour;
That is the land of Ofelan,
Which belonged to the traitor Mac Kelan.
He also gave him Wicklow,
Between Bray and Arklow.

The poem states distinctly that Strongbow gave

“ A Robert de Burmegam
Offali al west de Osfelan.”

And that the land between Athboy and Leighlin was conferred upon John de Clahaule.

It appears, accordingly, that the Birmingham family retained what probably was the original country of the Ui-Failghe clan.

About the year 1240, Maurice Fitzgerald, Lord of Ofaly, when granting Taghadoo church to the priory of All Saints, saved to the church of Laraghbryn and chapel of Maynooth their tithes, lands, and offerings. Among the witnesses to this deed is Philip de Interbergia, seneschal of Ofaly, and “Master Unnan, the physician.”²

In 1248, at the request of Maurice Fitzgerald, second Baron of Ofaly, the Archbishop of Dublin erected the chapel of Maynooth, which was attached to the castle, into a prebend of the cathedral of St. Patrick. After a lapse of more than six hundred years, the nomination to this prebend is still in the gift of his descendant, the Duke of Leinster. Early in the fifteenth century, the sixth Earl of Kildare strengthened and enlarged the castles of Maynooth and Kilkea.³ The former had then been for more than a hundred years the principal residence of his ancestors, who preferred it to Crom, in the county of Limerick, although this latter place was that referred to in their slogan, or war-call, *Crom-abo*. It was more convenient as a country residence, whenever they acted as Viceroy, and it is stated in Holinshed's Chronicles to have been “one of the largest and richest earls' houses in Ireland.” In 1488

¹ “The Earls of Kildare,” vol. i., p. 9, quoting Holinshed.

² “Registry of All Saints,” p. xiii.
“Unnan,” quere Lennan, the name of

a Celtic family of *liagha*, or, corruptly, leeches; whence, probably, the “*liagh-nan-sidhe*,” or fairy-doctress.

³ “The Earls of Kildare,” vol. i.

the Royal Commissioner, Sir Richard Edgecombe, lodged here for three days, and had "right good cheer." The eighth Earl having some time before his death assigned certain lands to be held in trust for the endowment of a "College in the church of the B. V. Mary, in Maynooth," his son, the ninth Earl, anxious to carry out his intentions, petitioned the Archbishop of Dublin for license to found a college at Maynooth in 1518. The license was granted in April of that year, and confirmed in October, 1521. He then built the college "in a most beautiful form," in connexion with the chapel, and endowed it with ample means.¹ The foundation deed is given in one of the printed inquisitions for Meath. It was suppressed, with other religious houses, in 1538. This institution was not, like the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, an establishment for giving secular education to scholars, but, like the colleges founded by the eighth Desmond at Youghal or Drogheda, a congregation of religious men.

We may now, having perused the annals of Maynooth down to the date of this manuscript, recur to the condition of the tenantry by means of more than one record, this intimate one included. The surnames of the town tenants it mentions proves them to have been a mixed people, some Celtic, some Teutonic, viz.: O'Mores, Harolds, O'Dunegans, Keatings, O'Dempseys, Howards, Kennedys, Delaherns, &c. This mixture of races is the point we have to consider, because it implies that confusion of customs of tenancy which beset all estates in Ireland similarly circumstanced, but which appear to have been overcome in the present instance by the provident policy of the Lords of Kildare in assimilating their tenancies to English usage. To their honour be it declared that, while other records of the first half of the sixteenth century prove slavery in mitigated forms to have existed then and widely in Ireland, there is hardly any trace of it on the Kildare property. Doubtless the main cause of this partial local freedom is to be found, as in England as compared to Continental countries, in the circumstance that the district under consideration, being sufficiently near a large sea-port city to enable its produce to be exchanged for coin, therefore could have its old rents and services in kind altered into cash payments. The inquiring reader may, by referring to our "Annuary," observe cases in which, as in the neighbouring country of the clan Bermingham, the tenantry were, in 1537, so unfree as not to be deemed owners of property. Mediæval serfdom in this country, at the date of this Rental Book, was various. The original serfs, natives entirely subject to the conquerors, were absolute slaves—not even bound to the land, but liable to be removed or sold from it.²

¹ "The Earls of Kildare," vol. i., p. 86.

² "Registry of All Saints," p. xvi.

They were pure serfs, or "villeins in gross," subject to do all that their lord commanded, and having nothing of their own, since even they themselves were his. They were villeins of blood, and therefore their tenure, if they held land, partook of their state of villeiny. They held but at the will of their lord, who might dispossess them, not only of their lands, but of their chattels. Their villeinous blood was proved if their lord took "marchet," or "redemption," a customary "chete" or fine for license to them to give their daughters in marriage.¹ The female villeins were termed niefs, or natives. These were the neoyffs adverted to in the Statute of Kilkenny. During the reign of the first Edward, the prior of Christ Church, Dublin, brought his writ against one William, whom he claimed to be his native, or villein; and pleaded that the prior, his predecessor, was seised of this man's great-grandfather, as of fee, in right of his church, in the time of the late King, by taking his profits, such as *merichetum* on the marriage of his sons and daughters, and by talliages high and low at his will, and by villeinous services.² In 1356 the Archbishop of Dublin claimed a certain citizen of this metropolis who had purchased land, as his "native," and thereon entered into possession of the said land,³ and in 1531 Archbishop Alen, an English-born prelate of Dublin, counts up his "natives" as he would count up his stock.⁴

Whether Lord Kildare availed himself of his privilege to put his Irish tenants under English law, does not appear; but it is certain that the betagh caste continued to be separate and numerous on see lands, as those of Ferns, because bishops could not manumit, or change the legal *status* of, the serfs on those lands, to the detriment of their successors. Besides the betaghs in the county of Wexford, there was another class of villeins, who were so by blood, but not by tenure, namely, the conquered caste of Ostmen, whose franchises were confirmed and increased by the charter of Lord William de Valence. From them, it would seem, sprang the copyholders, who plainly were serfs, as amenable to "lotherwit"⁵ and other tests of serfage.

By some confusion of ideas, this ancient state of slavery and the oppressions which attended it are vulgarly ascribed to the feudal system, with which polity, however, it has no connexion, but was simply the result either of subjection to conquerors, or of becoming "bond" for the sake of support.

The exact *status* of the betagh, *biadhtach*, in Irish (i. e. non-feudal) districts, is outside the pale of our theme; yet we may observe that his caste seems not to have been a free, but a servile one, filled by

¹ "Termes de la Ley."

⁴ "Registry of All Saints," p. xvi.

² "Registry of All Saints," p. 131.
Lynch's "Feudal Dignities," p. 11.

⁵ See "Les Termes de la Ley," 8vo. 1721, p. 430.

etenachs, sennachies, &c., who appear to have held tracts of land, subject to keeping a *baile-biataigh*, which in fact was a public-house, or inn, liable, like modern institutions of the sort, to have soldiers quartered on it.¹

The betagh of the English Pale was unquestionably a mere villein, as appears by a statute of 5th Edw. III., ordaining that "one and the same law shall be as well towards the Irish as the English, except the servitude of the betaghes to their lords; this to be as in England with respect to villeins." On the Crown manors this class was called the "King's villeins or betaghes;" and their rents and services were seen to by "the serjeant of the betaghrie."²

The rental value of land in part of the county Kildare in the year 1422 is to be learnt from a curious printed assignment of the dower of the widow of Sir David Wogan, of Rathcoffy, at that date.³ First and foremost the "services" of certain tenants are specified, and then come the "gavellarii," a class of cottiers holding small farms, as a house and 21½ acres held by Adam Omoghan, at 21s. 1d.; 18a. by Wil. Graunt, at 17s. 4d.; a house and 14½a. by Nic. Braynoke, at 14s. 5d., &c.; showing, by numerous cases, that the rent of land was about one shilling per acre. "Gavellarii" is the term by which certain "*tenants at will*" on Sir Richard Wellesley's manor of Dangan were designated in the 15th century.⁴ These gavellers were manifestly a class, and perhaps a caste, apart, whose property probably descended in male gavel-kind, or equal division among males, as customary with Celtic clans. Gavel is an old law term for tribute, toll, custom, annual rent, such as "gavel corn, gavel malt, gavel fodder," &c. In France the word is *gabelle*, which is synonymous with talliage, or, in Anglo-Irish, "cutting;" and we know from De Tocqueville's "*Ancien Régime*," how subject French serfs were to the exaction of *droits seigneuriaux*. Our gavellers were evidently a Gaelic people, since these were specially addicted to male-gavel, so much so as almost to provoke the suggestion that their national name, *gaidhael*, has its origin in the term gavel, which at least is nearly consonant with Gael and Gaul. Similarly, the national name Briton is acknowledged to derive from the root *bre*, divide, whence *breithon*, brehon, a divider, or equitable judge; hence, also, breech, breeches, brindled, break, breach, bris, &c.

The "villein of tenure" was not necessarily a mere slave, liable to removal and sale of his very person; but was a "*villein regardant* to the manor of his lord," and so called a *scriptus gleba* to the *villa*, or manor house. Such as these were the Irish betaghs,

¹ See note to Statute of Kilkenny, "Arch. Tracts," ii., 5.

² See note to "Statute of Kilkenny, Arch. Tracts," ii., 5.

³ Printed "Patent and Close Roll," p. 222.

⁴ "Mem. Roll of Exchequer," 3 Henry VI.

whose name seems to derive from *biad-tagh*, i. e. food (providers) for the house. The serfsh, unfree, earth tillers under the old Earls of Kildare were for the most part *betagii*, villeins bound to the land, and granted with it.¹ At the time when this Rental Book was written they had become farmers, obliged by custom to perform certain agricultural services to the lord of the manor; and probably to bear talliages, "cuttings," or exactions, high and low, at his will. Their claim to dispose of their property either at fairs and markets, or by will, was denied at law. On this point see our "ANNUARY," showing that villeinage existed in these forms within the county of Kildare, and other Anglo-Irish parts of this kingdom, in the year 1537. The rendering of heriots (a term derived from *her*, lord), or the best beast which a tenant had at the time of his death, is a custom that doubtless arose in consequence of the lord being originally the legal owner of all unfree tenants' goods. On the other hand, "all free-holders," i. e. tenants of free race by blood, were not legally subject to those arbitrary, unlimited, and oppressive contributions which the chieftain lords of Ireland exacted from their followers, and which, like all similar *quasi*-voluntary, but irregular or ex-legal, modes of support, had the effect, while they made the leaders of the people dependent on the people, of sustaining a number of wild democrats, to whom independence was unknown, and of keeping their tenants in the paralyzing uncertainty of being liable at any time to forced impositions, such as brought on the French Revolution. On this head let us refer to a state paper by the Dublin Privy Council, dated 1533:—

"Item, oon other decaie of this lande is in defaulte of English inhabitauntes, which in tymes past were archers, and had feates of warre, and good servauntes in their houses, for defence of the countrie in tyme of necessitie. Synes that tyme, the enheritours of the lande of the Englisherie have admitted to be ther tenauntes thoies of th'Irisherie, which can live hardelie, without bredde, or other good victuales; and some for lucre to have of them more rente, and some for other impositions than English husbandes be able to gyve (togeder with th'oppression of coin and lyverey) have expelled them; and so is all the countrie, in effecte, made Irish, and without trust and securitie of defence, good order or hospitalitie."

Justice Luttrell writes, in 1537:—

"Item, for th'Englishe husbondmen, laborers, servauntes at husbondrye, dayly, for the exchewing th'oppression of coin and lyvereye, and some after they have loste their goodes by th'occasion therof, and by spoyles and robberyes, goyth dayly into England, and never after retornyth, and in ther stedes none can be hadde but Iryshe; therfor it were

¹ "Registry of All Saints," p. 130.

good that restraints of ther departure be made, according to the Acte of Parlyament before this therupon ordered."

There was no remedy for this emigration of the bone and sinew of the Pale, since, in that inevitable competition for the occupancy of land which is the soul of successful cultivation, the landlords of the day were so shortsighted as to prefer the promise of high rents to the security of regular returns from men of conduct and capital. In the same year Robert Cowley writes to Secretary Cromwell:—

"The pore Englishe erth-tillers in the English Pale, who cannot skyll upon penury nor wredchidnes as the Irishe tenantes doo sustayne and bere, but must kepe honest residence, the lordes and inheritors taketh suche a gredy lust of proficte, that they bring into the hart of the English Pale Irishe tenantes, whiche neither can speke th'Englishe tonge, ne were capp or bonet, and expulseth ofte the auncient good Englishe tenantes, that therfore the same be likewise provided for, in effecte, by that meanes, the pore Englishe tenantes are dryvin hither into Englande and Wales, and the Irishe tenantes in their roulmes and fermes."

Also in the same year the Viceroy observes that most landlords in the Pale will, whenever an Irishman offers more for a farm than the English tenant pays, put the latter out, and the other in. (Printed S. P., iii., 479.) The Earls under review were not among those delinquents, because their house was at that time under attainder, and their estates were set out to farm. They had been, however, obnoxious to the general complaint of charging tenants with coyn and livery, whenever the exigencies of disturbance warranted them, according to custom, in so doing. To this theme we may return, but for the present revert to the closer one of scrutinizing the record before us. The gradual increase of cultivated and therefore rateable land in certain townlands in this manor can be traced by the following documentary evidences, which we publish in *extenso*, without apology, since such statistics are needful for discerning the progress of civilization.

The original MS. (Bibl. Harleian. 3756) has on the inside of the cover this memorandum, which is instructive as regards the state of the principal family demesne:—

"The landes wiche must be occupied by the costome plowys of the Lordshipe of Mañeyosly [Maynoothsley].

It. in Skydenshyll	xiii acres.
It. in the Kylokys	vi "
It. in the bregydgatt	x "
It. Symonegaa	ii "
It. betwyxt Symonegae and Monegadle	xiii "
It. in Raeynevreyne	iii "

It. by the henmore ¹	iiii acres.
It. by the brododge	xv "
It. by the gat of the parke called Kyloke,	iiii "
It. in tyrade ²	xxv "
It. by the yeoloford	iiii "
It. by the small med	vii "
It. by that wiche Dyermod Doeayne dyd occupy	
Sum ^a v ^{xx} & vii acres."	

On the first pages is this memorandum—

"THE COSTOME FLOWYS OF MAYOTHE.

Watyrtone ³	a plowe	Bothe roskyghes ⁴	ii
Reynysdall ⁴	a plowe	Smytheston	ii
The Syan ⁵	i	Graygsallygh ¹⁴	i
Blakystone ⁶	ii	Grayglyn	i
Ballybaroke ⁷	iii	Cwonyston ¹⁵	i
Donamore	i	Kellyston	i
Balygorne	ii	Donysheton	i
Monecowll ⁸	ii	Doryanston ¹⁷	i
Dowdeston ⁹	i	Cormakeston ¹⁸	i
Tolyston ¹⁰	i	Gygenston ¹⁹	i
Weyngattys ¹¹	i	Kryneston ²⁰	i
Graegkenefenoke	i	Robard Go th for the hennore ²¹ i	
Tyrnehary ¹²	i	The Catrye	iiii
Tagheto ¹³	i	Trodyston ²²	i
Bryanston	i	The lytyll mave ²³	i

Let us see what we gather from the body of the manuscript as to the condition of Maynooth manor in the year 1518. The number of houses in the town was sixty-four, of these probably the

¹ In 1684 the farm of Henmore and Grove was held by William Bennett.

² Mr. John Davis held "Tyradd and the Councell house," 1684.

³ 72 Acres in 1621.

⁴ Rainsdall, in rental of 1684; Reinscall, 46A. in 1621.

⁵ Scyan, 102A., leased for 21 years in 1683 to John Tankard. Shiani, 60A. in inquis. of 1621.

⁶ Blackstone, 80A. in 1621.

⁷ Barogstown, 211A. 3s., leased to Mrs. Teate for £61 a year in 1683; Ballibarrocke, 124A. in Inquis. of 1621.

⁸ Monicoyle, 144A. in 1621.

⁹ Doudiston, 40A. in 1621.

¹⁰ Tooleston, 56A. in 1621.

¹¹ Windgates, Wyngates, 50A. in 1621.

¹² Tireneharie, 50A. in 1621.

¹³ Taughedoe.

¹⁴ Rouske, Rouskagh, 66A. in 1621.

¹⁵ Leased in May, 1683, containing 223A. 1s. 16s., for £88 a year; contained only 92A. in 1621.

¹⁶ Coonestown.

¹⁷ Dorianston, 36A. in 1621.

¹⁸ Cormackeston, 59A. in 1621.

¹⁹ Gigenston, 30A. in 1621.

²⁰ Crimston, 40A. in 1621.

²¹ Query, the Henmore, and held by Robert Howth?

²² Troddstone, 85A. were leased for three lives from May, 1683, at £30 a year. Trodston contained only 40A. in 1621.

²³ The great and little Mawes, 38A. 2s., were let for three lives from May, 1683, to Mr. Thomas Salt, for £75 a year. "Mawes" 100A. 1621.

most considerable were those inhabited by Sir Nicholas Brassel, who must have been the parish priest; by Master Miaghe, the miller of Maynooth;¹ and by Fenlagh Albanagh, which was the Earl's general post house, or office, whence his messengers were dispatched to all parts. There were also the "cottages" of men who received their appellations from their callings; as John Fowler, whose business it was to snare wild fowl; William Turner, who doubtless had his rude lathe; Owen Carter, Dermot Tanner, Richard Baker, Thomas "Kerde," i. e. the *caird*, or tinker—not a travelling one, but who lived rent free, in consideration of mending his lord's gear; Walter Glover, and Dennis Carpenter. These were the cunning artificers of the village; and it is likely that they occasionally relieved their toils by dancing with "Meg Crese, Margery Brenane, Katherine Moran," and others of the fair sex, in "the Morice feld," or inclosed green, which was appropriated to the Moorish dance, the *rinthead fadha*, long or *contre* dance, so called because partners stood opposite each other. In truth, it is refreshing, even to antiquaries, to know that our countrymen and countrywomen of old enjoyed themselves in this manner, since the knowledge entitles us to ask, why should not the peasantry of the present time do as their forefathers and foremothers did in this respect? The charming passage in that touching poem, "The Deserted Village," is familiar to our readers:—

"How often have I blest the coming day,
When toil remitting lent its turn to play,
And all the village train, from labour free,
Led up their sports beneath the spreading tree!"

We archæologists can do this much for the present—we can show that in the past the rest, the refreshment, the recreation of man were better provided for than now. Every large town, and even many a village, had its play-place. The city of Kilkenny had its "dancing meadows;"² there seem to have been "malls," that is, select grounds outside city walls, where the game of mall, *le jeu de maille*, pell mall (from *pellere malles*), or, in modern terms, croquet or cricket, were played, belonging to Dublin, Cork and Waterford. There were "fahiths," *faha*, or play places, near the towns of Wexford and Old Ross, and near Tory Hill, in the county of Kilkenny.

It may have been observed that the rents of houses and cottages in the town of Maynooth ranged from 5*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 1*s.* per annum. The usual rent of land within the county of Kildare was sixpence an acre. Land in the metropolitan shire was

¹ See vol. iv., p. 112. Probably the Meagh who was tortured was son of the miller.

² Map of Kilkenny in the Imperial Library, Paris.

let for tenpence per acre, and some at fourteen pence. Duty fowl—a sort of rendering not yet exploded—were sent from the manor of Lucan, viz. fourpence, and a capon for every cow, and twopence and a hen for every heifer. In other records we read of “watch hens” forming the rent of cottagers. It is remarkable that the Earl’s estate in the county Carlow yielded no rent, probably because of the destructive propinquity of Irish clans. Sixpence an acre yearly was, as has been said, the usual rent in the county Kildare, as appears under the heads of Naas, the barony of Ofaly, and the manor of Rathangan. This fact, which may seem trivial, is by no means so. It was the triumph of novel certain rent over ancient customary but arbitrary exactions. To effect this reform in the other provinces required the lapse of nearly a century. Some of the old tenures, however, remained, such as the chief rent of Dullardston, which was paid in either victuals or money; the twopence each term charged on Meyler Fay’s stock of cows and horses; and the “meat and drink” which were provided for the Earl when he came to Morett. A townland near Kilkea was “occupied for half the crop” to his Lordship. This halving system, called *metayer*, (*mediatarii*) still prevails in parts of France, which, for want of rain, have little grass, and therefore do not admit of a tenant becoming owner of stock. It is to be observed with regret that this Rental Book shows very few cases of the simple agricultural lease, which was the original written tenure in the English Pale. Perhaps the tenants of the time would not (as Spenser says) undergo the strictness of leasehold. Even in the year 1582 the farmers in the county Kildare had but one year’s estate of their farms, and were “free to depart every year,” if they listed.¹ This freedom was the test of the “freeholder” as distinguished from the “villain,” and cherished accordingly.

The rents and services rendered in the manor of Carlow give the most detailed idea of the renderings usual within the Pale. *Imprimis*, every net used in salmon fishing in the river paid a salmon yearly. The demesne contained “the Erle’s meadow,” a water mill, twenty-two messuages in the town, and certain arable and pasture lands, which were held by some Irishmen who had nine ploughs, and who paid yearly for each plough a carcase and a half of beef, seventy-two gallons of beer, and eighteen loaves of bread. Of thirty-one cottages, nineteen occupiers paid £1 13s. 4d. a year, and the rest paid nothing but labour and customs. All the farmers and tenants rendered one sheep out of every flock exceeding seven in number, and one penny for every sheep under that number; a hen at Christmas; a dish of butter in May, and another in autumn. Every dealer in beer paid four gallons of ale out of

¹ Ludovic Bryskett to Secretary Walsingham, 10 May, 1582.

every brewing. Each tenant and cottier had to provide a man to weed the demesne corn yearly for three days; also to cut wood for the use of the castle for three days in summer; and each having a draught horse to draw the said wood to the castle for three days, as also the corn, and, moreover, a cartload of wood and one truss of straw at Christmas and Easter. Each cottier had to furnish a truss of rushes for the castle at those feasts. The tenants were, with their nine ploughs, to plough the demesne lands, and to carry part of the harvest to market in their waggons. Heriots payable were the second best beast, or a mortuary to the lord, in proportion to the wealth of the deceased tenant. Outside the manor, only such tenants as were "free" were not bound to plough demesne lands.¹ Such are the details of the rentroll of this rich property, at the time, doubtless, when it was part of the possessions of the "Silken" Lord of Kildare.

Maynooth Castle was the stronghold in which "Silken Thomas" trusted, during his revolt; and when English forces came over, he retired thither; but, fearing the King's cannon, left his foster-brother, Christopher Parris,² as governor. He had fortified the place so strongly, besides furnishing it with the royal ammunition, that it was supposed capable of resisting any attempt to take it. However, the Viceroy laid siege to the place on the 14th March, 1535, and, after ten days' cannonading, bribed the governor to betray his trust, who, with the garrison, expecting pardon, surrendered; but received, to the number of twenty-six, what was subsequently sarcastically and proverbially called "the pardon of Maynooth," viz., summary execution. The castle was sacked, and yielded a rich booty, as says Richard Stanihurst, the chronicler, who was afterwards tutor in the family. An "Inventory of such stuff as the Lord Deputy received," dated July, 1551 (State Papers), mentions, as part of this castle, "the brewhouse, cooper's chamber, bolting house, hall, and parlour [*parloir*, speaking-room], or great chamber," &c. This document also enumerates the rooms in Kilmainham (the Viceregal Lodge of the time), and catalogues "a great piece of hanging in the hall," "an old Scottysch carpet," and "hangings in St. John's chamber, of blue and yellow say."

In the year following, the exiled heir, "Lord Gerott," received a grant of most part of the old family estate, to "the clear annual value of £324 9s. 9d." (Morris's "Calendar of Patent Rolls").

Fynes Moryson, the traveller, and Lord Deputy Mountjoy's

¹ Patent Rolls, 2 James I., p. 58.

² He was son and heir to William "Paresse" of Agher ("The Earls of Kildare," p. 308). His surname seems to be a corruption of Ap Harris. George Par-

ris, of Agher, became a notorious political traitor, as "the Irish ambassador" in Edinburgh and Paris, and as being bought by the English Government, on which he took the name of Garland.

secretary during Tyrone's rebellion, writes that on the 10th January, 1600-1, "We passed the Liffey, and came to Milhussy, one Master Hussey's castle, passing by some pleasant villages, and by Menouth, a faire house belonging to the Earles of Kildare, now in the hands of the Countesse Mabell, an old widdow." It was in the garden of this ancient mansion that the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell determined on their flight.

By rent-roll of 1 May, 1684 (Harleian MS. 7200), the manor, town, and lands of Maynooth were let for £944 10s. 4½d. The principal tenants were Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, who held 454 A. 3 R. 2 P. by lease for three lives, from last May, for £120 yearly; John Nelson, who had a house in the town, formerly Lieutenant Lovett's, and farmed land at £52 a year; Cyriac Skinner, Esq., who paid £125 a year for 376 A. 1 R.; and James Swanton, Esq., who had taken the Park, 346 A., on lease, at £140 a year. A parcel of land called "Boyse's Park" is mentioned, which doubtless formerly appertained to James Boys (see State Papers, and Stanihurst). William Ennis had a lease of "The Faulconer's house," and 4 A. 18 P. of "the little horsepark," for 21 years, at £6. This man was evidently descended from Thomas Enos (Hennessy) who in 1575 was falconer to the twelfth Earl. Thady Seiry was charged nothing for "Thomas Cormack's house and garden, which is the baylife's fredome;" and a man named Thomas Bayliffe was charged 5s. half yearly for "a cabbin there." The next item mentions a notable name, "Coll. Richard Talbot," who was charged £10 a year for the chief rent of Carrtowne, instead of Sir Wm. Talbott. He had paid the half year's rent, being probably then resident at Carton, now the seat of his Grace the Duke of Leinster. A "new shopp" in the town was rented by Abraham Spenser; there was a slaughter house; and, above all, John Smith was free tenant of a "cabbin by the Castle, and one other cabbin employed for a schoolhouse"—the said tenant being, no doubt, the schoolmaster. There are some other curious notices in this Rental of Maynooth; such as of the "Dublin road," the place called Ryewater, and "the Councell house." Usually, a town cabin paid 10s. a year rent. Altogether, we gain from this account of 1684 a glimpse of the progress made since 1518, the details of the Rental drawn up in which latter year, as per "Registrall," we proceed to publish:—

THYSE AVOWSYN OF BENEFICE LONGING TO THE ERLE OF KYLDARE.

[Folio xxviii. b.]

The diocese of Dublin.

{ The Maister and Submaister of the College
of Maynooth.
The psonage of Yagostown.
The Advowson of the rectories and vicar-
ages of Maynoothe and Laraghbrine.

The diocese of Kildare.	{	The psonage and vicarage of Castell Gesyll. ¹
		The psonage and vicarage of Downadan.
		The psonage and vicarage of Rathangane. ²
		The vicarige of Lye. ³
		The psonage and vykarage of the Noraghe.
		The personage of Pollardiston.
The diocese of Liffike.	{	The presentacyon of Downmorrye evry second tyme.
		The psonage and vicarage of Haristown in Coshogoyle.
		The psonage of Effing. The psonage of Ballingaddy.
		The psonage and vicarage of the Dromen.
		The vicarage of Adare. The psonage of Derrygealvane.
		The psonage and vicarage of Crom.
The diocese of Corke.	{	The psonage and vicarage of Achlerkagh.
		The free chapell of chapel Rossell.
		The vicarage of our Ladye Churche of Sandoun ⁴ w'owte Corke.
The diocese of Mith.	{	The psonage and vicarage of Bewer, ⁵ alias Carygilwyn.
		The vicarage of Rathmolyan.
Kildare.	{	The presentacion of the psonadge of Thomas-ton.
		The Advowson of the rectory of Ballybrackane, als flossaghenerle. ⁶
Queens County.	{	The Advowson, nomaynacion, and right of presentation of the rectorie and viccaridge of the church of Tymocke.

¹ As the Earls of Kildare had (according to this MS.) the advowsons of the vicarages of Geashill, Rathangan, and Ley, it would seem that their half of Ofaly (which country they shared with the Birminghams) lay to the west of Claniore, which was this latter family's territory. According to the map of 1563, the O'Conors, restricted in the fifteenth century to Irry, had overrun the "Ofaly" of the map. In the fifteenth century, Rathangan was the residence of the good chieftain O'Connor (Firbis's "Annals"). Geashill Castle, erected prior to 1205, was repaired by Thomas, "the crooked heir," father of the first Earl of Kildare. (See vol. ii., N. S., pp. 271-278; and vol. iv., p. 344.)

² "Rathangane," i. e. Imgan's fort.

³ "Lye" is the parish of Ley. See the facsimile of an old map of Leix and Ofaly, published in our "Journal."

⁴ "Sandown" is Shandon—*Sean-dua*, the old fort.

⁵ "Bewer" is Beauvoir (the beautiful view), which was the Norman name of a manor belonging to the Lords Cogan, now known as Carrigaline. The fact of the Earls of Kildare possessing this advowson seems to show that they were head lords of the Cogan estate here.

⁶ Fassaghnerly, *alias* Bealabrackan, was held by Talbot of Malahide, as parcel of the manor of Kildare (Printed Inquisitions). The former name means "the Earl's waste;" the latter, probably, "the road through fern."

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October 17th (by adjournment from the 3rd), 1866.

JOHN PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Robert Gordon, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 23, Hatch-street, Dublin; and **Edward Popham, Esq.**, Barrister-at-Law, Catherine-street, Waterford: proposed by **C. H. Foot, Esq.**, Barrister-at-Law.

Captain J. H. Laurence-Archer, Staff Officer of Pensioners, Carlow: proposed by the **Rev. J. Graves**.

Rev. Michael Ryan, R.C.C., Knocklong, Kilmallock: proposed by the **Rev. J. O'Carroll**.

Charles Brown, Esq., Brook House, Chester: proposed by **J. G. Gibbon, Esq.**, Barrister-at-Law.

Robert S. Longworth Dames, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 30, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin: proposed by **William Anderson, Esq.**, Barrister-at-Law.

Matthew R. Weld, Esq., Colaghmore House, Callan; **Colles Litchfield Anderson, Esq.**, L. R. C. P.; **L. R. C. S. Edinburgh, &c. &c.**, The North Dispensary, Vauxhall-road, Liverpool; and **Mons. A. D'Allamond**, Palmerstown House, Kilkenny: proposed by **Mr. J. G. A. Prim**.

W. Prittie Harris, Esq., Lakeview, Blackrock, Cork; and **Thomas Powell Evan, Esq.**, 32, Grand Parade, Cork: proposed by **R. Day, Esq.**

William Kenealy, Esq., T.C., Kilkenny: proposed by **Mr. J. Hogan**.

John O'Brien, Esq., Town Clerk, Waterford; and **William Carroll, Esq.**, Glentworth-street, Limerick: proposed by **Maurice Lenihan, Esq.**

Frank Shepperd, Esq., Solicitor, St. Cronan's, Roscrea: proposed by the **Rev. J. Rogers**.

James Kealy, Esq., Bantry: proposed by the **Rev. G. Vance**.

Robert M'Donnell, Esq., Fairy Hill, Limerick: proposed by J. S. Sloane, Esq.

John Smyth, Jun., Esq., Rathcourcy, Ballenacurra, county of Cork: proposed by Thomas Wigmore, Esq.

The Rev. John Kerivan, R. C. C., New Ross: proposed by Dr. Keating.

The Rev. James Lyng, R. C. C., Poulfur, Fethard, county of Wexford: proposed by the Rev. John Kerivan.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Third Series, Nos. 48 and 49.

By the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 90.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: their "Transactions," New Series, Vol. V.

By the Surrey Archæological Society: their "Collections," Vol. III.

By the Royal Institution of Cornwall: their "Journal," No. 6.

By the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire: their "Report and Proceedings," 1864-5.

By the Philosophic and Literary Society of Leeds: their "Report," 1864-5, and "Catalogue" of their Library.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for July, August, and September, 1866.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1214-1227, inclusive.

By the Author: "Cashel, of the Kings, a History of the City of Cashel," by John Davis White, Part II.

By the Author: "Observations on an unpublished Essay on Ireland, by Sir William Petty, A. D., 1687;" by W. H. Hardinge, Esq.

By J. Carnegie, Esq.: a bronze celt.

By M. W. Hilliard: a modern Tradesman's token; obverse, JOSEPH HELEN, CORK, a shamrock—Reverse, ONE FARTHING TOKEN.

By the Rev. Richard Galvin, P. P., Rathdrum, county of Wicklow: a rubbing of the inscription on an old bell belonging to the Protestant Parish Church, Rathdrum, of which the annexed woodcut is a facsimile.

✠ IOH ÆS: MEXTEVN: ME: FIERI: FECIT:

✠ IOHANNES: SEXTEVN: ME: FIERI: FECIT:

The Rev. Mr. Galvin stated that, according to local tradition, this bell had originally belonged to the far-famed Abbey of Glendalough, from which it was removed to Rathdrum. He suggested

that John Sexton would, perhaps, be found to have been the name of one of the Bishops or Abbots of Glendalough, in which case the tradition would have strong confirmation.

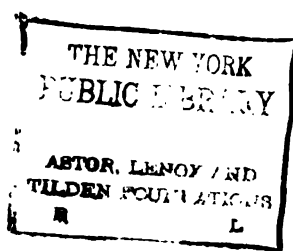
The Rev. Mr. Graves said, he had taken Mr. Galvin's hint, and investigated the subject as fully as was in his power, but he could not find the name given in the inscription amongst those on record as connected officially with the ancient ecclesiastical establishment of Glendalough; although it frequently occurs amongst the ancient inhabitants of Dublin. But, apart altogether from the tradition connecting it with Glendalough, this bell was most interesting, as probably the oldest inscribed bell in Ireland, at least so far as was known. The subject of inscriptions on bells had not been at all investigated in this country as deeply as in England, and it was well to see the Society's members now beginning to take it up. He did not know of any inscribed bells of equal age in the county of Kilkenny. It was on record that old bells belonging to Callan church, and the church of St. Mary's in the city of Kilkenny, had been melted down towards the casting of the peal of St. Canice's Cathedral in the latter portion of the seventeenth century.

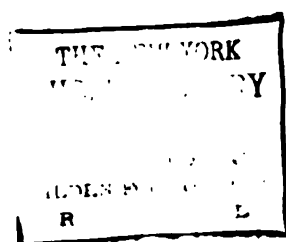
Mr. Prim remarked that it was curious to find that there were two old inscribed bells in the county of Wicklow, and both, according to tradition, brought to their present situations from a distance. He alluded, besides the Rathdrum bell, to that in the market house of Dunlavin, which had been removed thither from the Black Abbey, Kilkenny.

The Chairman referred to the tradition prevalent alike in Kilkenny and in the county of Wicklow, as to a peal of bells having been removed from the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, to Blesinton church. The present peal of bells there could not have been those referred to in the tradition—unless they were re-cast—as they were the gift of Primate Boyle.

The Rev. John F. Shearman, R. C. C., Howth, made the following communication:—

"In a paragraph in the 'Freeman's Journal' of the 11th of April, 1865, headed 'Treasure trove,' copied from the 'Wexford People,' is given an account of the discovery of some old coins on Saline beach under Kilgorman church, near Courtown Harbour, county of Wexford. As the writer of this notice does not seem to know much about these coins from his imperfect description of them, a more detailed account of their discovery, with a descriptive list of them, may be of some numismatic value to the members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society. On or about the 25th of March, 1865, two children, named Kavanagh, were playing on the beach, sliding down the dunes or sand hills which flank the coast from Arklow Rock to Courtown. The friction wore away the sand, exposing an earthen jar or crock of very coarse material, with a long narrow neck, the side of which was broken from the operation described above, out of which rolled a number of





THE RENTAL BOOK OF GERALD, NINTH EARL OF KILDARE, A.D. 1518.

(Continued from Vol. IV., p. 518.)

EDITED BY THE LATE HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

THE CESS¹ TO THE VORK².¹ [Folio xxix.]

To Kildar ³ .	The King ⁴ land, ² the barony of Sault, O'Kethy, ³ Oughttlyn, and the barony of Offale.
To Rathingame.	The Baronies of Connall, Clane, and Carbry.
To Athy.	The Baronies of the Naas, Noragh, Rebane; di the barony of Kilcullyn, the q'ters of Kilcacatherlagh ⁴ and Raithvilly.
To Portlest ²	Moyfenragh, Moylagh, Moyger, and Lune.

THE ERLE OF KILDARE IS MYLLIS. [Folio xxx.]

	The mylles of Maynoth sett to porte at p ^c k ^f , xx ^{xx} . p ^c k ^f .
	The myll of Lucane sett to John Savage at p ^c k ^f , xvij ^{xx} .
	The myll of Raithmor ³ p ^c k ^f , lx.
	The myll of the Myltown in the barony of Connall.
The countie of Kildare.	The myll of Raithangayne xii ^{xx} p ^c k ^f .

¹ "*The Cesse to the Vorkes.*" This heading requires explanation. By a custom which obtained among clan communities in Ireland, works of building, which were requisite for the commonwealth or republic of the clan, such as the construction and repair of the dwelling of the chief elect, or ruler of the clan, were performed at the cost of the governed. Even in feudal England similar works were anciently done by tenants for their lord, because his castle was part of their protection. In the latter kingdom Magna Charta restricted this service within reasonable limits; but in Ireland the Great Charter was a dead letter, and the Earls of Kildare were accused of abusing their prerogative in respect of "works." See our "Annuary," and the printed State Papers. The Irish word "cess" (see Richardson's Dictionary) seems to be the Gaelic word *cios*, i.e. assessment, or tribal rent. It appears by the report made to the Reforming Commissioners in 1537, that Lord Kildare had been used to require from every ploughland, and from every three cottages, a

workman for a week in the year to cast ditches and fastnesses on the borders, and an axeman for one, or sometimes two days, to cut passages. This exaction was evidently "march law," border custom, or regular *corvée*.

² "The King's land" was that held by tenants directly of the Crown.

³ The barony of "Okethy," now Ikeathy, is supposed to derive its name from a clan descended from Ceatach, a son of Cathair Mor, King of Leinster and Tara. His name was, more modernly, Ceadah, and Kedagh. The barony of O'Kethy belonged in 1291 to Lord Rochfort, who that year settled his estate here, and in Carrickmaynam, and Rathcoffy, on himself and heirs male, agreeably to the custom of the Anglo-Irish barons (Lynch's "Legal Institutions," p. 223). Margaret, heiress of Sir John Lord Rochfort, was married to Gerald, Earl of Kildare, to whom her lands were granted, 5 Ric. II. ("Calendar of Patent Rolls," p. 118).

⁴ Probably "Kilcacatherlagh" should be thus divided—Kilca (Kilkea), Catherlagh (Carlow).

The countie of Myth. { The horses myll in Kyldare sett to Jamys
Duff O Doyē⁵ for viii⁶. p⁷kf
The myll of Kylrush to ferme.
The myll of Kyldroght sett to Jamys Boys
Patricke O'Doyē, & Manus O'Doyē for xii⁸.
p⁷kf
The myll of Molyn Ateaght in Moylagh
iiii⁹. p⁷kf.
The myll of the Corbally⁶ in Lune iiiii. p⁷kf.
The myll of Ardmolghan,⁷ sett to ferme to
the pson of the same yerly at x mkf.

THE FORME OF DOING HOMAGE.* (Folio xxxi.)

Homage. first the lord to whom the homage must
be doon must sitt, and he that doth the ho-
mage must ungerde & knele on his kneys be-
for his lorde, & his hede vncovered, and hold
both his hands jointly togydder, and put
theym betwyxe the hands of his lord. And
then he must say thies words following—

I, A. B., becom yo^r man from this day
forward of lyf and of memb^r, and to you all
wordey hono^r, and to you shalbe true and
feithfull, & feith & truth shall bere unto you
for the land^f which I clayme to holde of you,
saying the faith & trouth that I owe vnto o^r
So^vaign Lorde the King, & to his heyres.

ffaultie. And aftir this vord^f said, the lord must
kisse him. Homage cannot be doon but to the
lord himself; but feaultie may be doon to his
Officer, as Shenshall, Styvard, or Baylif. To
evy homage is incident feaulty, & the fourme
therof is this: The tennant must put his
hand on a boke, saing, hyre me my Lord, I
shalbe vnto [you] feithful & true, and feith
shall bere unto you for thies land^f and teñts
which I clayme to hold of you, and lafully
shall do to you all customes & s^rvics whiche
I owe unto you at the lmes assigned, So God
me helpe & all seynts, and be this boke, & so
kyss hit.

⁵ For James duff (the black) O'Doyne's
lease of this mill, see vol. iv., p. 113.

⁶ "The Corbally" means the weir-
town.

⁷ "Ardmolghan" mill was set, with
the manor, to John Folle; also "the
mill of Drommoilyn, in Crewyn," was
set to Conor M^cKye, of Dromcoragh,
16 Hen. VIII. (MS. folio vii. v.).

⁸ This form is obsolete, but during
the age when it was not so, it implied
a great deal. It was, in fact, the cere-
mony by which the holder of a fee of
land acknowledged that, by his feudal
tenure, he was the *baron* or man bound
to do man's service (*homme-age*) to the
lord of the fief. Thus, when the ninth
Kildare set (13 Hen. VIII.) the manor

"HERE BEGYNNETH THE COPPY OF THE RENTAIL OF GERALD, ERLL OF KILDARE, BEGON ANNO DECIMO HENRICI OCTAVI" (Folio xxxi. b.)

"Begyynnyng first with the countie of Kildare. THE LORDSHIP OF MAYNOUSLY.⁹ In the Barony of Sawte.¹⁰

{ first Maynothe conteyneth, v°. liiij. acre arable.

Itm in Medowe by Tired viij. ac°. Roughmede vii acres, Holowe mede viij ac°. Inche polyn iiiij. acr. by the vicar is house iij. ac°. Colys mede i ac°. in all } xxxj. ac°.

{ Parke the Lymepitfeld xx. acr. di. i. stang di., Crewile or Creugele xxxij. acr., the Morice feld xij. acr. i. stang. So rest clere with the tenant cciiij. acr. laking di. stang.

Closet to the Park. { The Cottagt of the same.

The Barony of Sault.

Dongho More is house in the eist end of the town xij d.

Manys Mores house, xij. d.

Maurice O'Downeganes house, . . xij. d.

Mege Crese is house, v. s.

John fflowlers house, ii. s. vi. d.

Margery Brenane is house, . . vi. s. viij. d.

Mighel Harold is house, v. s.

Morice Ketings house, iij. s. iiij. d.

William Turno's house, xx. d.

John Ryans house, vj. s. viij. d.

Edmond Magnod is house, xx. d.

Richard Clevans house, ij. s. vj. d.

A croft by John Ryan is house,

wth Will'm ffaunt ad p', xij. d.

Dermot O'Royrkf house, xx. d.

Nicholas Whitf house, xx. d.

Dongho O'Rogans house, xx. d.

Dirvails house, xx. d.

of Ardmolghan to John Folle for ten years, at a rent of £26, this tenant was bound "to do service unto the said earl during the said term to ostings [hostings] and counsaillis, and tydes on his propre costs" (MS. Rental, folio vii.^b). Perhaps "the Council house" in Maynooth, before-mentioned, was the place where the Earl's councillors met, as where his "court baron" was held. "Tydes" were the feast times, at Christ-

mas, Easter, &c.; misspelt "aydes" in the 2nd volume of the "Earls of Kildare," p. 97.

⁹ "Maynously" probably means the Maynooth "leys," "leas," or meadows, which are immediately mentioned.

¹⁰ "Sawte," or "Sault," is a corruption of the Norman "Sault de Saumon," in Latin "Saltus Salmonis;" whence comes through the Danish "Lex-leap," Leixlip.

Barony of Sault.

William O'Dympays house, . . .	xij. d.
Oyn Carters house, . . .	xij. d.
Dermot Tanha house, . . .	xij. d.
Cale Howardis house, . . .	xij. d.
Henry Donons house, . . .	xij. d.
Richard Mores house, . . .	xij. d.
James Kynnedies house, . . .	xij. d.
John fforanes house, . . .	xx. d.
Richard Bakers house, . . .	iis. vj. d.
Thom's Kerdes ¹¹ house, free for mending of my Lords gere.	
John Clovans house, . . .	xx. d.
John O'Shydyes house, . . .	xij. d.
Maist' Miaghes ¹² house, . . .	ij. s. vj. d.

Beeyde the demaynys
and Medowys, the
rent of this syde.

. viij. li. iij. s.

Yet the Barony Sault.

Henry Brenagh is house, . . .	ij. s. vi. d.
Mathe Walshes house, . . .	xx. d.
William Ryans house, . . .	ij. s. vj. d.
Margaret Hussayes house, . . .	v. s.
Philip Guhs house, . . .	vi. s. viij. d.
Ovin O'Coigles house, . . .	ii galons aquavite
Xpofer Durhams house, . . .	v. s.
William Fauntf house, . . .	ij. s. iij. d.
Thomas Langf house, . . .	ij. s. iij. d.
David Murghas h., . . .	ii. s. vi. d.
Margaret Whitf h., . . .	ij. s. iij. d.
Robert Effs ¹³ h., . . .	ij. s. vj. d.
Waltur Glovers h., . . .	xx. d.
Margaret Heys h., . . .	ij. s. iij. d.
Mulronyes house, . . .	xx. d.
Denys Carpenters h., . . .	ij. s. vj. d.
Cono' Kinshillaghesh., . . .	ij. s. vi. d.
Katyn Morans h., . . .	xij. d.
Rory Mores h., . . .	xij. d.
Cono' Beggf house, . . .	xij. d.
Patrike Mores house, . . .	xij. d.
Shn ^a Rioghesh house, . . .	xij. d.
Hew O'Shenans house, . . .	xij. d.
Will ^m M ^c Sharres house, . . .	xij. d.
Donyll O'Dermodas house, . . .	xx. d.
John O'Kynnedys house, . . .	xx. d.
ffenlagh Albanaghesh ¹⁴ h., fre for lodginge to Messingers	xij. d.
Shn ^a O'broyes house, . . .	xij. d.
Waltier M ^c Guods house, . . .	xij. d.

¹¹ Caird is a tinker.

¹² Was a miller and carpenter.

¹³ Was the Earl's falconer. His sur-

name was M^cOenghusa, now Hennessy.

¹⁴ For Thomas Albanagh (the Scot);
the Earl's messenger.—State Papers.

Chief rent.	{	Pety Johns house,	vj. d.
		Sr Nicholas Brussels h.,	vj. d.
		Upon the West Neuton of Gerat Sutton,	xij. d.
		Upon Colcagh's pte of Ballygorn e'vy blake mondaye, ¹⁶	i. d.
		Upon Delahern's pte. of Ballygorn a Rede rose.	
		Therbage ¹⁶ of the pke,	lxv. s.
		The More ¹⁷ rent xx ¹⁸ cart turvis, a yere,	vij. mkt.
		The mylles xx ¹⁸ p ¹⁸ ke ¹⁸ half whet & half malt.	
		The Avowson of the psonage and vicarage.	
		The close of Saynt Pet ¹⁸ is Chap-pell at,	ii. s.
		The close behynd John Keting is house at,	ij. s. vj. d.
		The close behynd Johnne Yongs house at,	iiij. s. iiij. d.
		The Color house ¹⁸ pke in Larabryne.	j.

THE COUNTIE OF KILDARE. [Folio. xxxii. b.]

Yet the barony of Sault.

The Carthyn¹⁹ & Waltereston xj²⁰. xvj. acr⁴.
 v. li xvij. s.
 Lawalynston and Graigesallagh vj²⁰. ix. acr.
 iiij. li. iiij. s. vj. d.
 Kellioston, lxvj. acr.—xxxij. s.
 Revynsdall, xlvij. acres—xxij. s. vi. d.
 Knokhiddill, xxiiij. acres—xij. s.
 The Sian,²⁰ lx. acr—xxx. s.
 Blakiston, iiiij²⁰ acr.—xl. s.
 The Watirtown, lxxvi. acr.—xxxviiij. s.
 Donamore, xxiiij. acr.—xij. s.
 Monecowle, vj.²⁰ acres—iiij. li.
 Ballygorn, lxiiij. acr. & in more i. acr.
 di xxxij. li.

¹⁶ "Blake Monday" was the anniversary of the day on which the citizens of Dublin had sustained a terrible defeat from the Irish (Holinshed's "Chronicles").

¹⁷ The grazing of the Park.

¹⁸ The moor, or bog, whence "turvis," or turf, was supplied.

¹⁹ Probably a dyeing house.

²⁰ "The Carthyn" is, doubtless, Carton. William Talbot, of Carton, was seised of the manor here, containing a

castle, ten messuages, a mill, a weir, and 352 acres, held of the Earls of Kildare; with five castles, fifty messuages, a mill, and 1240 acres in other lands, with the chief rent of a pair of *chirothec* (gloves) yearly out of Newtown-O'Moore (Printed Inquisitions). This was Sir William Talbot, who was created a baronet, and was father of the celebrated Colonel Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel.

²⁰ "The Sian" is, etymologically, *Sithe-dun*, or the Fairies' Fort.

Yet the barony of Sault.

Gryffynrath, vith. acr.—iiij. li.
 White ferm, xxiiij acres—xij. s.
 Toliston, lvi. acres—xxviiij. s.
 Bernegeigh,²¹ xl. acres—xx. s.
 Graigenefynnoke, xl. acres—xx. s.
 Tirnehary, l. acres—xxv. s.
 The Moch Ruskagh, xxxij. acres—xvi. s.
 The litle Ruskagh, xxxiiij acres—xvij. s.
 Brianston, xxxij. acr.—xvj. s.
 Smytheston, lx. acr.—xxx. s.
 Jonyston, xl. acr.—xx. s.
 Quonyston, xl. acr.—xx. s.
 Graigesallagh, iiijth. vj. acr.—Lxliij. s.
 Keliston, iiijth acr.—xl. s.
 Graigelyne, xl. acr.—xx. s.
 Dorianston, xxxvi acr.—xviiij. s.
 Siggeneston,²² xxx. acr.—xv. s.
 Balmaclyan, xxxvij acr.—xviiij. s. vi. d.
 Dongeston, iiijth. acr.—xl. s.
 Cormokiston, lvi. acr.—xxviiij. s.
 Grangenefyryn, xxvi. acr.—xiiij. s.
 Teghto & Liscallagh, xlviiij. ac.—xxiiij. s.
 Balroyn, xxxvi. acr.—xviiij. s.
 Domdiston, xl. acr.—xx. s.
 The Newton, iiijth. acr.—xl. s.
 Trodieston, xl. acr.—xx. s.
 Bealaghege, xl. acr.—xx. s.
 Larabryne, iiijth. iiij acf—Lxvij. d.

Lexlep.

The Mawr, v.th acf & vi acf—Lii. s. vi. d.
 In Lexlep²³ a Castell & xl. acf of land at a
 tme iiij mth set to Robert Vash^r, Dublin.
 Itm, more in the said Town i mes. xxxx acf
 besid^e p k^e Gardynes.
 The said land beside chief iii. s. iiiij. d. Itm two
 werres. The mes. by the Church xviii. d.
 The mes. by the bridge xviii. d. The mes.
 in the mydd^e. of the Towne xiiij. d. The
 mes. in the west end of the said Lexlep
 ix. d. Sm^e. beside the werres in Lexlep x. s.
 The Custome plowis, whete sede & ote sede
 xvi. s. viij. d.
 The Custom Rippe xxv. s.
 The Custom Cartf. xvi. s. viii. d.

Of Mainosley.²⁴

²¹ "Bernegeigh" means the gap of the wind.

²² "Siggeneston." Edward Herbert, of Cotlanston, was seised of Gigginstown Castle, and died in 1629, leaving Sir George Herbert, Bart., his son and heir (Printed Inquisition). This place seems to be the "Gigginstown" where

the Earl of Stafford began to erect a sumptuous house.

²³ "Lexlep," i. e. the Salmon Leap. Robert Usher was ancestor of the great Archbishop Ussher. The "two werres" were the mill and salmon weirs.

²⁴ Here we see what "villain services" were rendered to the manor of May-

Larabryne.

The cottage of Larabryne ad ʒmīnū . . .
 The Colo^r house p^r at Larabryne ad ʒmīnū
 iii. s. iiij. d. Itm John More is house at
 ʒm xii. d. Morys O'Byrn is house ad ʒm
 xii. d. Richard Gower is house xii. d.
 Annastace Moyle is house xij. John
 Byrn xij. d. Royce Gryffen xij. d. Groyne
 Nykeward²⁵ xii d. Rory More M^c Eghanny
 vi. d.

Richard Baker is gardyn vi. d.

Will^m ffaunt is garding viij. d.

Agheorke iiij. ac^r of medow iii. s. vi. d.

The Colouris p^r ad term iiij. s. iiij. d.

This syd besyde the customys iiij^{xx}. li. liij. s.

The Maner of Kyldroght.²⁶

Yet the barony of Saulte. { The castel town of Kildrought ix^{xx} ac^r. iiij. li. xs.
 at terme.
 Kylmacredoke viij^{xx}. ac^r iiij. li.
 The Abbott is Leys²⁷. xiiij. ac^r vij. s.
 Kyldroght xl. ac^r xx. s.
 The Cheff of Kildroght xxvijs. i. d. ob.
 The Cheff of the Morton xiiij. s. i. d. ob.
 The mylle xi^{xx}. p^rcf wheat ʒ malt.
 The coustom plowes, wheat sede and ootesede.
 The coustom Rype.
 The coustom cartf.

Sm^a, besides the myllys and coustomys xi. li xvij. s. iiij. d.

The Barony of OKethy. { In Balrayne xxxiiij ac^r xvii. s.
 Payneston vi^{xx}. ac^r vi. li.
 Clonekene alias Hoginston xlix ac^r xxxiiij. vi. d.
 Cloneshenbow lxviij. ac^r xxiiij. s. vi. d.

nooth, viz., certain accustomed ploughings; a certain supply of seed wheat and oats; and the reaping and cartage of the lord's corn. The term "manor" is derived from the Norman-French word *mesner*, to govern, whence *ménage* and *messnil*; and perhaps its root is the Latin word *manus*, hand; whence mensal land, i. e. that in the lord's hands, is said to be in domesne, or in Latin *dominium*, lordship, from *dominus*, master of the *domus*, or house. The analogous Gaelic term is *lucht-tighe*, i. e. the (land) of the people of the house, whence the Loughty barony, county Monaghan, and elsewhere.

²⁵ "Nykeward" may be M^cWard, i. e. son of the warden, or bard.

²⁶ The manor of Kildrought, which contained a parcel of land called "the Earl of Kildare's farm," was held by the Dongan family, which was of Celtic extraction, their original name being O'Donagan. *Crioch-Dongan*, i. e. the country of the O'Donagans, is named on the Leix and Ofaly map. William Dongan was created Earl of Limerick by James II. The cheff of Kildroght means, perhaps, the chief feeholders of the manor.

²⁷ "The Abbott is Leys" were the abbot's pastures.

Yit the Countie of Kildare.

My Lords Castle & Mese in the Naas a terme
vi. s. viij. d.

Upon Ediston a terme xvij. d.

Itm in Lady Castell²⁸ certayn mes & iij²⁹ acr at
vi. d. the acre.

The manor of Rathmore, first my Lord^e de-
maynis.

The cheff of the ffreholders ther ad tmyⁿ iij li.

Baron de Naas.

Ryall S ^{ves} to the ma ⁿ of Rathmore.	{	Cromalyston . . .	xx. s.
		Phillipiston . . .	x. s.
		Hytheliston . . .	v. s.
		Taghgaret . . .	xx. s.
		Walshiston . . .	xx. s.
		Blackehall . . .	xx. s.
		Ediston . . .	xx. s.
		Ballytarce & Kene Wekistown . . .	xx. s.
		Cradokiston . . .	xx. s.
		Tippir ³⁰ . . .	xx.

In the Norragh, xij. mesys & vi³¹. & x acr.

Baron de Kilcollyn &
Norragh.

{	Adameston ³⁰	
	Lenamsheys	x ³¹ . i acr.
	Ballyndromyn	xi ³² . acr.

David Sotton

{	Byrton, Balleyconleyn, Rathdro	
	and Iryshton	iiij ³³ . iij ³⁴ . xi. acr

THE MANOR OF KILCAA.

Chief Rent xxvij. s. ij. d. Cono ^r Ogeran.	{	Kilca ³¹	
		Casteldermot	vij. li. Chief
		Decan & Ballybecan	xij. s. iij. d.
		Whiteston	v. s.
		Dolonsyne	xxvi. s. vij. d.
		Callane	xiiij. d.
		Torragh	l. s.
		Nevton	l. s.
		Marshaleston	lxs.

²⁸ "Lady Castell" was perhaps the dowry house of the dowager ladies of Ofaly, just as the principal house was called "my lord's castle." The residence of Lady Katherine, widow of Lord Poer of Curraghmore, in 1537, was called "Katherine's Castle." (See our "Annuary"). The dowagers of Desmond had their house in the towu of Youghal.

²⁹ "Tipper" (*tobir*, a well,) was the fee of the Sutton family who were re-

markable for their spirited public remonstrances against the exactions of the ninth and eleventh Earls of Kildare.

³⁰ "Adameston" seems to have been the fee of the Lynam family, whose "heys," hedges, or enclosed land, occur next. They probably came from Lynham in Devonshire. There was a Richard Lynham, of Adamstown, county of Meath, in 1579 (Printed Inquisitions).

³¹ "Kilca." This castle and manor are

	Palmerston	xl. s.
	Corbally	xiiij. s. iiij. d.
	Colton	liij. s. iiij. d.
	Ballygogh major	v. s.
	Ballygogh minor	iiij. s. iiij. d.
	Ballyquellan	xxvj. s. viij. d.
	Raithesland	liij. s. iiij. d.
	Bulton	xx. s.
	The chief Rent of Dallardiston, victails or xx. s.	
	Hlakketiston.	xx. s.
	Kanmoy	xx. s.
	Cref	v. s.
	Hobartiston	x. s.
	Semlantiston	iiij. s.
Royal s ³ vice.	Waston	x. s.
	Mone	viij. li.
	Glasele	lx.vi. s. viii. d.
	Ardry	xl. s.
	Halheyes occupied for half the crop to my Lorde.	

Yet the Countie of Kildare (folio xxxv.)

Baroñ de Mone.	{ Glasele.
	{ Ballydromma.
	{ Birton but di.
C'Ogeran.	{ Levetiston.
	{ Castelrow, . . . ix ^{xx} . xiiij. acf. oon stang.
	{ Downemahennok.
B' de Downlost.	{ The Irbedds.
	{ Bealaghmone.
	{ Crokit.
C'Ogeran.	{ Shanganaghe.
	{ Ballybirn.
	{ Knocknecrow.
	{ David is Town.

Yit the Countie of Kildare.—(Folio xxvi.)

{	Athy,	vii ^{xx} . 7 vi., acf. iij. stangs.
{	Woddistoke,	vij ^{xx} . xj. acf. iij. stangs.
{	Kilcow,	vij ^{xx} . xvj. acf.
{	Michelscastell.	

mentioned in 1540 as "the properest house," and "one of the goodliest lordships," in the kingdom. (Printed S. P. ii., 513). The townland of "Raithesland" was perhaps Raciliinn, a remarkable fort, for which see a note in the "Book of Rights." By the rental of 1684 (British Museum, MS. 7200), it

appears that 6 a. 2 r. in this townland then paid 26s. per annum. The principal tenants on the manor were Messrs. James Fitzgerald, Abel Ram, and Joseph Fish.

The principal tenants of Castledermot manor were Messrs. Thomas Holmes, Skinner, and Edward Madden.

Davy Sutton.

Baron de Reban.³²

Bealagh Kilbryde.
Kilcroy Rathe Ballebalcoke.
Raherke.
Raithstevin.
Balmackolloke.
Panyston.
Parcevaliston.
Sullaghwory.
Russelliston.
The Blacwodd.
Persowaliston.
. . . . other. . . .

The Lordship of Taghmooghe³³ in Lex.

Bally an Tyskiyn.³⁴

Baly an P'or.³⁵

³² See "Fasaghreban" on the facsimile of the map of 1563 (vol. iv., p. 344), including Woodstock, and signifying the waste land of the barony of Reban. "Davy Sutton" was subsequently the informant against the Earl's exactions. The MS. Rental of 1684, p. 14, shows that the castle here was then let to Ebenezer Milam, for £2 a year. The gatehouse was let for £3 10s. a year. Of the abbey land Captain Fitzgerald held 35 a. at £1 per acre yearly.

³³ This entry of "the Lordship of Taghmooge in Lex" shows that the ninth Earl of Kildare claimed an estate in the territory of Leix. No rent, however, was received from this debateable land, which doubtless was then occupied by the O'Mores. See facsimile of map of Leix, where the place appears as "Timoge," and where "Carraghe" is "Corrogh," and "Cloyth an puka" is "Cloghpook." "Bally an Prior" is "the Prior's town."

In 1584 the eleventh Kildare let Tymoge and Morett to his natural son, Garrett (Printed Inquisitions, Queen's County), whose son is the "Old Gerald" of well-known curious local legends. His second son, George, left issue Gerald, who by his wife Mary Harpole had nine sons. The elder line is given in the following (communicated) pedigree:—

Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, who died a prisoner in the Tower of London, was twice married: by his first marriage he had one son, "Silken Thomas" (who was executed at Tyburn

in 1535, with his five uncles), and three daughters; by the second marriage he had one son.

Gerald, eleventh Earl, who was ten years old at the time of his brother's death. By Elinor, dau. of O'Kellie of Tymoge, he had a son, who was married. He died 16th Nov., 1585.

Gerald Oge (or Gerald the younger), on the death of the Earl, his father (by whose will, in 1584, he acquired considerable property, as well as other property in right of his maternal grandfather), settled in the castle of Moret, Queen's County, and soon after m. the dau. of John Bowen, of Ballyadams, Esq., by whom he had one son, an only child, who by his being at the castle of Ballyadams escaped the tragical fate of his father and mother; for in the disturbances which took place in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the castle of Moret was attacked and burned, and Gerald Oge and his wife were murdered by a banditti, headed by a person who assumed the name of O'Neil. Their son,

Gerald, removed to Tymoge, and m. a dau. of the Lord Clanmalier, of the princely family of O'Dempsey. This Gerald was called by the Irish Garret Garrultagh Buy, or Yellow Gerald Fitzgerald, and took a very active part in the Catholic interest, in the disturbances which took place in the reign of Charles I., and was Colonel of the Catholic army, and raised a corps principally composed of gentlemen, which acted as a life guard to the Earl of Castlehaven, the Commander-in-Chief: however, in an

Ynche na leakaghe.³⁶
 Curraghe.
 Neall beag.
 Baly dulia.³⁷
 Cloyth an puka.³⁸

engagement he lost his life, and all his estates were confiscated. He left issue, Thomas and George.

Thomas was godson to, and resided with, the Earl of Kildare, who took charge of his education; he m. the dau. of John Pigott, Esq., of Grangebegg and Dysart, in the Queen's County. George married the dau. of Robert Hartpole, Esq., of Shrute, and from him descended the family of Colenowle.

Thomas, who lived with the Earl of Kildare, had no part of his father's estates until a regrant was made, 1st February, 1660, to Robert Fitz Gerald, Esq., grandfather to James, 1st Duke of Leinster, at the rent of £34 6s. 3d. English, per annum, and which he leased to Thomas for ever at a peppercorn rent; but in going to take possession of these estates he lay in a damp bed, and brought on a disease which killed him, leaving by his wife, Miss Pigott, two children:—

1. Stephen, his heir;
2. Alexander, an officer in King James's army, who m. the dau. of — Pigott, Esq., of Ballydavis, ancestor to the Fitz Gerald of Ballydavis.

The eldest son,

Stephen, resided at Moret, and m. the 2nd dau. of Henry Gilbert, Esq., of Kilmirchy, in Queen's County (son of Sir Wm. Gilbert, governor of the fort of Leix, now Maryborough, and great-grandson of the celebrated navigator Sir Humphry Gilbert, half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh); and had issue,

1. Thomas, his heir;
2. William, m. Elizabeth, only child of Alexander Barrington, of Kilteel, Esq., by his wife Elizabeth, dau. of Captain Baskerville, of the Horse Guards.

1. —, m. Colonel Julian, a governor of the Queen's County;

2. —, m. Major Rigg;

3. —, m. — Fitz Gerald, Esq., of the county Kildare.

The eldest son,

Thomas Fitz Gerald, m. —, dau. of Sir Gregory Byrne, Bart., and had issue,

1. Stephen, who m. his first cousin, another Miss Byrne, and had 1 son,

John, d. s. p., and two daus., both ob. unm.;

2. Gregory, lived abroad, and died unm.;

3. Alexander, m. —, dau. of Euseby Stratford, Esq., of Corbally, and had 1 son, Thomas, alive in 1803, without issue;

4. Thomas, m. —, dau. of — Wall, Esq., and left 1 dau. who m. — Newton of Dublin, Esq., issue 1 dau.;

5. William, who m. —, dau. of — Tarlington, Esq., of Kill, in the King's County, and left 4 daus.

6. —, a dau., m. M. John Delany, of Ballyfinn, Esq.;

7. —, a dau., m. John Hovenden, of Tankardstown Castle, in the Queen's County, Esq.;

8. —, a dau., m. to Henry Bowen, of Derrinroe, Esq.

William Fitz Gerald (second son of Stephen and Miss Gilbert), had only one child by Miss Barrington, Stephen, who m. first —, dau. of Euseby Stratford, Esq., and had issue one son, died an infant.

Stephen m. secondly — dau., of William Hamilton, Esq., of Strabane, county Tyrone, by Catherine, 2nd dau. and coheirress of Robert Stratford, eldest son of Edward Stratford, of Belan, Esq., by the dau. of Euseby Baisley, Esq., and had issue,

1. Gilbert, an officer of the 18th Light Dragoons;

2. Stephen, who was killed in an action on his return from Demerara, first Lieut. in the Royal Irish Artillery;

3. Hamilton, a Lieutenant in the Navy; Elizabeth, m. John Knox Grogan, of Johnstown, county Wexford, Esq. Mr. Grogan Morgan has a printed pedigree of this family.

³⁶ Ballyanseskin'?

³⁷ Ballyanprior.

³⁸ The island of the flagstones.

³⁷ The town of the physician.

³⁸ The stone of Puck, now Cloughpook. The Dun of Cloughpook, a remarkable entrenchment surmounting a limestone rock in which is a cave, the den of the Phooka or Puck, stands on this townland.

Bealatha Cuylleán.³⁹

Killfyacra.

Neaymneaghe.

Baly Conlyn.⁴⁰

Baroñ de Ofaly, at vj. d.
thacre a terme.

Kildare⁴¹ vii.^o xix acf. di. standart byside my
lords demaynes. Edmond Traves is med,
and other west lande beside the working
of certein horse, harness, iiij. d. riale s'vice,
vi. s. viij. d.

Downene, ix^{xx} acf. t i. stang.

Walteriston, viij^{xx}. t xii acf.

Ballygrene, iiij^{xx}. t ij. acf.

ffynnor, iij^{xx}. t xij acf.

Tancartiston, xx. acf.

Bernatiston xlij. acf.

Half Downemory, lvj. acf. iij stangf.

Evy seconde p'sentacion of the same benefice.

Bally hennon, l. acf.

Raithbride⁴² xiiij^{xx}. t di acf.

Pollardeston xv^{xx}. t v. acf.

Irishton vij^{xx}. acf.

Therlis Carike t ffauntlonston iiij^{xx} t vj. acf.

Kilcake.

Baroñ de Ofaly at vj. d.
thacre a term.

Ellerstown v^{xx}. t x acf.

Ballysacks xiiij^{xx}. t vij. acf. t iij. stangf.

The Wal grange iiij^{xx}. t iij acf.

Kyllbrackan xlviiij. acf.

Kylrush xviiij^{xx}. acf.

Braylisslian lxix. acf.

Grange Clair to ferm lx. acf.

³⁹ The pass of the vagabonds.

⁴⁰ Whence, perhaps, the O'More's slogan of *Conlan abo*.

⁴¹ There is no account of the rental of the town of Kildare in the Harleian MS. The castle was granted to the first Earl. By rent roll of 1st May, 1684, the manor, town, and lands of Kildare were let for £409 12s. 6d. the half year, of which, of the May rent, £387 6s. had been received. Henry Bourke held 541 acres, at £105 yearly. Francis Leigh, Esq., held Pollardstown, 492 a., for £80 10s. Mr. Edward Bray paid £1 a year for Naas Castle. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Bren held Carrigan-Earla, the Killeribill, &c. Captain Thomas Huettson paid £38 yearly. Walter Enos held to the value of £11 yearly. Maurice Fitzgerald, Senior, held Magdalen Hill, "on the high way to the Curragh, being an old windmill head, the stone walls of an old ruined

house," &c. There is mention of "the Earl's three parks," "the pigeon park," &c., which James Hetherington rented. At the beginning of this MS. there is an account of arrears, whence the following notes are gleaned:—Fassaghan-Earla (i. e. the Earl's waste) had been held by Viscount Ely for £10 a year, and was held by Edward Baggot, Esq., his tenant. Walterstown was held by Sir John Crosby, on an old lease. Carrigan-Earla (i. e. the Earl's little rock) was held by James Fitzgerald, Esq., at £12 4s. a year. Nugent's Castle, in the town, is mentioned (Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 7200).

⁴² Rathbride castle and manor became the property of John Lye, or Leigh, who, though of English extraction, had such knowledge of the Gaelic language that he was employed by the State as interpreter to Irish Chieftains. He seems to have been son of Francis

Yett the Countie of Kyldare.—[Folio xxxvii.]

The castell of Lye,⁴³ a plow lande free.

Gaydonsland.	{	Diryeltyn,	iiii ²⁴ . acres.
		Gaydonston,	xx. acr.
		Clonyn Call,	xx. acr.
		Polnagh Balnoy,	xx. acr.
Clankerole,	{	Orchardiston,	xx. acr.
		Kylmalahyn,	xl. acr.
		Philippiston,	xl. acr.
		The Covray,	xl. acr.
The Manor of Ley w ^t thavouson of the Vicar- age.	{	Kylbride,	xl. acr.
		Rathmorch,	lx. acr.
		Trastan,	xx. acr.
		Grange O'Woheran,	xx. acr.
		Kylmelyn,	xx. acr.
		Sraghley,	xx. acr.
		Garrey Vakkemys, ⁴⁴	lx. acr.
		Ballyntyan,	viiij. acr.
		Kylmorch,	xx. acr.
		Kylmollyn,	xx. acr.
		Moyrehet, ⁴⁵ to the Castell a plow land.	
		In the Cammes,	xij. acr.
The lordship of Mayre- hit, beside a plow land to the Castell ciiij ²⁴ . xix. acr. w ^t James Fitz-Gero ^t for x Rudders yirly, be- side mete and drinke.	{	Itm Kylreyn,	xx. acr.
		Knocknepisse,	xij. acr.
		In Ballynregghan,	xxx. acr.
		In Balnepairk,	xxv. acr.
		In Cowlbeangher, ⁴⁶	xl. acr.
		In the Tulhan,	xx. acr.
		In Aghenrahin,	v. acr.
		In Dirrenahaunall,	x. acr.
		In Cowlerne,	v. acr.
		In Clane, ⁴⁷ Mesis,	xxxix. acr. di.

Leigh, a scion probably of the ennobled house of this name, and who obtained a grant of Killeigh Abbey ("Calendar of S. P.," and Morrin's "Calendar.") A printed inquisition sets forth the estate of Francis Leigh, Esq., of Rathbride who was attained temp. William III.

⁴³ "The Castell of Lye" appears as "C. Lee," on the facsimile of the map of Leix and Ofaly, published in vol. iv., p. 344. The manor of Ley was one of the earliest possessions of the Barons of Ofaly.

⁴⁴ "Garry Vakkemys" probably means the garden of M'Kemys.

⁴⁵ "Moyrehit" is "Muret" on the map. The original name is said to have been Mogh-Riada. (See vol. iv., page

349.) The tenure by which James Fitz-Gerald, as above, held this place was similar to that of Gaelic vassals; for, besides rendering ten rudders annually, he was bound to provide "mete and drinke" for his lord and train at certain times. This tenure was by "coshery," *cios-a-ri*, cess or tribute for the king.

⁴⁶ The "Cowlbeanghir" of the textis "Caluanche" in the facsimile map already alluded to.

⁴⁷ Half the manor of Clane, *alias* Otmany, was held in the time of James I. by Sir William Sarsfield, of Lucan, ancestor of James the Second's famous and admirable Irish general of horse. Piers Peakeston laid claim to the estate. "Cal. Inquis."

	Itm of Langsland xj. acr. at vi. d. the acre. Itm iiij. acr. iij. stang at v. d. th'acr. Itm the mych felde besyd Lang is lande xj. acr. & i stang at vi. d. the acr. In the said felde xiiij. acr. di at v. d. the acr. In the Waringtre felde ⁴⁹ vj. acr. di at vj. d. the acr. At the mavdlenis v. acr. at vj. d. the acr. At the Quarrell hill iiij. acr. at vi. d. th'acr. Tot v ⁵⁰ . xiiij. acr.
The Barone of Clane.	In Keppoke i mes. xij. acr. di at iiij ⁴ the acr. a l ^m . ix. s. vi. d.
The Barone of Clane.	Temogho, ⁵¹ . . . xvi ⁵² . acr. viii li a l. Ballegghyl, . . . vj ⁵³ . acr. iij. li a l. Garvoke, . . . iiij ⁵⁴ . iij. ac. & di xl. a. ix d. a l. Coreghassan, a l ⁵⁵ iij. s. iiij. d. Wyse is lands.

Yett the Countie of Kyldare.—[Folio xxviii].

Baroni de Conall.	Mylton, v ⁵⁶ . & viij. acr. Morston Biller, vi ⁵⁷ . & xix. acr. Ballycrotan, lxij. acr. Ballehynnon, l. acr. Half Baralliston.
Baronie de Oughteryn.	Graygenecarrige, . . ix. acr. iiij. p. vi. d. a l. Bering x. d. of Cheff at Mychalmas to Bal- mastolocke.

Yett the Countie of Kyldare.

The Manor of Rathangan.—[Folio xxxix.]

	Itm in Rathangane ccccc. xxxj. acr. at vj. d. the acre. Kyllen Thomas, iiij ⁵⁸ . ac. & ünū estāgū at vj. d. the acre. Kayllydoyn. ⁵⁹
At vj thac ^r a l ^m .	The Shanrelike and Kylshaghan, ccc. xxxj. acr. & iij. estang. Kilmony, cciiii ⁶⁰ . & xij. acr. Dromsray, iiij ⁶¹ . acr. & i. estag ^r ffecullyn, ⁶¹ xlv. acr. & di. Rathuinyvinnagh, ⁶² . . iiij ⁶³ . & ix & di acr. Tenekally & Bealoneo ^r , v ⁶⁴ . v. acr. & iij estāg.

⁴⁹ "Waringtre has not been identified."

⁵⁰ By inquisition dated 1624, Redmond oge Fitzgerald was found to have been seised of Tymocho and other lands, and to have died that year, leaving by his wife, Marian, a son Thomas. He

was son of "Raymond oge," a great chief of the Geraldines temp. Elizabeth.

⁵¹ Coille Doyme—Doynes wood?

⁵² Fecullyn is *Fiodhcullen*, Cullen's-wood.

⁵³ The fort of the daughter of Una?

Meyler ffay⁴⁴ in Teaghnoboy t Bealaneor of every cow t caple ij. d. a lfm.
t Riale svice:

The barony of Carbry. { Itm, vpō Carik Oris⁴⁴ yerly vi. s. viii. d. a lme.
The Drommyn in ffebolg⁴⁴ set to Morice Keting⁴⁶ yerely x. s. a lfm.

THERLE OF KYLDARE IS RIALE SERVES IN THE COMITIE OF KYLDARE, AS THE SAME DOTH APIERE BY OLD FFEODORIES OF KYNG EDWARD THE SECUNDS DAYES, BTSYDE THE MANER OF RATEMOR t BYLTAA.⁴⁷

In baronia de Salu' Regali s'vicio. { Ballygorn holdith of the Castell of Maynoth,
by the s'ves of x. s.
Griffenrath holdith by the s'ves of x. s.
Castell of Kyldroght by the s'ves of x. s.
S^r Cristoffre Preston,⁴⁸ Knight t
Phillip Brune⁴⁹ holdith the first
porcion of the Barony of Nace
by the s'ves of foure Knights
In Baronia de Naace.⁴⁸ { ffeis t paith for the same } viij. li.

⁴⁴ Melour Faa was in 1529 the Earl's confidential political friend: "Earls of Kildare," Appendix, p. 35).

⁴⁵ "Carik Oris" is *Carrick Phioris*, or Piers's Rock, so named from Sir Piers Birmingham, whose descendants were called Clan Ioris, or the children of Piers.

⁴⁶ "Febolg," query *Fiadhbolg*, the wood of the Belgians?"

⁴⁷ "Morice Keting" was of a family which supplied "hereditary captains of the Earl's Kerne."

⁴⁸ Perhaps written by mistake for *Kilkaa*, i. e. *Kilkea*.

⁴⁹ *Naace*.—This word in Gaelic signifies a place where fairs, or large cattle markets, are held. The poem on the Conquest states that "Le Nas" was granted by Strongbow to Maurice Fitz-Gerald. The charter of Earl Richard (Strongbow) to him, granting him lands and a market at Naas, to be held by the service of five knights, was confirmed to his son William, by John, son of King Henry II. (Printed Charters, &c., p. 5). See vol. ii., New Series, p. 269, where there is a pedigree of this branch of the Geraldines. His son William, Baron of Naas, is mentioned in several printed and unpublished records. In the 10th Hen. IV. the original deed was registered by James Flattisbury, by which John, Lord of Ireland, confirmed to William Fitz-Maurice, and his heirs, a cantred of land which Makelames held, in which the town of Naas was situated, and which Earl Richard had given to

Maurice, father of the said William, to hold by the service of five knights. As this grant was witnessed at Kildare, it seems Prince John honoured this town with his presence [Add. MS. 4790].

King John, in the first year of his reign, on the 6th September, granted to William de Naas the castle of Carakitt, with five knights' fees (Harl. MS. 2188, p. 155). It appears by the fines of 4 Hen. III. memb. 12, that he married Eva, widow of Philip de Brewes, of Grene Manor. This King, in the 10th year of his reign, granted the baron to hold fairs in his manor of Naas—(Carew MS. 610, pp. 17, 25). The heiress of his descendant had five coheiresses, of whom, Matilda, married to Sir William de Loundres, from whom descended Elizabeth, married to the Sir Christopher Preston of the text; Margaret, married to John Brune, ancestor of Philip of the text; Rosa, married Sir Gerardo Roche; Ceciline, married to Geoffrey Brett.

⁵⁰ Sir Christopher Preston married the eldest coheiress of Naas, Elizabeth de Loundres, descended from Matilda, the eldest coheiress of John le Botiller, by Matilda, heiress of David Fitz-Gerald, Baron of Naas. They had a son Christopher, whose son, Robert Preston, lived in 1449. As sprung from the eldest female line, the Prestons assumed the title of Barons of Naas (Viscount Gormanston's Register.)

⁵¹ Philip Brune was probably son of John Brune, who married Margaret, coheiress

Ye distres for the same to be takyn
at Whitchurch, Kyll yng, Baron-
raith, and Cloney.

of Sir William Loundres, Baron of the Naas, and had a descendant, Elizabeth, his heiress, who m. Sir Robert Barnewall, who was in 1461 created Baron of Trimleston (Lynch's "Feudal Dignities," p. 181); and, secondly, Sir Rowland Eustace, Lord Portlester, who died in 1496 (Gormanston MS. Register). The title of Baron of Athboy, the original title of the Loundres family, seems to have been accorded to Lord Trimleston; while the title of Naas was given to Viscount Gormanston: see an account of the former's tomb, in vol. ii., N. S.

The following extract from old MS. authorities agrees with the text, and is of earlier date:—

"Regal. servio. Gerald, Comit' Kildare, in Co. Kildare.

"Prima Para.—Will. Landers tenet quat' feod. mil. pro quibus resp'. D'nus Wm. Preston et D'nus Joh'es Bernewall.

"S'oda Pars.—Georgius de Rupe tenet quat' feod. mil. pro quibus resp'. hered'. Marg. et Anas. Flattisby, et distring' eest apud Lady Castell.

"Tercia Pars.—Philip Britt tenet quat' feod. mil. pro quibus resp'. hered' Rowland Eustace, mil."

(See Carew MS. 611, fol. 19. Add. MS. 4768, p. 481; and Irish State Papers, now preserved in the Rolls' House, London, vol. i.). The fact that the barony of Naas was held of the Earls of Kildare implies the cadetship of its barons.

"Philip Britt," who held the third part of the barony of Naas, was son of Sir Geoffrey le Bret, Lord of Rathferman, and Ceciline, 5th coheirress of John le Botiller, and Margaret Fitzgerald, Baroness of the Naas. His father was summoned to Parliament, as a baron, 3 Edw. II. He himself was sheriff of the county of Dublin in 1329, was knighted, and was killed by O'Tuall, in 1331 ("Calendar of Pat. Rolls," p. 40, and Grace's "Annals"). His estate fell by, as would seem, an heiress, to the Eustace family. It was held, according to the text, by "Robert Power," of whom there is hardly any trace; and it passed, according to the second authority, to the heirs of Sir Richard Fitz-Eustace. There is reason for believing that this latter family were a branch of the

Powers, sprung from Sir Eustace le Poer, because their slogan, or clan call, was *Poeragh-abo* (see a paper on War Cries in "Ulster Journal of Archaeology."

The family in question were formerly so eminent in the Pale, that we will linger longer on this point in their history. Their surname does not occur in the "Calendar of Patent Rolls" until some time after the execution of their supposed progenitor. Oliver Fitz-Eustace was summoned to Parliament as a baron, 4 Edw. II. Sir Maurice F. was made Marshal of the Realm, 8 Ric. II. Roland F. of the Co. Kildare, 4 Hen. IV., had letters of protection the next year ("Calendar"). John Eustace, of Newland, Esq., with Edward and Richard Fitz-Eustace, signed a letter to the King, dated 1417 (Ellis's "Letters," vol. i., p. 63). Sir E. F., with others of his name, sign another letter, dated 1454, describing an attack on Rathcoffy Castle. The last, attainted, Viscount Baltinglas held half the manor of Naas, with Asbe's land, Liard's freehold, Eustace of Kereleston's freehold, Trinity lands, Moat Abbey, Flattisbury's land, St. John's Abbey, Clinton's Court, Missett's lands, &c. &c.

Endorsed on an ancient map of Idrome, among the State Papers in the Rolls' House, is the following statement as to the possessions of this nobleman.

"The several manors and lands belonging to the Lord of Baltinglas.

"The Lordship and late Monasterie of Baltinglas, with the landes, woodes, villages, and townes thereunto belonging, contayneth at least vi. myles.

"The lordship and manor of Kilkullen.

"The lordship and manor of Haryeston.

"The manor of Tobber.

"The manor of Rathernan, nere Dublin.

"The manor of Cahill.

"Dyvers other villages, townes, lands, and woodes in the countie of Dublin, in the marches there, in the countie of Kildare, and in the countie of Catherlogh.

"Also in the barony of Torbnoylea.

"Also in the countie of Imayle.

"Also in the countie of Clonogan.

Patrike Flatesbury⁶¹ holdith the
 second porcion of the said Barone
 by iiij. Knightf fees; the dis-
 tres for the same to be takyn
 at Lady Castell,
 Rob' Pow⁶² holdith the third por-
 cion of the saide baronie by
 foure Knightf feis & shuld be
 distraynet for the same at the
 soruene & ballygene.
 Also ther is other Ryall s^uvice
 in the said Baronie longing to
 the manor of Rathmor, as on
 Crommaliston xx. s. Philip-
 piston x. s. Hytheliston x. s.
 Raghgaret xx. s. Walshiston
 xx. s. Blackhall xx. s. Ediston
 xx. s. Balitarsse, Kenevekiston
 xx. s. Cradokiston xx. s. Typper
 xx. s.
 Rog⁶³ Penkiston⁶⁴ holdith half the
 Barony of O'Tyyny, othir Clane,⁶⁴
 by a Knightf fee, and shuld be
 distraynet for the same at the
 soruene & ballygene.

viiij. li.

xl. s.

In baronia de Clane.

"Landes given by the last Viscount to his sonnes Edmond and William to the rate of £40."

The "countie of Imayle" is the glen of this name.

Naas, and the circumjacent campaign, seem to have held a thoroughly Norman-Welsh colony. St. David himself was the patron saint of the church. Many ancient peculiarities the place also boasted of are colonistic in character. There was a green, such as is but too seldom seen in Irish towns; there were orchards, also so rare in Ireland; and a dovecot, emblem of peace and quiet; but perhaps burnt in 1573, when Rory O'More "fluttered" the inhabitants by one dark night setting fire to the town [Inquis. Lagenæ.]

The Printed Inquisitions do not throw much light on the descent of this barony. In 1639 Robert Barnewall, Baron of Trymliston, was found seised in fee of his part of the manor of Naas, and of a fourth part of the customs of all cattle sold on the town green.

⁶¹ Patrick Flatesbury was descended from Simon de Flatersbury, who was among the Anglo-Irish Esquires summoned to the Scottish war in 1335 (Note to Grace's "Annals").

James Flattesbury, in the 10th year of Henry IV., registered Prince John's charter grant of Naas. Margaret and Anastasia Flattesby, the coheirs of Sir George Roche, seem not to have transmitted their inheritance away from their male line (Grace). Robert Flattesbury, Esq., was killed in battle, 1448; he was then sheriff of the county Kildare.

Philip Flattisbury compiled the "Registrall," now called "the Earls of Kildare's Red Book," in 1503. A copy of this MS. was in the late Sir William Betham's library. (See vol. ii. New Series, p. 306.) Christopher Flattisbury was seised in fee of Palmerston, held of the heirs of John Byrt by the service of one "petit;" of Johnston and Mileston, held of the chief lords of the manor of Naas, and other lands, and died in 1612 (Printed Inquisitions).

⁶² This Robert Power cannot traced.

⁶³ Roger Penkiston is mentioned in the "Calendar of Patent Rolls," 4 Hen. IV. (1403), as outlawed for debt in the county Kildare, on a suit of debt. This date may have been that of the lifetime of the other tenants who are mentioned in the text.

⁶⁴ The barony of O'Tyyny, alias Clane

	Sir David Vgane, ⁶⁵ knyght, and Annastace Stanton, ⁶⁶ his wyf, holdithan other part of the same barone, by a knyght ^f fee, and shuld be distrainet at Donynis.	} xl. s.
	John Seint Michell ⁶⁷ holdith the Mote of Kilbegg by a knyght ^f fee.	
In Baronia de Norragh,	{ Itm in the barone of the Norragh } { & may be distraynet at Calfist- } ton. ⁶⁸	} vi. li.
In baronia de Downlost.	{ Itm the barone of Downlost, two } { knyght ^f feis which Sutton hol- } dith.	
	Itm the barone of Rebane two knyght ^f feis	iiij. li.
	Itm Mümehannoكة ⁶⁹ and Castell Row	xl. s.

(*Claenaddh*), with the barony of Sault-Salmoni, and the greater part of the baronies of Ikeathy and Oughteranny, were contained within the ancient territory of *Ui Faelain* (the Osfelan of the poem on the Conquest), a tribe which afterwards took the surname of *Ui Brain* (O'Byrne), and were driven after the Conquest into the hills ("Book of Rights," p. 206).

⁶⁵ Wogan of Racoffy descended from a Pembrokehire knight, who in 1169 accompanied Maurice Fitz-Gerald from that county, where the parent race was long distinguished. An abridgment of a record of an assignment of dowry to *Anastasia*, widow of Sir David Wogan, and wife of Sir John Bellew, is printed in the "Calendar of Rolls." The original contains curious details as to Rathcoffy Castle; it is dated 8th Henry V. How is the use of the verb "holdith," in the present tense, to be reconciled with this date? Racoffy is now the property, by descent, of one of the most accomplished and excellent of our nobility, Lord Talbot de Malahide.

⁶⁶ Annastace Stanton was of an English family which came from Staffordshire, after the Conquest, and obtained lands in the county Kildare, and in Munster and Connaught, in which latter province they were barons. Adam Fitz-Philip de Stanton held lands as above, 28 Edw. I.; and left, by his wife, Johanna, five coheiresses, namely, Johanna, married to John de Sutton; Nesta, to Simon Flattesbury; Egidia, to William,

son of John le Poer; and Isabella, to Richard du Lyt (Printed Rolls).

⁶⁷ John St. Michell was of the family of this name which were Barons of Rebane. In 28 Edw. III., John de Seynt Michel was pledge for the custodier of Kilmoghode manor (in Leix), forfeited by Sir Eustace Power ("Calendar," p. 55).

⁶⁸ "Calfiston," or Calfestown, probably was the residence, or *caput baronie* of the Calse, or Le Veel, family, Barons of Norragh. However, Norragh itself seems to have contained their dwelling house in 11th Edw. II. ("Cal. Rot. Hib." 22). Geoffrey (le Veal, the Calf) de Norragh living in 1231, married Isabel, coheir of Sir Thomas Fitz-Anthony. Elizabeth, heiress of Sir Robert Calf, married Arthur Kavanagh, the M'Murrough; but, as he was an enemy to the king, her estate was forfeited at first, but was subsequently granted to her husband. Latterly this barony descended to Walter Wellesley, of Norraghmore, who died in 1614, seised of Norragh manor, the castle, &c., held of the house of Kildare; he was commonly styled Baron of Norraghmore (*Inquis. Lagenia*.)

⁶⁹ "Mümehannoكة." Simon de Sutton held the manor of Monnehannock of the Earl of Kildare; and Thomas Fitz-John de Sutton was his heir, 8th Edw. III. ("Calendar of Patent Rolls," p. 39). Redmond was brother and heir to said Thomas, 17 Edw. III. (*Ibid.*, p. 46). Their ancestor, Sir Roger de Sutton, is one of the witnesses to the foundation

In the Barone of Offale,	Itm Bremoy juxta Athie	xl. s.
	Itm Ballysonnan	xl. s.
	Itm Ballymany, which Pet ⁷⁰ Broune ⁷⁰ had	v. s.
The B' of Offale.	Itm Loughbroan	x. s.
	Itm Whylame	x. s.
	Itm Donmory	xx. s.
	Itm Kaccagh	xx. s.
	Itm Rathmoke	v. s.
	Itm Donene,	xx. s.
	Itm Harryeston,	x. s.
The B' of Connall.	Itm Ellyeston,	x. s.
	Itm Olde Conall,	xl. s.
	Itm Ladytown,	xx. s.
	Itm Miltown,	xl. s.
	Itm Bally Tege in Allone, ⁷¹	v. s.
	Itm Moricetown Moynagh,	xx. s.
	Itm Kylcullin.	
	Itm Bethlan ⁷² which Thom's De- labere had	xx. s.
	Itm Disert Henys ⁷³ in Leys, which sū time Richard Dealba- nis ⁷⁴ had,	v. s.
	Itm in Thocoy ⁷⁵ which Thom's Devill had,	v. s.
	Itm in Rathgulbe ⁷⁶ which Bas- carward sū tyme had,	x. s.

charter of Dunbrothy Abbey (Ibid., p. 175). David and Oliver Sutton acted most boldly and honourably in presenting papers to Government calculated to repress the exorbitant power of the Earls of Kildare.

⁷⁰ "Peter Broune" may have been ancestor of the family of Browneston, in this county, "which family," says an old funeral certificate in Ulster's Office, "is constantly affirmed to spring from a second brother of one William Browne, who, landing in the Earl Marshall's train, is reputed ancestoure of the house of Molrankin, in the countie of Wexforde; and another of the brothers is of Kilpatrick, in Westmeath." Certainly, Sir William le Brun witnessed the foundation charter of Dunbrody Abbey, as also did his son, Sir Nicholas.

⁷¹ "Allone," probably *Aluhain*, the supposed residence of Fionn Mac Cumhal and his Finian mercenaries; now Allen Hill.

⁷² "Bethlan" is, doubtless, *Beithlinn*, or Belin, which was in the territory of O'Murethi, the original tribe name of

the O'Tuathails, or O'Tooles ("Book of Rights," p. 210). Nicholas Delabere, and Germana, his wife, had a suit with Richard Woodlock, of Balton, as to the tenements of Balton, Inorston, and Molanclough, 32 Edw. II. ("Calendar Pat. Rolls," p. 73 b. In 46 Edw. III. Henry Delabere, Oliver and John Fitz Eustace, Will. Wellesley, John Rochford, and others, were principal inhabitants, of the county Kildare.

⁷³ "Disert Henys, in Leys," that is, "Disert;" for which see the facsimile of the map of Leix. Its full name is *Disert-Oenghusa*, or the desert of Enos. A family of this surname were falconers to the Earls of Kildare; its modern forms are Henessy and Ennis.

⁷⁴ "Richard Dealbani" or De Albany, was doubtless of Scottish extraction, and ancestor of the Albanagh family, who were messengers to the Earls of Kildare.

⁷⁵ "Thocoy" may be Tuath-Cay, i. e., the people or Clan Kea.

⁷⁶ Rathgulby was very anciently the fee of the De Borard family, of whom

The Baron of Carbery.	Itm in Rathdenodon which Bartholome Saccresfeld ⁷⁷ sū tyme had,	x. s.
	Itm in two Ofithwy ⁷⁸ in Leyce,	xl. s.
	Itm in Scyfthane ⁷⁹ which Willm Bremygeam had,	iiij. li.
	Itm in Clonegayll,	x. s.
	Itm Typpir Cathel,	x. s.
	Itm Cloffcurre,	iiij. li.
	Itm Downfeddrit, ⁸⁰	xl. s.
	Itm Clonekene,	xl. s.
	Itm in Brygarde in Carbrie which Thomas Deston had,	xx. s.
	Itm Galyn in Leyce,	iiij. li.
	Itm in Downgane,	xl. s.
	Itm in Rathgulbe. agayne, which Thom's Boskarward sū time had,	xl. s.
	Itm in Carbre ⁸¹ which Elyas Stanton sū tyme had,	xx. s.

Robert was granted O'Telmeth by troungbow (Harris' "Hib."). There is a memorandum in the chartulary of Kells Monastery, referring to the date 1264, to the effect that Ralph de Borard was formerly true Lord of Rathgulby; and that he, on going to the host of Kildare by order of Richard Marshal, the Earl, was slain in returning from the same; but previously had begotten two daughters, whom he left his heirs; the name of the eldest was Christiana, whom Sir William Barithin married, and begat of her six sons and daughters; the name of the eldest was Ralph Barityn. Sir Nicholas Chever married the second daughter, by name Sibilla, and begat sons and daughters; the name of the eldest was David Chever. The said Ralph Borard built a free chapel in the town of Rathgulby. Witnesses, H., Bishop of Ossory, &c. A charter of Ralph Barityn to the said chapel was dated 1282 (Lansdowne MS. 418). The host (exercitus) of Kildare was doubtless the fray in which the said Earl Marshal was slain by the Geraldines. The abbreviation of Boskarward (woodwarden) into Borard is curious.

Sir Nicholas Chevers was ancestor of Sir Christopher Chevers, of Ballyhaly, county of Wexford, who compounded for Mayston Manor with Sir Peter Carew.

⁷⁷ "Saccresfeld" is de Sarcsefeld, or Sarsfield.

⁷⁸ "Two Ofithwy in Leyce." This obscure designation of a territory bears a curious explanation. By referring to vol. iv., page 355, the reader will see that a chorographic bard of 1420 mentions "the old *Tuath-Fiodhbuidhe*" as a fair district, inhabited by the *Muintir-Fiobhuidhe*, or People of the Yellow Wood. They were probably the "To-vayovi," or Tuayoni, on the facsimile of the map of Leix. *Tuath* meant, originally, people, whence Teuton, Dutch, &c., and subsequently signified their territory. It is likely that this ancient clan descended from the aboriginal Pictish inhabitants of their wood.

⁷⁹ "Sythane," probably *Sithe-dun*, the Fairies' Fort.

⁸⁰ "Downfeddrit," i. e. Dunfert, The Fort of the Graveyard. Walter Bermingham, of Donfeyrt, was seised of the manor here, including Courtgarland and Meylerston, in 1638 (Printed Inquisitions). In 1555 Walter Bermingham, gent., Walter Boyxe (de Bois), and Edward O'Floyne, harper, all of Meylerston, received pardons from Government. The surname O'Floyne, or O'Flynn, was that of a family of bards (Morrin's "Calendar," vol. i.).

⁸¹ "Carbre," Carbery, became the only property of the Berminghams of the Pale, who, in resisting the novelty in the feudal system of admitting females to inheritance, became a rebellious independent clan.

Itm in Ballymony that John } x. s.
 Delahide⁸² had, }
 Itm in Brigard in Carbrie agayn } xiiij. s.
 which Willm Bremygeame⁸³ had, } iiij. d.
 Itm in the barone of Okethe, . . c. s.
 Itm in Kylmorre, x. s.
 Itm in Themill which Ohen } xiiij. s.
 son to Meiller⁸⁴ sū tyme had, } iiij. d.
 Itm in M'Cany⁸⁵ which Morice }
 Hubert sū tyme helde the s^r- } x. s.
 vice of, }
 Itm, Offale wast hen holden by }
 Thomas Ffitz-John, Erle of }
 Kyldare, and John Bremygeame } xxiiij. li.
 Erle of Louth,⁸⁶ by the s^r- }
 vice of, }
 Itm Bremygeame is karricke,⁸⁷ vi. s. viij. d.
 Itm Tortoye, x. s.
 Itm Wykinglo,⁸⁸ alias Wicklo,)

⁸² "John Delahide." The Delahydes of Moyclare were a distinguished family.

⁸³ "William Bremygeame." Sir William Bermingham was created Baron of Carbery by Henry VIII.

⁸⁴ "Ohen son to Meiller" is, probably, Owen Fitz Meyler.

⁸⁵ "M'Cany" is, probably, Maghany, or Any's plain.

⁸⁶ John Bermingham, Earl of Louth, was murdered in 1333. This entry proves that his family retained half of the country of Ofaly.

⁸⁷ "Bremygeame is Karricke," i. e. Bermingham's Rock. The 6s. 8d. royal service implies a legal arrangement on this head. Carrick-I-Oris, or Piers' sons' Rock, was the name of Carbery Castle. Among a collection of genealogies by Tully O'Maolconry, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked F. L. 18, is "the genealogie of the Brimingshams," including "the family of Carick Oris." "Edward" (date 1665) fitz Walter, fitz John, f' William, f' Pierce, f' Miles, f' Richard, f' John Oge, f' John broune. f' Pierce, Knight; f' Walter, Knt., f' William, Knt., f' John, Knt., Earl of Louth, f' Richard the red, f' Richard of the battles (that is, of the battles of Athenry, Knocktower, and Finloga), f' Pierce (*a quo dicitur Clanriz*), f' Miles the great (who was called the third conqueror in the Conquest").

⁸⁸ This reading, "Wykinglo," is suggestive of the time when this *wick* or bay

was frequented by the Danish *vik-ingar*. From this entry, it seems that Wicklow was considered to be within the county of Kildare. The castle is said to have been built by the great invader, Maurice Fitz Gerald; and most of the champaign country between this fortress and Kildare appears to have been owned by his posterity. The Lawless family, tenants of the castle in the time of Edward III., acted up to their name in plundering merchants as freely as their predecessors, the vik-ings, had done. In the 20th year of Edward II. this king ordered the sheriff of Dublin to seize Gilbert and Thomas Lawles, of Wykinlo, and several others of their name, for divers felonies and robberies of traders. (Close Rolls). At the same date Sir Hugh Lawles was repaid the cost of capturing Gerald O'Byrne, and reimbursed for other charges incurred anent Irish felons in the Wicklow country. A curious Survey of Adare Manor, made 6th November, 1559, shows that Lawless held lands in Castle-Robert (Add. MS. 4821, p. 141).

It is stated in the poem on the Conquest, that "Moriz le fiz Geroud" was granted "Wikinlo, between Bree and Arklo, which was the land of Kyllmantan." In letters patent of Henry VI. it is mentioned that Sir Roland Fitz Morice, lawful heir of the said Morice, pleaded that his ancestors, from the time of the Conquest, were seised of five knights' fees lying in the manor of

which John Lawles in Edward {
the thirde ys days did holde of } xx. s.
therle of Kyldare by . . . }

(*To be continued.*)

SOME REMARKS ON O'CONNOR'S TOMB AT ROSCOMMON.

BY THOMAS O'GORMAN, ESQ.

THE Dominican Friary at Roscommon was founded in the year 1253,¹ by Felim O'Connor, son of the renowned Cathal of the Red Hand and one of his successors on the throne of Connaught. From its peaceful shelter, in the year 1265,² the spirit of King Felim passed into the presence of the King of kings, and his mortal remains found their last resting place within the sacred precincts of its church,³ where a stately monument was erected to his memory.⁴

This interesting memorial, or rather what still exists of it, occupies its original recess in the north wall of the chancel. It consists of a life-size figure of the king, said to be of Irish marble, stretched at full length, and filling the entire of the recess. Underneath the figure of the king, and apparently forming a portion of the side of his tomb, is a slab said to be also of Irish marble, on which are sculptured four compartments, or niches, in the Perpendicular style of Gothic architecture, divided by small buttresses, and each of which contains an armed figure, but portions of only two of them can be seen at the present, the remainder being hidden by earth and the stones of a newly made grave. The tomb as it now appears, and also a front view of the figure of O'Connor, are accurately represented in the plate which faces this page.⁵

The figure of the king is clothed in a long flowing robe, the drapery of which descends almost to the feet, and displays in its

Morice-Castell, in the tenure of Othoygh-fynnglas, in length, from the sea to the summit of Croghan mountain, and in breadth from the county of Wexford to Botiller's land. The Barony of Arklow seems to have been the earliest possession of the Botillers or Butlers in Ireland: the site of Morice-Castle is unknown. The keeping of "Wikenlowe" Castle, and a grant of Lexlep Manor, were the two boons promised by Richard III. to the Earl of Kildare, to

induce this nobleman to come over to London, "Letters" by Gairdner, p. 22, Master of the Rolls' Series.

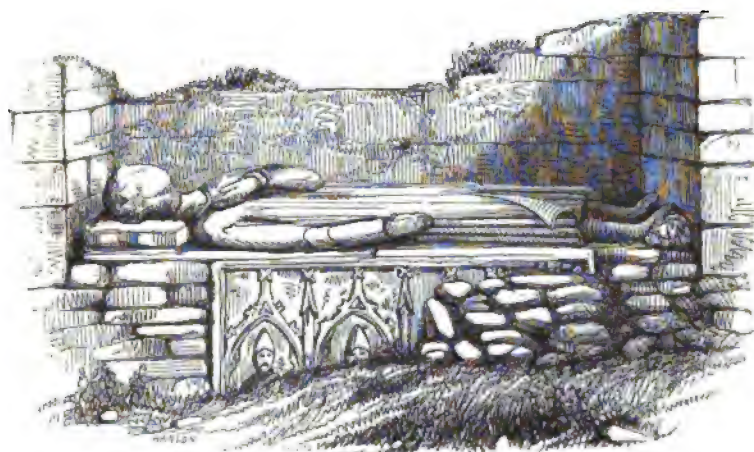
¹ Ware's "Antiquities."

² Four Masters.

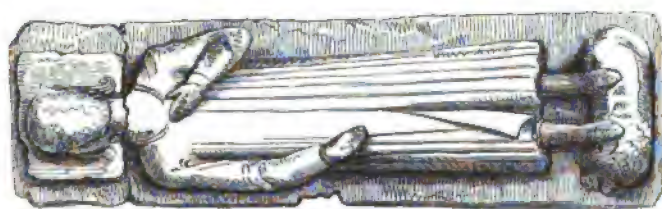
³ Annals of Cloumaconise.

⁴ Walker's "Dress, &c., of the Irish." Quarto Ed., p. 29, says it was erected A. D. 1292.

⁵ The engravings which illustrate this paper were presented to the Society by Mr. O'Gorman.—Ed.

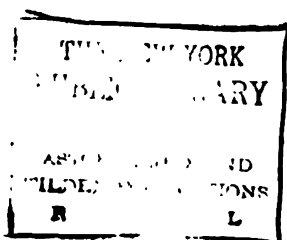


Side View.



Front View of Effigy.

MONUMENT OF KING FELIM O'CONNOR, IN ROSCOMMON ABBEY.



folds much natural grace and no small skill in the sculptor; a little below the knees it appears as if turned over from walking, or by the action of the wind. This robe was not ornamented with any kind of embroidery or otherwise—at least no trace of such ornamenting can now be discovered.¹ The features, I am sorry to say, have been completely effaced, and the slab, of which the figure is composed, broken across at the neck.

It is to be feared that these mutilations are rather to be attributed to malice than to accident, as Mr. Seward, in his "*Topographia Hibernica*," published in 1795, says that "This monument was, with more than savage brutality, considerably defaced some years ago by a parcel of drunken dragoons." The hair is represented as combed straight down on each side of the head, terminating in formal curls, portions of which are still to be seen. Some small ornament, intended, perhaps, for a reliquary, appears to be suspended from the neck by a string, and on it the left hand of the king is placed, as if in the act of clasping it. The right arm lies along the side, somewhat bent, and holds a sceptre, the head (of fleur-de-lis shape), and part of the shaft of which, are still plainly traceable. The feet are supported against a lion, and are covered by boots devoid of ornament. In addition to the sceptre, another attribute of royalty will be seen on a close examination of the head of the king, in a small portion of the crown, by which it was once encircled. It is to be found on that part lying nearest to the angle of the recess, by which it was protected to some trifling extent from the destruction which overtook the remainder of it. Judging from the fragment which remains, this crown was formed by a fillet some two or three inches deep, from which sprung three obtuse points—one at each side of the head, and one in front—a form sometimes seen on regal monuments of the thirteenth century.²

An engraving of this interesting remain, as it appeared in 1787, which is given in Mr. Walker's "*Dress of the Ancient Irish*," shows the king lying under a recessed arch of pointed shape, but without ornament, and supported by a base or front composed of two slabs (one broken), on which are sculptured the niches and armed figures

¹ It may be worth remarking here the similarity existing between the costume of the king, as seen on his tomb, and that shown on his seal figured in Ware's "*Antiquities*. The head dress alone appears different.

² With respect to this crown and sceptre, it may be well to remark here, that authorities are undecided as to whether Irish kings wore crowns or not; if used at all, they were probably in the form of a narrow band or fillet which en-

circled the head, examples of which, in gold, are to be seen in our antiquarian collections, and also, that the sceptre with a *fleur de lis* head can scarcely be regarded as an Irish emblem—"the straight white wand" was the symbol of authority with them; and hence I would surmise that this piece of sculpture, like those at Cashel of the same date, described in the second volume of the *Archæological Journal*, is the work of an English, and not of an Irish artist.

already described—four on each slab. Another engraving of it in the “Irish Penny Magazine” for 1833 shows the same outlines, except that the arch of the recess is rather circular than pointed in its form,¹ and that one-half of the broken slab of 1787 had disappeared.

In addition to the interest belonging to this tomb in Irish eyes, from the presumption that it once covered the mortal remains, and still recalls the memory, of one of our native princes, it possesses a further and more important claim upon our attention, from having been put forward by writers on our national antiquities as an example of the military costume of our forefathers of the days of King Felim; and if such a view can be regarded as correct, it would be difficult to overestimate the value of this remain.

From the following extracts it will appear that these gentlemen ground their opinions on the figures sculptured on the slab in front, which some of them say represent the body guard of the deceased king, while others would lead us to regard them as his gallowglasses.

Mr. Walker, in his “Dress of the Ancient Irish,” though somewhat confusing in his deductions, considers that an “indubitable monument (of military costume) is exhibited in the tomb of O’Connor at Roscommon.” He, however, appears to refer it to the eleventh century; but as King Felim died in the thirteenth, it is reasonable to presume that it is the latter century he means. The writer in the “Irish Penny Magazine,” describing this tomb, says: “Beneath the figure along the front of the monument is sculptured his body guard, in the military dress of the time peculiar to those soldiers denominated gallowglasses.” A note under the year 1265, in Connellan’s edition of the “Four Masters,” tells us that King Felim O’Connor, “had a magnificent monument in the Abbey of Roscommon, ornamented with beautiful sculptured representations of his body guard of gallowglasses, with their ancient arms and armour.” Mr. Weld, in his Survey of Roscommon, considers this tomb as that of the founder of the abbey, and in describing these figures, also calls them gallowglasses. Mr. Dalton, in a note to his edition of the “Annals of Boyle,” says King Felim had “a fine monument of Irish marble erected over him. It represented him stretched at full length, holding a sceptre in his hand; and on the side slabs were sculptured groups of gallowglasses, or body guards; but the once beautiful monument of this last styled king of his race is neglected and dismantled.” Colonel De Montmorency Morres, in his Essay on our Round Towers, says: “The gallowglass, or ancient Irish soldier, is represented on the tomb of Phelim O’Connor Don, King

¹ From an inch or so of the remains of the arch of the recess, it is probable that it was segmental in form.

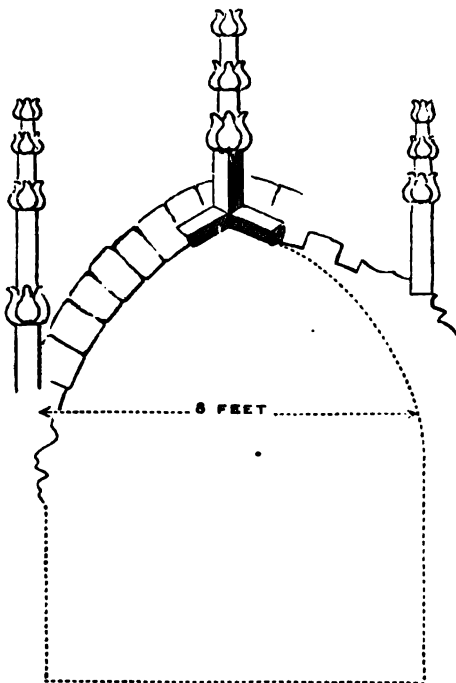
² Vol. ii., p. 120.

of Connaught, in the Abbey Church of Roscommon ;" and, finally, the editor of "Grose," writing on this tomb, informs us that "The king lies at full length, and around him are *gallowglasses*."

Thus it is clear we are called upon to regard these figures as the gallowglasses, or at least the body guards of King Felim, and that consequently they are to be taken as examples of the Irish military costume of the thirteenth century.

Having lately examined this interesting remain, I venture to submit the following remarks, with the intention of showing that the views of the above-mentioned gentlemen respecting it are not correct, and that neither the engravings in Walker, nor the "Irish Penny Magazine," nor even its present appearance, give us a true idea of its original form, and that the armed figures, though certainly intended to represent gallowglasses, do not date from King Felim's time, but were probably placed in their present position long after his death, and after the most part of his monument had been destroyed. This view was first suggested to my mind by the apparent difference of material of the two sculptures, and by the sharpness of the outlines, the apparent freshness of the work, and the state of preservation of the slab containing the gallowglasses, as compared with that composing the figure of the king. The idea was strengthened, when, looking round me, I saw in the opposite wall the remains here engraved of a canopied niche, which had evidently been occupied by a tomb, and consisting of the upper portions of buttresses and of the centre finial ornament of a Gothic arch, corresponding apparently in *style* and *material* with these armed figures and their niches, and naturally suggesting that they had both formed, at some former period, portions of the same monument.

In following up the inquiry, two important questions presented



themselves :—First. Did the body guards of King Felim wear armour; and if they did, was it the same as that sculptured on this slab? And secondly. Had that king the description of soldier called *gallowglass* in his service? If these questions cannot be answered in the affirmative, the views of the above-mentioned writers must fall to the ground, and any ideas of our military costume of that time formed upon them must be erroneous.

With respect to the first of these inquiries, it is to be observed that, though defensive armour was in use amongst the ancient Irish,¹ there is the authority both of a foreign and native historian for stating that it had fallen into disuse at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion. Giraldus Cambrensis informs us that “they (the Irish) go to battle without armour, considering it a burthen, and esteeming it brave and honourable to fight without it;”² and Maurice Regan says that De Prendergast, one of our first invaders, at a critical moment encouraged his men to fight bravely, by pointing out to them that they were “*well armed*,” while the Irish were “*naked*.”

Both these statements show pretty clearly that the Irish of the latter end of the twelfth century did not use defensive armour. Nearly a hundred years later, and at a period contemporary with the tomb under notice, we learn from the poem of Gilbride Mac Namee on the battle of Down, that the Irish continued this practice. He says :—

“Unequal they entered the battle,
The Galls and the Irish of Tara:
Fair satin shirts on the race of Conn,
And the Galls in one mass of iron.”

This battle took place in the year 1260, just five years before the death of King Felim, his son Hugh O'Connor, with a body of Connaught forces, fought in it on the national, and, as usual, the losing side; and it is remarkable, taken in connexion with the costume on this tomb, that it is the race of Conn, which included the O'Connors, that the poet singles out (though of course indicating the entire Irish army) as having entered the battle dressed in “fine linen shirts.”

During the reign of Felim our annals in more than one instance attribute the victories of the English to their being clothed in coats of mail—a clear proof that the Irish were not so defended.⁴ Fifty years after the death of King Felim, Dr. O'Connor informs us that at the decisive battle of Athenry the Irish still fought with-

¹ Book of Rights, where frequent mention is made of “coats of mail,” pp. 33, 37, &c.

² Top. Hib. p. 123, Bonn's Ed.

³ Harris' Hibernica, p. 5.

⁴ See A. D. 1235, 1249.

out defensive armour,¹ and authorities could be given to show that they continued this practice for a long time after the date of that battle.

Assuming for a moment that the statements which clothe the Irish soldiers of the thirteenth century in armour are correct, the description of it which is exhibited on these figures acquires an importance deserving of consideration. It may be described as follows:—The head is protected by a conical helmet, called a bascinet, from which descends the camail, or tippet of chain mail fitting close round the neck, and the body is covered by a shirt of the same defensive armour. It is certain that defensive armour had fallen into disuse amongst the Irish previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion, and when again resumed by them, was copied from their invaders. It is, therefore, to the armour used by the English that we must refer in order to ascertain the date of the particular description under notice. The helmets in use during the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., John and Henry III. (1154–1272), were flat-topped, or round like a globe, both being the reverse of conical. In the reign of Edward I. (1272–1307), Mr. Planché² informs us that “Scull-caps or chapels-de-fer both spherical and conical; the latter, the prototype of the bascinet” were worn, and “commonly with the nasal, which disappears in this reign.” In the reign of Edward III. (1327–77), the bascinet became general in England; and in that of Richard II. it appears to have been in use amongst the Irish, a MS. chronicle of the deposition of that monarch presenting us with a drawing of the Mac Morrough³ of that day wearing an unvisoried bascinet exactly similar to those at Roscommon.

The camail, or tippet of chain mail, was introduced in the reign of Edward II., and became general in that of Richard II. The shirt of mail continued to be worn, with very slight changes, from the days of the Conqueror to those of Edward III.

Having noticed the armour worn by the English, I may now remark that, as the bascinet⁴ was not worn by them in the thirteenth century, and as the Irish copied their armour from them, it is reasonable to say, that figures of Irish soldiers depicted in this head-dress do not belong to that century. The same remark applies to the camail which was not introduced amongst the English till nearly half a century after the death of Felim; and, as to shirts of mail, though they might possibly have been worn by the Irish

¹ Suppressed Memoir of the Life and Writings of Charles O'Connor, of Bala-nagare, quoted in a note to O'Donovan's Four Masters, A. D. 1316.

² History of British Costume.

³ Engraved on title page of first vol. of Moore's History of Ireland.

⁴ I am aware that the old Irish head dress called “Barread” was conical in form; but bearing in mind the adoption of armour noticed above, I do not believe there is any connexion between it and the head dress on these figures beyond the accident of shape.

of the thirteenth century, the fact of their being seen in connexion with bascinets and camail prove that their wearers must have belonged to a later date.

We now come to the second and last question:—Had King Felim that description of soldier called gallowglass in his service?

The armour in which our figures are clothed is certainly that of the gallowglass, and is clearly depicted in an old State Paper published in the "Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archæological Journal" for 1856-7, which describes some Irishmen as "*armed in maille with pesantes and skulls*," and on which the learned editors make the following note:—

"This was the armour of the *gallowglass*. The 'skull' was the conical iron bascinet which continued in use in Ireland from Richard II.'s time [1377-99] up to this period [when above State Paper was written, 1579], and the 'pesanta,' or 'pisan,' as it is sometimes called, was, probably, the tippet of chain mail which, depending from the bascinet, covered the neck and shoulders."

It is clear that the armour of the figures resting against O'Connor's tomb and that described in the foregoing note are identical, and it may, therefore, be safely assumed that the former were intended to represent gallowglasses. But can it be assumed with equal safety that gallowglasses followed the standard of King Felim? Felim assumed the sovereignty of Connaught in 1233, and there are many notices of his wars in the "Annals of the Four Masters" from that date till his death, but not one word about his gallowglasses. The earliest mention made of these soldiers in the Annals is under the date of 1290,¹ twenty years after the death of Felim, and evidently refers to Scotchmen, as do the few notices respecting them from that time till Bruce's invasion (1318).

In the curious little tract on the "Lawful form of the Inauguration of the King of Connaught," published in the "Kilkenny Archæological Journal" for 1853, which, according to a note of the late Dr. O'Donovan, was written by Torna O'Mulconry, who was present at this ceremony in 1315, just fifty years after the death of King Felim, and in which all the royal officers are carefully noted, even to one who had a very low and unpleasant duty to perform, we do not find one word about his gallowglasses, and there can be little doubt, if this redoubtable corps was in existence at the period, that it would not have been overlooked on such an important occasion. In conclusion, it may be mentioned that a writer²

¹ "A. D. 1290, Hugh O'Donnell was deposed by his own brother, Turlough O'Donnell, aided by his mother's tribe. i. e. the clan Donnell [Mac Donnell of Scotland], and many other gallow-

glasses," &c. Four Masters (edited by Dr. O'Donovan). See also Connellan's edition.

² The late Herbert F. Hore, Esq., vol. for 1857, p. 319.

in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," who was well versed in the subject, informs us that this particular class of soldier was not introduced into the service of the Irish princes till the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

As there are some slight details of architecture on the niches which inclose these figures, an examination of them may assist our inquiry. These details consist of pointed canopied niches divided by small buttresses—the canopies formed by a crocketed ogee figure terminating in a finial, under which is a segmental arch—and point to the style known as the Perpendicular, or Florid, which flourished during the latter end of the fifteenth century. It is scarcely possible that the slab on which such ornaments are sculptured, could have belonged to the tomb of a person who died in the latter end of the thirteenth century. It would, therefore, appear that there are fair grounds for stating that the costume of the figures depicted on the slab resting against O'Connor's tomb, at Roscommon, was not in use in the days of that monarch; and that, while it cannot be denied they were intended to represent gallowglasses, there is no authority to show that that particular description of soldier formed any part of his army, and that consequently they can have no reference to the period in which he lived, and are of no authority respecting it. But although for the foregoing reasons these figures cannot be regarded as having formed any part of King Felim's tomb, it is by no means improbable that they did form a portion of that of one of his successors who died at a much later period. The Annals of Dudley Mac Firliss, quoted in a note to the "Four Masters," has the following entry:—

"A. D. 1464.—Thady O'Connor, half King of Connaght, died on Saturday after the Assumption of our Blessed Lady Mary, and was buried in Roscommon in an honorable manner, by Cathal Crovederg's sept, by West and East, and by the Tuathas, viz., the countrys of Silmuredhy Mullehan, as never a king in his dayes was, haveing so many grosses of Horse and footo companies of *galloglaghes* and other souldiers about his body," &c. &c.

The "Four Masters" state that this Thady, or Teige, was buried at Roscommon "among the descendants of Cathal Crovederg." This notice of the gallowglasses appears remarkable, and taken in connexion with those on the slab so often mentioned, would seem to point it out as having formed a portion of the tomb of this King Teige. Its architecture corresponds to the date of his death; and further, the remains of the recessed niche on opposite wall are to be taken into account as supporting this conjecture, agreeing as they do in style and material with it.

Another piece of evidence in favor of this view is the dimensions of the two recesses, as compared with those of the slab of warriors. The recess in which the king lies is 6 feet 9 inches long; the slab

of warriors is 4 feet long; there were two of these slabs, and as both contained the same number of figures, it is reasonable to suppose that their united length was 8 feet, and that consequently they could not have fitted into a recess only 6 feet 9 inches long; but if we turn to the broken recess on the opposite wall, and of which portions of two buttresses and the centre finial still remain, clearly indicating its size, we find its length to be a little over 8 feet, which would exactly suit the two slabs of warriors.

In conclusion, I would venture to suggest the following theory respecting this tomb and the gallowglass slabs:—

1. As the north side of the chancel is the usual position for the founder's tomb, this may safely be attributed to King Felim; but the broken remains of the recess, and the broken slab out of which his effigies are formed, are, I consider, the only remains of his original tomb.

2. That the gallowglass slab formed a part of some other tomb, very possibly of the King Thady, or Tiege, who died in 1465, and who was followed to this church by such an array of gallowglasses; and,

3. That in course of time the friary fell into ruin, in which the different tombs participated; that in after times some "Old Mortality" desirous of preserving the memory of the warlike King Felim, and finding the side of his tomb gone, sought for it amongst the surrounding *debris*, found the gallowglass slabs, which had possibly been similarly displaced from the opposite recess, and set them in the position in which they were seen in 1787, and in which one still remains.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 492, line 42, for Mr. M. Du Noyer's paper, read Mr. Du Noyer's paper
— 499, — 37, for Rhunic, read Runic.

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